

**ENTREPRENEURSHIP AMONGST POLISH MIGRANTS IN
THE WEST MIDLANDS, UNITED KINGDOM**

By

CATHERINE HARRIS

A thesis submitted to
The University of Birmingham
For the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

School of Geography, Earth and Environmental Sciences,
University of Birmingham

April 2012

UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

University of Birmingham Research Archive

e-theses repository

This unpublished thesis/dissertation is copyright of the author and/or third parties. The intellectual property rights of the author or third parties in respect of this work are as defined by The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 or as modified by any successor legislation.

Any use made of information contained in this thesis/dissertation must be in accordance with that legislation and must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the permission of the copyright holder.

**FOR MY PARENTS
KATHLEEN AND CHRISTOPHER HARRIS**

I thank you for your support, care, patience and love- not only through the course of this research, but always. I dedicate this work to you.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis would not have been possible without the generous support of a number of people. It is a pleasure to thank those involved.

First and foremost I would like to express my deepest appreciation to my supervisors, Professor John Bryson and Dr. Dominique Moran, for their continuous support, advice and extremely valuable criticism throughout this research. I am greatly indebted to you both.

Thank you to the support staff of GEES, particularly Gretchel Coldicott who was always on hand to help with my queries. Thanks to Jamie Peart for his assistance and to Kevin Burkhill and Anne Ankcorn for producing my maps.

To my colleagues in room 225 - I appreciate your advice, discussions and friendship. I thank you for making the past four years enjoyable. Particular thanks to Megan Ronayne and Rachel Mulhall for our chats and giggles. Thank you to Nadia Gill and Claire Phillips for their comments on my final draft.

Sincere thanks to my wonderful family and friends for their constant encouragement, and for making me smile. Special thanks to my parents - Kathleen and Christopher Harris, my brother- Matthew Harris, and my friends - Catherine Scott, Jennifer Elvis and Nicola Hawley. I express my heartfelt gratitude to LPB - you are my hero.

I was fortunate enough to be aided in my research by numerous members of the Polish community. I thank the Polish Catholic Club and the Polish Business Club in Birmingham, Ideas2Business and the British Polish Chamber of Commerce who were critical in providing advice and access to suitable individuals. I am extremely grateful to all of the Polish entrepreneurs who participated in the research. Without your involvement this thesis would not have been possible.

ABSTRACT

Many studies have focused on ethnic entrepreneurship and Polish migration to the UK, but very little is known about Polish immigrant enterprises and established businesses in Western Europe in the post EU enlargement era. This thesis addresses this gap and contributes to the debate about Polish entrepreneurs by examining the trajectories of Polish immigrant entrepreneurs starting their own businesses in the West Midlands region of the UK. This research is based on the results of forty-eight in depth interviews with Polish entrepreneurs in the West Midlands, who migrated around the time of EU enlargement in May 2004.

Based on the empirical evidence gathered in the analysis, this thesis identifies the drivers which motivated Polish nationals to migrate to the UK and enter self-employment. The study suggests that the timing choice of migration for Polish entrepreneurship is carefully constructed. The majority of Polish entrepreneurs in the region migrated prior to accession to capitalise on the flows of migrants expected with EU enlargement. Many established retail businesses and were originally reliant on a Polish customer base. Entrepreneurs who migrated after Poland's accession to the EU tended to establish professional businesses, with less dependence on Polish clientele.

The study identifies that an important feature, which characterises Polish entrepreneurs, is the utilisation of translocal (local-local) exchanges in order to support their businesses. The key translocal relationship involved is that of family, often with the entrepreneur's parents (who are based in Poland) providing resources in the form of capital to fund the business and advice to support it. Evidence of translocality is also seen through the products offered and services used by Polish enterprises, and through their labour force choices.

Polish enterprises in the West Midlands evolve over time. Polish entrepreneurs adopt adaptation strategies to grow their businesses but also in response to stresses they face from the external environment. These business adaptations are influenced by the business aspirations of Polish entrepreneurs and how these change over time.

The analysis concludes that Polish entrepreneurs in the West Midlands made carefully constructed decisions regarding the timing of their migration in order to establish successful businesses. This is achieved through the use of translocal relationships, which become increasingly localised by adopting business adaptation strategies. There are some notable differences in the experiences of pre-accession and post-accession entrepreneurs. Since the research highlights the local element of Polish entrepreneurs in the UK, it provides the foundation for research into the local lives of these entrepreneurs in Poland before they migrated to the UK.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iii
------------------------------	------------

ABSTRACT.....	iv
----------------------	-----------

CHAPTER ONE- POLISH MIGRANT ENTREPRENEURS AND THE WEST MIDLANDS

REGION, UK: AN INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 SMEs and ethnic entrepreneurship.....	4
1.3 Recent Polish migrants to the UK.....	7
1.4 Aims and objectives of the study.....	8
1.5 Why the West Midlands?.....	11
1.6 Structure of the thesis.....	13

CHAPTER TWO- THEORETICAL UNDERPINNING OF ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND ETHNIC ENTREPRENEURSHIP: AN OVERVIEW.....

2.1 Introduction.....	18
2.2 Defining entrepreneurship.....	21
Classical theories.....	22
Neoclassical theories.....	23
New perspectives on entrepreneurship.....	25
Psychological theories.....	25
Sociological theories.....	27
The entrepreneurial process.....	28
The entrepreneurial environment.....	31
2.3 Ethnic entrepreneurship.....	32
Defining ethnic entrepreneurship.....	33
‘Break-out’ and accessing markets.....	37
Entrepreneurial networks: social, financial and business related.....	41
Ethnic entrepreneurship in Birmingham and the West Midlands.....	48
2.4 Transnational entrepreneurship.....	52
International business studies.....	53
Transnationalising entrepreneurship.....	55
Transnationalism versus translocalism.....	61
2.5 Conclusion.....	66

CHAPTER THREE- EU ACCESSION AND POLISH MIGRATION TO THE UK: THE RESEARCH CONTEXT.....

3.1 Introduction.....	68
3.2 EU accession.....	69
Estimating accession migration flows.....	70
The geography of A8 migrants.....	75
Employment.....	77
Self-employment.....	80

3.3 Polish migration to the UK.....	82
The Polish community in a historical perspective.....	82
Poland's route to the EU.....	84
Polish migration: 2004-present.....	89
The geography of recent Polish migrants to the UK.....	91
Polish life in the UK.....	93
Polish entrepreneurship.....	98
3.4 Choosing a single research location and ethnic group.....	101
3.5 A conceptual approach to understanding Polish entrepreneurship in the UK...	104
3.6 Conclusion.....	107

CHAPTER FOUR- RESEARCH METHODS: TOOLS AND TECHNIQUES ADOPTED IN THE STUDY OF POLISH MIGRANT ENTREPRENEURSHIP

IN THE STUDY OF POLISH MIGRANT ENTREPRENEURSHIP	109
4.1 Introduction.....	109
4.2 Research on entrepreneurship.....	111
Ethnic entrepreneurship: research problems and research limitations.....	112
4.3 Stages of the research.....	116
Stage one: the research area.....	116
Ethnic entrepreneurship in the UK.....	116
The West Midlands region.....	119
Placing the West Midlands within the UK.....	124
Stage two: pre-fieldwork preparation.....	127
Literature review.....	127
Quantitative tools.....	128
Qualitative tools.....	130
Stage three: selection of respondents.....	131
Selecting business associations, support institutions and key individuals.....	131
Selecting entrepreneurs.....	133
Stage four: the interview process.....	140
Interviews with Polish entrepreneurs.....	140
Interviews with representatives of associations and institutions.....	144
Positionality of the researcher.....	145
Insider/outsider dichotomy power relations.....	145
The multiple self.....	148
4.4 Data collection and treatment of information obtained.....	155
Secondary data.....	155
Primary data.....	155
Using NVivo for qualitative analysis.....	156
Using case studies to strengthen results.....	158
Interpreting the data and theorising the findings.....	162
4.5 Reflection on methodology and suggestion for further research.....	165
Qualitative methodology.....	265
Gatekeepers and the cascade technique.....	165
Positionality of the researcher.....	166

Time spent in the field.....	166
Lost in translation.....	167
Access to informants.....	169
Interview questions.....	169
4.6 Conclusion.....	170

CHAPTER FIVE- THE TIMING OF MIGRATION AND THE ENTREPRENEURIAL

ACT.....	172
5.1 Introduction.....	172
5.2 Time and timing in migrant entrepreneurship.....	173
Existing time geographies.....	174
The future of time geographies.....	176
5.3 The moment of entrepreneurship.....	177
5.4 Prompts to the timing of migrant entrepreneurship.....	181
Exogenous factors.....	181
Endogenous factors.....	182
Entrepreneurial learning.....	183
Entrepreneurial motivation.....	185
Pathways to entrepreneurship.....	190
Family.....	191
Other endogenous factors.....	192
5.5 The characteristics of Polish migrant entrepreneurs.....	195
5.6 The timing of Polish migrant entrepreneurship.....	203
Pre-accession prompts to migration and pathways into entrepreneurship.....	203
Pathways to pre-accession entrepreneurship.....	204
Motivation and capitalising on accession migration flows.....	209
Locational choice of the business.....	211
Family: finance and advice.....	212
Localised learning.....	214
The moment of pre-accession entrepreneurship.....	218
Post-accession prompts to migration and pathways into entrepreneurship.....	219
Pathways to post-accession entrepreneurship.....	219
Following family and friends.....	222
Success stories.....	224
The moment of post-accession entrepreneurship.....	225
5.7 Conclusion.....	225

CHAPTER SIX- TRANSLOCAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP: FAMILY, CO-ETHNICS, AND SUPPORT NETWORKS.....

6.1 Introduction.....	229
6.2 Translocal entrepreneurship: family, friends and support networks.....	231
Translocal Poles.....	224
Translocal family firms.....	237

Translocal family resources.....	237
Established translocal ethnic enterprises.....	244
6.3 Polish translocal entrepreneurship.....	246
Finance.....	247
Long-range financial thinking.....	248
The inter-generational entrepreneur.....	250
Parents and the Polish pound.....	252
Products, services and trading relationships.....	256
Customers, products and services in retail businesses.....	257
Customers, products and services in professional businesses.....	259
Labour and people.....	262
Staffing the business.....	262
Maintaining family and friendship ties.....	267
Support and advice from family and friends.....	272
Supporting institutions.....	273
6.4 Polish translocal relationships.....	278
6.5 Conclusion.....	282

CHAPTER SEVEN- PROCESSES OF ADAPTATION, ASPIRATIONS AND FUTURE PLANS AMONGST POLISH BUSINESSES..... 285

7.1 Introduction.....	285
7.2 Business strategies.....	286
Business adaptations.....	287
The theory of adaptation.....	288
Adaptive behaviour in small businesses.....	290
Strategic adaptation to the external environment.....	291
Business aspirations.....	295
7.3 Processes of adaptation, aspirations and future plans amongst Polish businesses.....	298
Adaptation for growth.....	299
Adaptation to hostile environments.....	302
Business aspirations.....	315
Life in the UK or returning to Poland?.....	317
Changes in aspirations and plans over time.....	323
7.4 Conclusion.....	325

CHAPTER EIGHT- THE KEY THEMES OF POLISH ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN THE WEST MIDLANDS: A CASE STUDY APPROACH..... 327

8.1 Introduction.....	327
8.2 A case study approach.....	328
8.3 Case study evidence: entrepreneurial processes acting together.....	330
Case one: Agata, a bakery owner who migrated in 2001.....	332
Timing of migration: motivation, entrepreneurial learning and family finance.....	334
Opening the bakery: translocal exchanges.....	337

The timing of activities through adaptation: breaking-out and scaling up.....	339
Polish local bakery.....	344
Case two: Selina, owner of a recruitment agency who migrated in 2004.....	346
Timing and support for a professional business.....	347
Localisation through services and people.....	349
8.4 Polish local entrepreneurship and timing: a revised conceptual approach.....	353
8.5 Conclusion.....	355

CHAPTER NINE- TRANSLOCAL POLISH MIGRANT ENTREPRENEURS: A

SUMMARY.....	358
9.1 Introduction.....	358
9.2 The current state of knowledge on Polish entrepreneurship.....	359
9.3 Contribution to the field of knowledge.....	362
Timing and the entrepreneurial act.....	363
Translocal to localisation.....	365
Business networks.....	368
Business adaptations and plans.....	369
A revised conceptual approach to understanding Polish entrepreneurship.....	370
9.4 What does the research mean for debates in geography and beyond?.....	372
9.5 Reflection on the research process and the future research agenda.....	375
9.6 Summary and conclusion.....	380

BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	383
--------------------------	------------

APPENDIX.....	423
----------------------	------------

Appendix A Characteristics of respondents and business information.....	424
Appendix B Interview schedules.....	427
Appendix C Interview transcript extract and using NVivo.....	431

PUBLICATIONS.....	436
--------------------------	------------

Harris, C., Moran, D. and Bryson J.R. (2012). EU accession migration: national insurance number allocations and the geographies of Polish labour immigration to the UK. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 103, 2, 209–221.

Harris, C., Moran, D. and Bryson, J.R. (forthcoming). Polish labour migration to the UK: data discrepancies, migrant distributions and entrepreneurial activity. Under review at *Growth and Change* (accepted with minor revisions, on 5th April 2012).

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1 Transnationalism versus translocalism.....	63
Table 3.1 NINo allocations to adult overseas nationals entering the UK, by year of allocation and world region of origin.....	74
Table 3.2 NINo allocations to adult overseas nationals entering the UK; top ten countries by year of allocation.....	90
Table 3.3 NINo registrations to Polish nationals entering the UK by Government Office Region 2002/2003- 2010/2011.....	92
Table 4.1 Ethical issues in research on ethnic/immigrant entrepreneurs: sources and possible solutions.....	114
Table 4.2 NINo registrations to Polish nationals in the local authorities of the West Midlands region of the UK 2002/2003- 2010/2011.....	123
Table 4.3 The number and type of organisations interviewed.....	133
Table 4.4 Methods used to contact potential respondents.....	134
Table 4.5 Response rate amongst Polish entrepreneurs.....	138
Table 4.6 Types of case study.....	159
Table 4.7 Businesses in the study and coding.....	164
Table 5.1 Entrepreneurial activities to become a nascent entrepreneur.....	179
Table 5.2 The age of entrepreneurs.....	198
Table 5.3 Number of each type of business.....	200
Table 5.4 Location of Polish businesses by county.....	200
Table 5.5 Size of Polish businesses.....	202
Table 6.1 The advantages and disadvantages of family businesses.....	235
Table 6.2 Localities and translocalism amongst Polish migrant entrepreneurs.....	246
Table 6.3 Family members employed in business.....	263
Table 6.4 Translocal relationships in the retail sector: Polish delicatessen, Handsworth, Birmingham.....	278
Table 6.5 Translocal relationships in the professional sector: Polish recruitment agency, Stoke-on-Trent.....	280

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1 The structure of the literature.....	19
Figure 2.2 A model of the entrepreneurial process.....	29
Figure 4.1 NINo registrations to overseas nationals entering the UK from the EU accession states.....	118
Figure 4.2 NINo registrations to Polish nationals for the Government Office Regions of the UK.....	120
Figure 4.3 The West Midlands.....	124
Figure 4.4 West Midlands non-White British population as a proportion of total resident population, mid-2007.....	125
Figure 4.5 Formula to calculate Location Quotients.....	129
Figure 5.1 Organisational emergence.....	178
Figure 5.2 Number of respondents who migrated pre-accession and post-accession.....	196
Figure 5.3 Dates of migration and opening the business.....	197
Figure 5.4 Pathways to entrepreneurship on arrival in the UK.....	204
Figure 5.5 Mentions of endogenous factors in the timing decision to migrate and establish a business amongst pre-accession migrant entrepreneurs.....	209
Figure 5.6 A Polish delicatessen in Birmingham, UK.....	216
Figure 6.1 The background of the parents of Polish entrepreneurs.....	251
Figure 6.2 Polish and English mass times at St Michael's Church, Birmingham.....	274
Figure 6.3 The Polish Club, Birmingham.....	275
Figure 7.1 Mentions of hostile environments faced by Polish businesses.....	303
Figure 7.2 Polish food products available in <i>Sainsbury's</i> in Mere Green, Birmingham.....	310
Figure 7.3 The Polish food section in <i>Tesco</i> in Birmingham.....	311
Figure 7.4 A loaf of 'Polish bread' produced and sold by supermarket <i>Morrisons</i>	311
Figure 8.1 Polish bread produced in a UK based Polish bakery.....	333
Figure 8.2 A Polish pastry baked in Agata's bakery	333

LIST OF ACRONYMS

BIS	Business, Innovation and Skills
BPCC	British-Polish Chamber of Commerce
DWP	Department for Work and Pensions
EC	European Community
ECAA	European Community Association Agreement
EUAA	European Union Association Agreement
EMB	Ethnic Minority Business
EEA	European Economic Area
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FMOW	Free Movement of Workers
FSB	Federation of Small Business
GOR	Government Office Region
GVA	Gross Value Added
HRA	Hazard and Risk Assessment
IoD	Institute of Directors
IPS	International Passenger Survey
LA	Local Authority
LFS	Labour Force Survey
LGA	Local Government Organisation
LQ	Location Quotient
NIC	National Insurance Contributions
NINo	National Insurance Number
NIRS	National Insurance Recording System
NMS	New Member State
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
ONS	Office for National Statistics
PC	Parliamentary Constituency
SME	Small and medium sized enterprise
TNC	Transnational Corporation
UA	Unitary Authority
UK	United Kingdom
WRS	Worker Registration Scheme

CHAPTER ONE

POLISH MIGRANT ENTREPRENEURS AND THE WEST MIDLANDS REGION, UK: AN INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Agata owns a bakery in Walsall, West Midlands, which was established in 2003. The business has grown dramatically since its beginnings as a small shop, to include two premises (one of which is a factory). From running the business with only her husband, Agata now employs fifty members of staff. From selling only through their own shop, the bakery now supplies hundreds of branches of *Tesco* throughout the UK. This story of entrepreneurship has another interesting aspect - interestingly, Agata is Polish, along with the products that her bakery produces. She arrived in the UK in December 2002 intending to establish a business in response to the UK government's announcement that it would allow immediate free movement into the UK of A8¹ country workers following EU accession. The 2004 EU accession saw an enlargement of the European Union (EU) to the East. Eight countries (Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia) joined the EU at this time. A second phase of accession took place in 2007, when Bulgaria and Romania joined the EU. As a result, EU accession prompted two waves of migration, and the arrival in the UK of Polish migrant entrepreneurs, like Agata.

¹ The A8 countries are Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia.

This raises a number of questions regarding Polish entrepreneurship centred around EU accession: When and why did Polish entrepreneurs migrate to the UK? When and why did they establish a business? What assistance did they receive in establishing their business and from whom? How do Polish entrepreneurs develop and grow successful enterprises? What types of networks did they develop? What systems are in place to assist them in creating wealth for themselves and employment for others? What difficulties have they faced in running a business in the UK? What ties do they maintain with Poland? How do they contribute to the local economy and community? These questions are related to on-going academic debates on globalisation, translocal relationships, local economic development, migration and ethnic entrepreneurship (Light, 1972; Oakes and Schein, 2006; Yeung, 2007).

To address these questions, this thesis examines the characteristics and experiences of Polish entrepreneurs in the West Midlands region of the UK through interviews with Polish entrepreneurs. The study engages with broader global debates on entrepreneurship (Schumpeter, 1934; McClelland, 1961; Yeung, 2007), particularly ethnic entrepreneurship (Light, 1972; Bonacich, 1973; Borjas, 1986; Aldrich and Waldinger, 1990; Ram, 1997), and the importance of networks and social relations for individuals and groups of entrepreneurs within a place and across space (Greve and Salaff, 2003; Kristiansen, 2004; Charmes, 2005).

For the purpose of this study some key terms and concepts need to be outlined. An *entrepreneur* is an individual who creates and grows businesses. A *Polish entrepreneur* is a Polish born individual who has since migrated, in this case to the

UK, and established a business, which they are actively managing. They are first generation and not second generation migrants. *Entrepreneurship* is the process through which entrepreneurs create and grow businesses; it is concerned with the discovery and exploitation of profitable opportunities (Shane and Venkataraman, 2000) and it is considered that such activity, “drives innovation and technical change and therefore generates economic growth” (Shane et al., 2003: p:3).

The primary aim of this thesis is *to explore the entrepreneurial activities of Polish entrepreneurs who migrated around the time of EU accession and have established and operate their own businesses in the West Midlands region of the UK*. The research seeks to examine the characteristics of, the opportunities for, and the constraints on Polish entrepreneurs as well as examine the relationship between Poland and entrepreneurial activity in the West Midlands. This involves four areas of focus. These are not the aims and objectives of the research, but are the starting point for the research. These are:

- 1) An evaluation of the scope, attributes and behaviour of existing Polish entrepreneurs;
- 2) An analysis of the current business support infrastructure for Polish entrepreneurs from both formal (business associations, religious organisations, etc) and informal (family and friends) networks;
- 3) An investigation into the relationship between Poland and entrepreneurial activity in the West Midlands;

- 4) An exploration of the entrepreneurial environment, with particular reference to its impact on Polish entrepreneurial opportunities and future plans.

This chapter provides the background to the study, sets out the problem statement, the objectives, the research approach and design and provides an outline of the argument that is developed in the thesis. The next section begins to explore the background to the study through a consideration of the development of small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs) and ethnic entrepreneurship².

1.2 SMEs and ethnic entrepreneurship

For western economies the twentieth century is associated with the rise of large firms and the emergence of transnational corporations (TNCs). Macro-economic policy tended to favour large firms and this was supported by regional policy founded upon strategies intended to attract foreign direct investment from TNCs. Large firms tended to dominate the research agenda with a focus on economies of scope and scale (Teece, 1993) and various forms of global commodity network. In the late 1960s, small firms remerged on policy makers' agendas across Europe, and they became increasingly considered to be important job creators and contributors towards local and economic growth (Bolton, 1971; Uhlaner, 2003).

² It is important to be sensitive to the use of the term 'ethnic entrepreneurship', as all firms can be considered to be ethnic. For the purpose of this research it refers to entrepreneurs of immigrant origin.

Since the 1970s, many economies have witnessed a revival in small businesses. By the 1980s, there was a strong move towards small-scale, predominantly young firms in Europe. Audretsch and Thurik (2001, cited in Audretsch et al., 2002: p.7) labelled this new economic period the 'entrepreneurial economy' and this should be conceptualised as part of the shift towards neoliberalism. Here, the underlying argument was that the increase in uncertainty creates opportunities for small and young firms and results in higher rates of entrepreneurship. A study by Wennekers et al. (2002) indicated that the share of entrepreneurship (measured by business ownership) in the US labour force increased from 8 per cent in 1972 to 11 per cent by 1988 (Thurik et al., 2002). In the same study, they observed that across the OECD nations from 1975 to 1998 there was an increase in the number of business owners from twenty-nine million in 1972 to forty-five million by 1998 (Wennekers et al. 2002). The UK experienced a similar growth in small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs). SMEs are now a significant component to the UK economy and at the start of 2004 accounted for 99.7 per cent of all enterprises, 47.5 per cent of employment and 49 per cent of all turnover (BCC Report, 2006). Whilst the development of entrepreneurship was occurring, it seemed that the changes did not occur at the same rate in all developed economies, hence the need for comparative studies to highlight these changes and their variations (Reynolds et al., 2000; Wennekers et al., 2002).

As the growth of SMEs was occurring, academic and policy interest developed and research initiated within a range of disciplinary perspectives (Aldrich and Zimmer, 1986; Amit, 1994; Buame, 1996; Buttner and Moore, 1997). Until the 1990s the focus

was mostly on male business owners (Brush, 1992), but increasingly attention was being given to the importance of women-led businesses (Brush, 1992; Aldrich et al., 1997; Carter, 2004; Hales, 2008). Recognition was also given to immigrant origin entrepreneurs (e.g. the South Asian and Chinese-owned small businesses) (Barrett et al., 1996; Dewitt, 2011) and this led to the increasing work on women in ethnic minority entrepreneurship (Dhailwal, 1998; Hardill et al., 2002). Supporting the increasing recognition of immigrant origin entrepreneurs, the US Bureau of the Census statistics revealed that between 1973 and 1983 the number of blacks self-employed in occupations other than agriculture increased by 51 per cent to 506,000 individuals, whilst the number of self-employed whites rose by only 29 per cent (Hisrich and Brush, 1986). This trend in the emergence of minority owned businesses was also observed across the world: Asian businesses in France (Ma Mung, 1994), African-Caribbean, Indian, Pakistani and Chinese businesses in England (Reeves and Ward, 1984). Ethnic-minority owned businesses are now recognised as an established and growing feature of contemporary Britain (Ram, 1997). In today's economies, small businesses led by ethnic minorities should be considered by economists and policy makers as a vehicle for employment growth, social cohesion and innovation and competition (Ram, 1997).

1.3 Recent Polish migrants to the UK

In the UK, media debates surrounding migration have grown considerably following the 2004 enlargement of the European Union (EU) to the East and again in 2007. Among these A8 immigrants to the UK, those coming from Poland have, arguably, been dominant – the most numerous, and certainly the most visible in the public arena. The Home Office's, admittedly flawed, figures³ suggest that a minimum of 600,000 Polish citizens have been working in the UK labour market since 2004 – 66 per cent of the total of migrants from the different A8 countries (Home Office, 2009: p.8).

The focus on the economically driven nature of this migration has been strong; many researchers have highlighted, for example, the high levels of unemployment in Poland – 20 per cent in 2003 (Drinkwater et al., 2006: p.2) – to explain these trends. Others have noted the insecure nature of the work undertaken by economic migrants from the EU employed in the UK labour market (McDowell et al., 2009). Non-economic motivations for migration and experiences following arrival have also been studied (Eade et al., 2006; Fomina, 2009; White, 2010; Gill and Bialski, 2011; White, 2011). For instance, Garapich (2006) investigates how Polish migrants interpret their class position and ethnic affiliation in London. Further research has focused on the distribution of migrants across the UK. Existing studies have identified an apparent 'rural bias' in flow of Polish migrants to the UK (Stenning and Dawley, 2009).

³ Home Office figures are based on Worker Registration Scheme (WRS) data which undercounts the number of migrants entering the UK. This is covered in further detail in Chapter Three.

Given the significance of entrepreneurship for other ethnic groups and the sizable Polish population, it could be assumed that Polish entrepreneurs are an important feature of ethnic entrepreneurship in the UK. Indeed, the British-Polish Chamber of Commerce (BPCC) estimates that there are currently 40,000 Polish entrepreneurs who have established businesses in the UK (Pollard et al., 2008: p.44). Despite this, there is very little research on self-employed Polish migrants. Instead, the literature largely focuses on the size and distribution of migration flows and the experiences of Polish 'employed' migrants in the UK. There is an important research gap here on self-employed Polish migrants that provides the point of departure for this research, which is driven by an attempt to understand the motivating factors and experiences of Polish entrepreneurs in the West Midlands, UK.

1.4 Aims and objectives of the study

A review of the academic literature highlighted three important gaps relevant to understanding Polish migrant entrepreneurship, which will be explored in this study. First, very few studies of the factors that drive ethnic entrepreneurship in the UK from the EU accession countries (including Poland) have been conducted, as studies either provide a general review of past research on ethnic entrepreneurs (Blanchflower et al., 2007), or highlight general characteristics of NMS (New Member States) migrants (Barnes and Cox, 2007).

Another strand of the literature, which has been explored, is transnational entrepreneurship. The literature currently lacks an integration and cross-fertilisation

between entrepreneurship studies and international business studies. This has been the main obstacle to a fuller understanding of the nature and processes of transnational entrepreneurship (Yeung, 2007). Furthermore, in some of the studies that have investigated entrepreneurship there is a failure to consider transnational entrepreneurship and how businesses generate value by bringing together activities based around the globe (Basch et al., 1996; Yeung, 2002).

Third, whilst some studies have addressed the entrepreneurial environment this research has been highly fragmented (Gnyawali and Fogel, 1994), often failing to provide a detailed understanding of how the environment spawns new entrepreneurs and generates new businesses (Thorton and Flynn, 2005), and linking individual entrepreneurs to the external business environment they operate in (Thorton, 1999). Furthermore, some of the limited studies that have investigated EU accession entrepreneurship fail to provide a deep understanding of the impact of external factors on businesses, how business adapt to their external environment, and how a new setting changes their aspirations over time (Barnes and Cox, 2007; Blanchflower et al., 2007; Helinska-Hughes et al., 2009; Vershinina et al., 2009).

These three gaps in the literature have informed the development of this study's aims and objectives, which will be explored in the context of the West Midlands, using a study of forty-eight Polish entrepreneurs who are recent migrants (they migrated in the years surrounding EU accession). The aims and objectives of this study are to investigate Polish entrepreneurship in the United Kingdom to:

- 1) Understand Polish entrepreneurship in the UK by exploring Polish entrepreneurship in the West Midlands.
- 2) Explore the main factors that drive the timing of the migration of Polish entrepreneurs and their desire to establish a business in the West Midlands.
- 3) Examine the transnational relationships and the role of family and friends in the migration and running of a business amongst Polish entrepreneurs in the West Midlands.
- 4) Investigate the entrepreneurial environment of Polish entrepreneurs, and the local, regional and global entrepreneurial environment within which businesses operate, to understand the impact this has on Polish entrepreneurs' business aspirations and adaptations.

The aims and objectives are explored through a detailed analysis of Polish entrepreneurship in the West Midlands. This area was selected on the basis of analysis of national datasets and this analysis is presented in Chapter Three. At this stage in the analysis, it is useful to explore some of the variables that have informed the selection of the study area.

1.5 Why the West Midlands?

The West Midlands has a long history of minority ethnic entrepreneurship involving many different minority communities. The region was “the powerhouse of the Fordist industrial boom” (Bryson et al., 1996: p. 157), with 65 per cent of the region’s labour force working in manufacturing in 1961 (Ram et al., 2002). The region has undergone major economic restructuring over the past three decades, with the relative share of employment and wealth generation transferring from the manufacturing sector to service sectors, with increasing significance of self-employment in these sectors.

Birmingham is the region’s largest city, and the second city of the UK. The city has remained an important player in Britain’s economic development and has been recognised as the third best city in the United Kingdom in which to locate a business, as well as the twenty-first in Europe (Cushman and Wakefield, 2007). Historically, the city has housed a number of industries, many continuing through the post-war years. Amongst, the most popular have been heavy manufacturing industries, automotive, clothing, chemical and allied trades (Sutcliffe and Smith, 1974). Birmingham’s economic structure has undergone major changes since the post-war years. During the post-war boom there was a need to attract migrants to the UK to undertake elementary occupations (see McDowell, 2005). This post-war economic restructuring is associated with the decline in traditional manufacturing, but manufacturing still plays an important role in the city’s economy. Coupled with this has been the growth in service sector employment during the 1980s. By 2003, this sector was responsible

for 76.2 per cent of employment and continues to grow until the present time (Bryson and Taylor, 2006). In addition to a continual process of economic restructuring, Birmingham has also experienced demographic change associated with the city's transformation into a multicultural community and also the importance of self-employment.

The West Midlands region is also well known for its ethnically diverse population. It has the most ethnically diverse regional population outside London. Experimental statistics for 2007 estimate that 17 per cent of the region's population classified themselves as non-White British (ONS, 2011). The city of Birmingham had the region's highest concentration, comprising 38 per cent of its population (ONS, 2011). This ethnic diversity has recently been characterised by the influx of NMS migrants to the region, particularly those from Poland. The Midlands (East and West) region in 2006 had accumulated the largest number of new Polish migrants in the UK (17 per cent of the total), having overtaken London and the South East (Meardi, 2007: p.9).

This ethnic diversity is recognised as a strength and, indeed, as a route to economic development (Henry, 1998). Although data is scarce, some figures suggest that up to 33 per cent of Birmingham's business activity occurs within minority ethnic owned enterprises (The Economist, 1998). Consequently, the West Midlands, in particular the city of Birmingham, has been the focus of much of the literature on ethnic entrepreneurship (Ram et al., 2000; McEwan et al., 2005; Ram et al., 2007). Most studies of ethnic minority enterprise focus on the established African-Caribbean, South Asian and, to a lesser extent, Chinese groups rather than more recently

arrived migrants, such as those from Poland. This thesis goes some way to addressing this research gap.

1.6 Structure of the thesis

This thesis explores Polish entrepreneurship in the West Midlands region of the UK. The key issues concerning this, as outlined in the aims and objectives, are developed in the thesis throughout eight chapters.

Due to the wide range of literatures relevant to this study, from often distinct and separate fields, the review of the literature is divided into two chapters (Chapter Two and Chapter Three). This analysis of the literature is not comprehensive, but rather is a selective account given the complexity of the literature that exists on this topic.

Chapter Two considers the theoretical contexts and themes underpinning the formation, development and growth of entrepreneurial ventures. It seeks to present the concepts that are frequently used to define entrepreneurship. Particular attention is paid to ethnic entrepreneurship. Key themes, such as transnational entrepreneurship, 'break-out', and family ties are explored here. The analysis identifies research gaps and issues that form the conceptual framework for the empirical analysis. These themes are then developed further in the empirical chapters, supported by evidence from the fieldwork. Importantly, new conceptual

themes are introduced in the empirical analysis that are developed from the interplay between empirical research and theory.

Chapter Three, the second chapter based on an analysis of existing literatures, explores EU accession and the subsequent migration of NMS nationals to the UK. This is based on an analysis of existing literatures, and also through developing these literatures through original research (Harris et al., 2012), which is used to identify and also justify the selection of the study area and ethnic group. By combining this discussion with the concepts of entrepreneurship and ethnic entrepreneurship, highlighted in Chapter Two, the issues of self-employment amongst NMS nationals, and particularly Polish migrant entrepreneurship are identified as research gaps. A conceptual approach based on the research gaps highlighted in the review of the literature in Chapter Two and Chapter Three, and from my own preliminary research, is developed with the purpose of revisiting it in subsequent chapters to incorporate any new concepts identified in the empirical results of the study.

Chapter Four presents the tools and techniques adopted when undertaking the study, whilst highlighting methodological problems encountered in the field, together with the strategies adopted to deal with them. Qualitative tools will be used with some quantitative techniques to analyse the data gathered from the interviews with entrepreneurs and individuals from supporting institutions; two in depth case studies will be used to provide a rich picture and to add realism to the lives of the entrepreneurs. The chapter considers the influence of the positionality of the author as a female British researcher who, prior to this research, had no

interaction with the Polish community. The subsequent chapters present the empirical results.

Chapter Five investigates the drivers behind the migration of Polish entrepreneurs to the West Midlands, as well as their motivations in establishing a business. Focus is given to the timing of this migration and the reasons for it. The chapter highlights the importance of migrating prior to accession for many entrepreneurs in order to establish their business and to capitalise on the flows of NMS migration. In response the concept of time is explored. The concept of time is clearly of great importance to social scientists and it is central to the processes of migration and entrepreneurship. Although works on time-space geographies are highly influential and critical to social theory, Hägerstrand (1970), Thrift (1983), Giddens (1979; 1981) and others, treat time and space as passive, noun-based, social creations. However, this chapter, through the example of Polish migrant entrepreneurship, suggests that the role of time is far from passive. Therefore, instead of time, my analysis of Polish migrant entrepreneurship uses the verb 'timing' to describe the moment of migration, the entrepreneurial act and its locational choice. Timing is a far more active concept than time. The concept of timing complements the existing discourses on time-space geographies and is a useful way of developing the idea. As such, timing is more suited to discussions of entrepreneurship than time.

Chapter Six explores the role of family and friends in Polish entrepreneurs' decisions to migrate to the West Midlands, and the subsequent establishment and running of a business. Whilst in Chapter Five this was considered in relation to the influence of

family and friends in the timing decision of migration and the entrepreneurial act, here the actual nature of these relationships will be explored. Drawing upon the influence of family and friends, the chapter argues that ties across national borders are the product of relationships between specific persons, in specific locales. Accordingly, it rejects the concept of transnationalism in favour of translocalism. It does this through exploring the translocal relationships utilised by Polish entrepreneurs in the West Midlands. The role of family, co-ethnics and supporting networks in Polish entrepreneurship in the West Midlands are explored, particularly any translocal linkages involved. Three types of translocal linkages are identified as operating in Polish businesses: 1) finance; 2) products, services and trading relationships; and 3) labour and people.

Chapter Seven focuses on the business adaptation strategies adopted by Polish entrepreneurs. These adaptation strategies are closely linked to the timing decisions made in Chapter Five, and the translocal linkages discussed in Chapter Six often enable them. Particular attention is given to adaptation to the hostile environments of recession, the return migration of Poles and supermarkets stocking Polish products. This is followed by an examination of business aspirations of Polish entrepreneurs, and how these have changed over time. The purpose of this is to understand the strategies adopted by Polish entrepreneurs once their business has been established and it begins to evolve. The analysis continues with a focus on their business aspirations and plans, and how these have changed over time. It also includes the plans of Polish entrepreneurs for the future of their business and whether they intend to remain in the UK or return to Poland.

Chapter Eight draws on the empirical evidence to bring together the various themes identified as critical in the establishment, growth and running of Polish businesses in the West Midlands. To add realism and to connect the various themes of the research, two case studies, which were selected from the sample of entrepreneurs, are used. The case studies focus on the experiences of one pre-accession and one post-accession entrepreneur. These cases explore how different processes act together in the experiences of Polish entrepreneurs. The case studies illustrate how Polish businesses evolve and highlight the different ways in which they engage with difference localities. In doing so, this highlights issues which were not touched upon in the earlier empirical chapters. This emphasises the utility of a case study technique and allows the conceptual approach, suggested in Chapter Three, to be revised in line with the new themes uncovered by the research.

Chapter Nine presents the conclusion of the study. It draws together the key points of analysis of the thesis, highlighting the difficulties encountered during the course of the research and avenues for future research. It identifies the key contributions that the thesis makes to the field of knowledge, in addition to wider debates in geography and beyond.

CHAPTER TWO

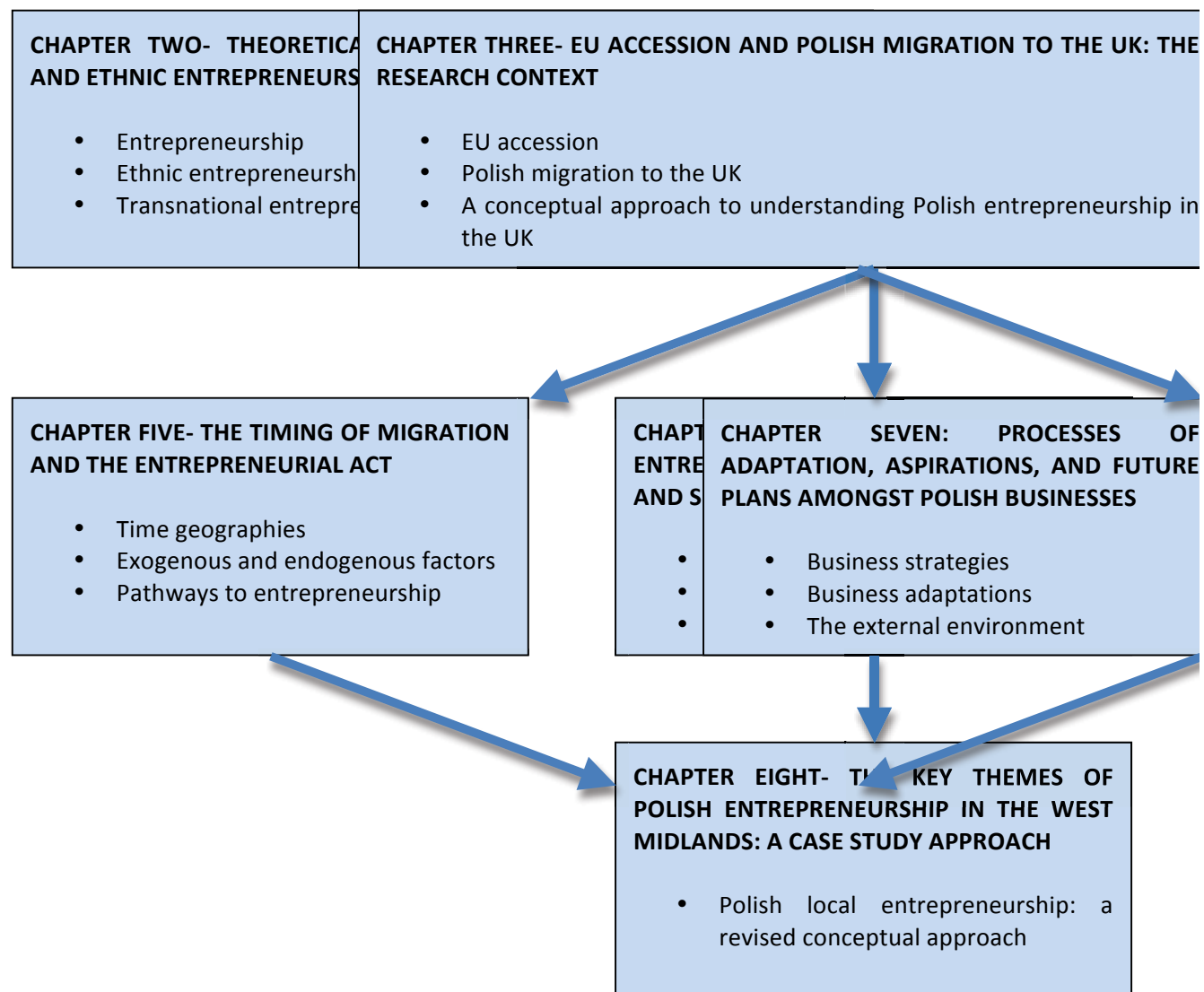
THEORETICAL UNDERPINNING OF ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND ETHNIC ENTREPRENEURSHIP: AN OVERVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter considers the theoretical contexts and themes underpinning the establishment of ethnic businesses in the UK, and seeks to present the concepts that are frequently used to define entrepreneurship. The chapter brings together the literatures on entrepreneurship, ethnic entrepreneurship and transnational entrepreneurship. Key themes, such as 'break-out' and family ties are also explored.

This overview of the literature is not comprehensive, but rather is a selective account given the complexity of the literature that exists on this topic. Due to the wide range of literatures relevant to this study, often from distinct and separate fields, the review of the literature is divided into two chapters. In this chapter the focus is given to the key issues and general themes surrounding ethnic entrepreneurship. This is followed by Chapter Three which provides a review of the literature surrounding EU accession and Polish migration in the UK, supported with original research (Harris et al., 2012). The purpose of this is to set the research context of the study and to develop a conceptual approach to the research (in Chapter Three) by combining the literature on ethnic entrepreneurship and Polish migration. In the subsequent empirical chapters a detailed account of the literature relevant to each specific chapter will be developed, using themes and concepts that will be identified in the two literature review chapters. This will allow for a more detailed and holistic understanding of the material, with links to the analysis being able to be made more easily.

Figure 2.1 The structure of the literature



Source: Author (2012)

Before proceeding with the chapter it is useful to explore the structure and, in particular, the relationship between the themes explored in the chapter and the theoretically informed empirical analysis that is presented in chapters five to eight (Figure 2.1). The research conceptual framing is divided between chapters two and three. The division of this analysis between these two chapters reflects the different roles the chapters play in the development of analysis. Chapter Two explores the conceptual literatures whilst Chapter Three deals with literatures that explore migration and EU accession. Figure 2.1 also illustrates how the two literature review chapters are developed to produce a conceptual approach and how they are combined in the empirical chapters to discuss the key themes of Polish migrant entrepreneurship. These themes were identified through the literature review and also through evidence obtained from interviews with Polish entrepreneurs. As new themes emerged from these interviews it was necessary to include additional literatures, which is done so at the start of each empirical chapter (Figure 2.1). This additional literature is not reviewed in this chapter or Chapter Three since it did not emerge until later in the research process and including it here would have resulted in disparate literatures being discussed. By including this additional literature in the empirical chapters, the evidence from the interviews is closely tied to the literature, providing a more coherent argument. Through a case study chapter (Chapter Eight) this additional literature is considered in detail, with the empirical evidence, and is used to revise the conceptual approach. Adopting such an approach to the literature allows a greater range of concepts to be considered in detail, and ensures that they remain closely linked to the empirical evidence throughout. This provides a holistic and theoretically grounded conceptual approach to the research.

The content of this chapter can now be explained, since its relationship to the rest of the thesis has been clearly defined. The chapter has four sections: the first section introduces the main theories that underpin the formation of businesses, whilst exploring the role of geography in enterprise formation and development; the second section focuses on ethnic entrepreneurship, whilst informing on themes arising from this research and identifying some gaps, which will be explored in this research. Section three focuses on transnational entrepreneurship, particularly its link to ethnic entrepreneurship, and also gaps in the current debate. The final section draws together the main themes and results of this chapter, highlights elements which will be discussed further in the empirical chapters and outlines the purpose of Chapter Three.

2.2 Defining entrepreneurship

Anyone working in the field of entrepreneurship cannot help but notice the lack of precision in defining the entrepreneur and entrepreneurship. Thomas and Willard (1995) are right in pointing out the fact that the pursuit of entrepreneurship studies is an 'entrepreneurial act' in its own right precisely because of the inherent problems of researching the topic. There are different approaches to the understanding of entrepreneurship, as the field of entrepreneurship is diverse and multidimensional, and has been explored from different perspectives (economy, psychology, sociology, social science), including geography, hence the difficulty in developing a simple account of debates in this area. Given that many of the approaches used are generic theories which do not deal with Polish entrepreneurs, there is a need to explore

them to provide a background to the origin of entrepreneurship and to highlight the fact that it took sometime before ethnic entrepreneurship and transnational entrepreneurship became part of the field of entrepreneurship, with specifically Polish entrepreneurship still hardly featured in the field.

Classical theories

As a field of intellectual enquiry, entrepreneurship studies has a very long tradition. The term 'entrepreneurship' was developed by the economist Richard Cantillon (1680-1734) in the mid-18th century (see Herbert and Link, 1988; Chell et al., 1991; Jones and Wadhwani, 2007). Cantillon (1775) introduced entrepreneurship as a broad concept in his *Essai Sur la Nature du Commerce en Général*. In his view, the term 'entreprendre' which means 'undertake', sees the entrepreneur as a risk taker who bought at a certain price and sold at an uncertain price to acquire profit (Herbert and Link, 1988; Van Praag, 1999), a coordinator and a link between producers and consumers (Grebel et al., 2003). His idea of uncertainty was initially constrained, but later taken up by Knight (1921) for a description of the differences between risk and uncertainty as a factor affecting economic agents. Quesnay (1988) changed the focus of the entrepreneur to one of economic growth (from an industry owner to a pure independent owner of business). Other economists such as Turgot (1776) joined Cantillon in the identification of entrepreneurs. The greatest advancement during this period came from the work of Jean Baptiste Say (1767-1832), who continued Turgot's work by making the entrepreneur a key figure in economic life, a leader and manager (Herbert and Link, 1988). This paved the way for

Schumpeter's (1934) theory of entrepreneurship, which was based on neoclassical constraints on the argument that there was no place for the entrepreneur in neoclassical theory (Bygrave and Hofer, 1991; Fillion, 1997).

Neoclassical theories

The neoclassical model was developed to understand "price-guided, rather than management-guided resource allocation" (Demsetz, 2001: p.1). One of its central beliefs is perfect competition and production of already set dictated prices and known technology. Unlike the classical model however, the neoclassical theories eliminated the inconsistent behaviour of the entrepreneurs, hence the argument that theorists from the Austrian school have little room for entrepreneurial activity and excluded the entrepreneur (Van Praag, 1999; Grebel et al., 2003). Lowrey (2003: p.6) explains that "the neoclassical theory of the firm fails to answer the questions, what is a firm, does it have a value, is a firm the entrepreneur, and what is entrepreneurship?".

The most influential scholar of this period was undoubtedly Joseph Schumpeter. To date, the study of entrepreneurship and economic development has been synonymous with the name Schumpeter (1934) for whom the entrepreneur is a key figure in economic development (Herbert and Link, 1988). Schumpeter (1934) first explained the conditions under which entrepreneurship grows and the specific functions of the entrepreneur in economic development. To Schumpeter, the function of the entrepreneur is to serve as a disruptive and dynamic force in an

economy that has reached a static equilibrium. Through carrying out 'new combinations', the entrepreneur disturbs the existing static equilibrium of an economy and forces it into disequilibrium. By investigating the dynamics behind empirically observable economic changes (innovations), he argues that the dynamic entrepreneur is one who innovates (Grebel et al., 2003; Acs and Armington, 2006). This process, famously coined 'creative destruction', is central to the Schumpeterian entrepreneur who brings about economic change and development. Hence Schumpeter developed a more general theory of entrepreneurship, concentrating on innovation, on the entrepreneurs' individual traits such as achievement, risk-taking, autonomy and self-efficacy, whilst Kirzner (1973) focused on market processes⁴ that were non-existent in the equilibrium theory. Economic agents are alerted to economic opportunities, which are abundant in a state of disequilibrium, and once they identify such opportunities they act upon them to improve their situation towards equilibrium through resource mobilisation and activation (Matthews, 2006). Kirzner's (1973) entrepreneur, 'the arbitrageur', is therefore an agent who identified a market opportunity and acts upon it to improve his position.

⁴ The Austrian school model of market process is an alternative to the equilibrium. Here, the assumption is that individuals within the institutions of a market economy trade and operate with each other to achieve their own goals. Through this process, individuals learn new information which causes them to revise their plans. According to Kirzner (1973: p.10) the market process is a "series of systematic changes in the interconnected network of market decisions".

New perspectives on entrepreneurship

The study of entrepreneurship declined during the Second World War but resumed, taking a multidisciplinary approach rather than a specific focus on the individual entrepreneur. During this period the research took a relational interaction-based route, and the entrepreneur was viewed as an organisation, a firm (Gartner, 1989), and an individual who aspired to wealth by gathering and managing resources to create enterprises. Research quickly gave way again to the individual entrepreneur with numerous researchers from various disciplines entering the sphere, investigating the personal traits and characteristics of the entrepreneur (Gartner, 1989; McClelland, 1961). Nevertheless, many researchers have adopted the behavioural approach to the study of entrepreneurs, including psychological and sociological approaches that focus on characteristics of entrepreneurs. The most dominant researchers working in this area were McClelland (1961) and Rotter (1966).

Psychological theories

Psychological theories aim to identify the traits and characteristics that help distinguish successful entrepreneurs, in particular the trait model stipulates that entrepreneurs have characteristics that help distinguish them from others (Koh, 1996). Much of the work on traits was built around the work of McClelland's (1961) need for achievement (nAch) and Rotter's locus of control (LOC) (Rotter, 1966). McClelland's (1961) view of the entrepreneur was of individuals with the desire to

set up goals and achieve them by themselves, and it seems that such individuals often succeed better as entrepreneurs (Littunen, 2000). High nAch individuals will engage in entrepreneurial activities with a high degree of individual responsibility that will require individual skills and effort (Shane et al., 2003). McClelland also believed that nAch leads to economic development, and as a result, developing countries should be provided with training on achievement rather than financial assistance (Cherrington, 1994, cited in De Philis, 1999), hence his deduction that culture was a strong determinant of business establishment. Many other researchers (Fineman, 1977; Johnson, 1990; Collins et al., 2000) have also identified links between nAch and entrepreneurial activity, confirming McClelland's theory. However, they were often subject to criticism and it was reported that nAch was not the most important factor in business establishment (Low and MacMillan, 1988; Bonnett and Furnham, 1991). Low and MacMillan (1988) criticised the psychological theories as having "definitional and methodological problems, such as the use of non-comparable samples, bias toward successful entrepreneurs, and the possibility that observed entrepreneurial traits are the product of entrepreneurial experience" (ibid: p.148). They concluded that all of these problems made it difficult to interpret the results, and that future research should address the links between entrepreneurial motivations and individuals' prior experience.

Sociological theories

A dominant theme in entrepreneurship studies is that entrepreneurs and their activities are best understood in the context of society. Sociological theories developed a human perspective on entrepreneurship, exploring attributes such as culture (Weber, 1984), social class and ethnic groups (Aldrich and Waldinger, 1990), and inferring that differences in individuals can be used to predict differences in entrepreneurship (Thornton, 1999). Johnson (1990) suggested that the environmental context was important for entrepreneurial motivation and progress. This argument is shared by Reynolds (1991) who also investigated the social environment within which entrepreneurial activities occur. He concluded that traits-based theories failed to predict entrepreneurship because they did not take into account the social environment and therefore suggested four types of social context for entrepreneurial opportunity (Reynolds, 1991). These were social networks, life course stages, ethnic identification and population ecology. Social network theories stress the importance of trust in a relationship (Larson, 1992, cited in Greve and Salaff, 2003), while the life course approach investigates the life situation and characteristics of individuals involved in entrepreneurship. Ethnic identification highlights the importance of the individual's background as a push factor in entrepreneurship, whilst the population ecology idea provides an analytical view of the organisation in relation to its environment (Amit et al., 1990).

There is growing awareness of the importance of venture creation and the path taken by individuals who become entrepreneurs (Bygrave and Hofer, 1991;

Wickham, 1998; Morris and Kurkatko, 2002). The process is multidimensional, complex and “there is no single well-worn route marched along again and again by entrepreneurs” (Hartman, 1983, cited in Gartner, 1985: p.697).

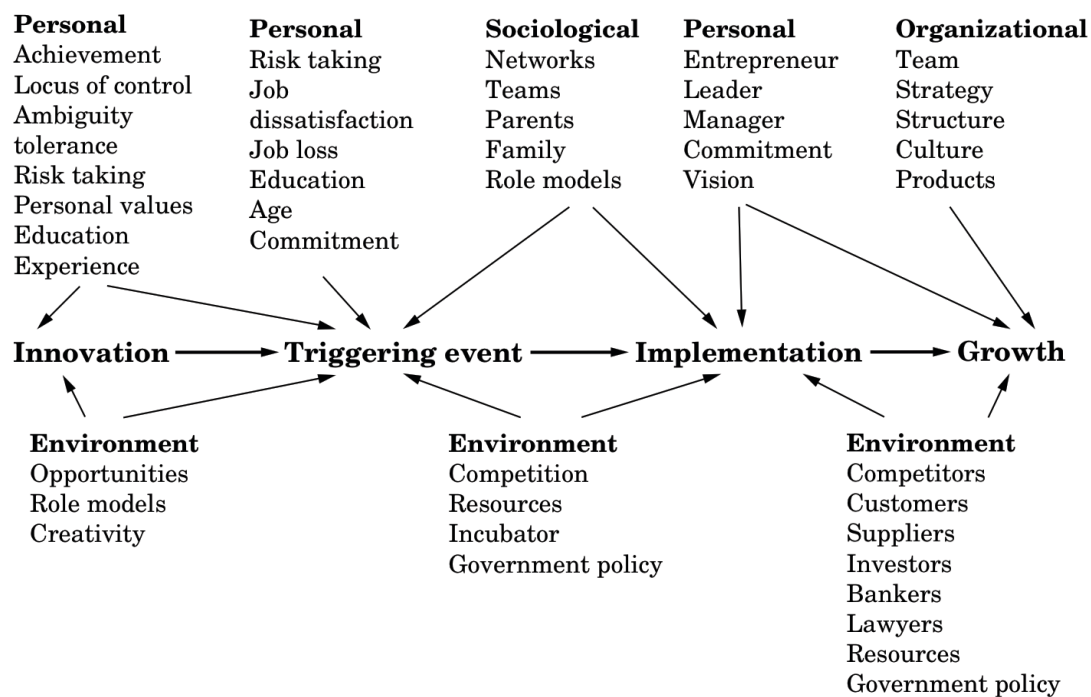
The entrepreneurial process

The entrepreneurial process is defined as “the process of establishing a business and involves the transition from pre-formation to the formation of a new business” (Van Auken, 2000, cited in Hung, 2006: p.361), or as Bygrave and Hofer (1991) put it: “...different functions, activities and actions which are associated with the perception of opportunities and the creation of business to pursue them”. The process of new venture creation has been explored from various perspectives and several models have been introduced to explain it: for instance Moore’s (1986) model which was later extended by Bygrave (1995) (Figure 2.2) explored the sociological, personal and environmental factors which drive entrepreneurship; Wickham’s (1998) resource model focused on four factors (the entrepreneur, opportunity, organisation and resources), highlighting the nature of the entrepreneur and the environment; and Morris and Kuratko’s (2002) model provided a more holistic process described as a model which implies a “continual search for profit maximisation” (Solymossy, 2005: p.4). In Moore’s descriptive model, the entrepreneurial process included the innovation, the triggering event, the implementation, and the growth of the business. The innovation process is the result of the personal characteristics of the would-be entrepreneur; the decision to become an entrepreneur is influenced by a triggering event such as a job loss, and

this leads to the entrepreneur's action to scan the environment for recourses to establish the business.

Once established, the growth of the business is influenced by a number of factors including the environment (for instance, the level of competition, the availability of resources and government policy), the characteristics of the entrepreneur (for instance, his/her commitment to the business and abilities as a manager), and organisational factors (for instance, the organisational culture and strategies adopted within the business).

Figure 2.2 A model of the entrepreneurial process



Source: Bygrave (2003, p.3). Based on Carol Moore's model, presented in Understanding Entrepreneurial Behaviour. In Pearce II, J. A. and Robinson, Jr. R. B. (Eds.). *Academy of Management Best Papers Proceedings*, Forty Sixth Meeting of the Academy of Management, Chicago, 1986.

The entrepreneurial process is holistic integrating a number of factors (Figure 2.2), including the individual who is starting the venture (taking account of his/her characteristics), the organisation (the type of enterprise) to be created, the environment (the situation surrounding and influencing the new venture creation), the new venture process (the actions taken by the individual starting the venture), and other factors (such as the environment) which will influence the business's growth.

The time at which these events of the entrepreneurial process occur is based on a number of factors and decisions. These will be explored in Chapter Five. In order to do this it is necessary to consider the theory behind time geographies. This will enable an extensive understanding of the importance of the role of time in migrant entrepreneurship. Time-space geography or time geography can be traced back to the Swedish geographer Hägerstrand (1970), who emphasised the temporal factor in spatial human activities. Although such works on time-space geographies are highly influential and critical to social theory, it is not without its critics (Merriman, 2012). Hägerstrand (1970), Thrift (1983), Giddens (1979; 1981) and others, treat time and space as passive, noun-based, social creations. However, in ethnic entrepreneurship the role of time is far from passive. Therefore, instead of time, migrant entrepreneurship should use the concept of timing to describe the moment of migration, the entrepreneurial act and its locational choice. Timing is a far more active concept than time. The concept of timing complements the existing discourses on time-space geographies and is a useful way of developing the idea. As such timing

is more suited to discussions of entrepreneurial processes than time. This concept is developed further in Chapter Five.

The entrepreneurial environment

Sociological theories of entrepreneurship highlight the important influence of the entrepreneurial environment on businesses. This is not only critical in how new entrepreneurs and new businesses are created but also once an enterprise has been established (Figure 2.2). Adaptation can be defined as the actions of the entrepreneur and his/her team in processing information inputs from the environment and making rapid adjustments to this feedback (McKee et al., 1989; Stoica and Schindehutte, 1999; Woo et al., 1990). It involves changes in strategic behaviour, so as to improve competitive posture and achieve a better fit between the organisation and its environment or ecological niche. No organisation can be completely static over time, and so some level of adjustment, change or improvement would seem inherent in operating a venture. However, the motivating factors of adaptation, the degrees of adaptation that occur, and the outcomes of this adaptation, are likely to vary considerably as a function of a variety of factors (Chakravarthy, 1982).

Research on the entrepreneurial environment is highly fragmented (Gnyawali and Fogel, 1994), resulting in a poor understanding of how the environment spawns entrepreneurs and generates new businesses (Thornton and Flynn, 2005). In particular, studies fail to link entrepreneurship to the external environment

(Thornton, 1999). Further research is therefore required into the link between the external environment and how this impacts on entrepreneurship, particularly the external environmental factors in question and how entrepreneurs adapt their businesses to this. This topic is explored in Chapter Seven.

2.3 Ethnic Entrepreneurship

The term 'ethnic' is an adjective used to refer to differences between categories of people (Petersen, 1980). In relation to groups, it implies sharing of origin and culture. When attached to entrepreneurship it may be assumed that it is no more than a set of connections and regular patterns of interaction among people sharing a common national background or migratory experience (Aldrich and Waldinger, 1990). Classic works on ethnicity and entrepreneurship can be traced back to Sombart (1914), Weber (1930), and Simmel (1950). Their notion of 'the stranger as a trader', together with the social structure of societies and pervasive religious cannons, have influenced later literatures on ethnic entrepreneurship (Volery, 2007).

Certain ethnic groups, because of peculiar social organisation and institutional contexts, tend to be more entrepreneurial across borders. For example, Aldrich and Waldinger (1990: p.113) observed that "some ethnic groups, particularly among first and second generation immigrants, have higher rates of business formation and ownership than do others". Many of these business groups (e.g. Chinese business people) like to draw upon entrepreneurial resources that are embedded in their ethnic networks and family ties. These resources are termed 'social capital'.

Defining ethnic entrepreneurship

The growth of new ethnic populations in Europe since 1945, as well as new waves of immigrants to the United States after the 1965 reform of immigration laws, has made ethnic enterprise a topic of international concern. The new ethnic populations are growing at a time of restructuring in western economies, and large numbers of immigrant and ethnic minorities find themselves caught in the conjuncture of changing conditions (Aldrich and Waldinger, 1990: p.111-112). Some ethnic groups have responded by entering business ownership and indeed some observers have seen ethnic entrepreneurship as a possible avenue out of disadvantage. But not all groups have entered equally into self-employment and not all have been equally successful (Waldinger et al., 1990: p.13).

Models developed over the past three decades on ethnicity and entrepreneurship attempt to provide explanations as to why and how these groups establish businesses. Similar to the study of entrepreneurship itself, ethnic entrepreneurship studies include studies based on cultural (Ram and Jones, 1998), sociological (Light and Gold, 2000), and psychological perspectives (Van Vuuren and Boshodd, 1994; De Klerk, 1998). Initial theories of ethnic entrepreneurship came from sociology, including 'structural theories' (Srinivasan, 1992; Saxenian, 1999), whereby the approach considers the issue of ethnicity and how constraints faced by minority individuals (such as discrimination and limited employment in the wider society), may lead to becoming self-employed. The 'cultural theories' (Wilson and Portes, 1980) focus on the characteristics of the ethnic groups in establishing businesses and

the emphasis is placed on the entrepreneurs being equipped with culturally determined characteristics, including dedication to hard work and strong ethnic community links (Werbner, 1990).

Similarly, Aldrich and Waldinger's (1990) 'interactive model' suggested that understanding immigrant and ethnic entrepreneurial strategies required a focus on ethnic and social-cultural factors combined with politico-economic factors. According to them, there are three dimensions of ethnic enterprise that should be considered: an ethnic group's access to opportunities, the characteristics of a group, and emergent strategies. Their review is based on the observation that some ethnic groups, particularly among first and second-generation immigrants, have higher rates of business formation and ownership than do others. To the extent that the higher levels of entrepreneurship cannot be explained solely by personal characteristics of owners, they turn to social structural and cultural conditions for an explanation. Four issues emerge as requiring greater attention: the reciprocal relation between ethnicity and entrepreneurship, more careful use of ethnic labels and categories in research, a need for more multi-group, comparative research, and more process-oriented research designs (Aldrich and Waldinger, 1990: p.111). They conclude that more dynamic research designs, such as panel studies, are clearly needed (Aldrich and Waldinger, 1990: p.132). Although a number of researchers consider this model a step towards a more theoretical approach, there has been criticism. Light and Rosenstein (1995) highlighted methodological flaws as not enough attention is paid to gender issues.

Using a similar approach, Aldrich et al. (1984) focus on the emergence of Asian business activity in Britain. They detail how academic opinion is torn between two opposed views of the Asian position in British society. One body of writers gives primacy to ethnic solidarity and argues that, “as an exclusive self-isolating brotherhood, Asians set themselves goals separate from those of majority society and are largely successful in achieving them” (Dahya, 1974, cited in Aldrich et al., 1984: p.190). Opponents of this rather harmonious picture stress racial disadvantage rather than ethnic advantage, exclusion rather than exclusiveness. According to their view, “ethnic autonomy in limited and marginal sectors of society is of little consequence in itself, serving only as a smokescreen for the real barrier preventing free access to employment, housing and other social resources” (Aldrich et al., 1984: p. 190).

The ‘contextual theories’ deal with contemporary social relations. For example, the role of ethnicity as a force for entrepreneurial development has been systematically examined by Bonacich (1973), who used the term ‘middleman minority’ to describe immigrant groups whose business ownership is extensive enough to provide a major source of livelihood for group members. Bonacich argued that the commercial prowess of such groups is essentially attributable to their position as non-members of society.

More recently, the ‘mixed embeddedness approach’, takes into account the “characteristics of the supply of immigrant entrepreneurs, the shape of the opportunity structure, and the institutions mediating between aspiring

entrepreneurs and concrete openings to start a business” (Kloosterman and Rath, 2003: p.9). Ram (1997: p.1) discusses whether ethnic minority enterprise is a “routinely rational economic activity, no different from other small-scale endeavours, or whether it is a distinctive phenomenon which demonstrates the influence of cultural resources on entrepreneurial activities”. His article highlights that a particularly important theme to have surfaced in recent years is the increasingly divergent experiences of ethnic minority groups in business. This is perhaps not too surprising given the different patterns of social, cultural and economic activities of Britain’s ethnic minorities (Jones, 1993). Yet, the increasing heterogeneity of the ethnic business sector is still too little appreciated (Ram, 1997). There are differences between ethnic minority groups; between generations; between different sectors; and between different stages of development. Ram asserts that both “policy and research practice needs to be sensitive to this rapidly changing context and guard against undifferentiated approaches to understanding ethnic minority businesses” (1997: p. 2). This heterogeneity of the ethnic business sector is a factor which will be considered in the thesis.

Ram (1997) also suggests that there is a need for further comparative work in this area, preferably within an explicitly qualitative framework. There is indeed ample scope to extend this comparative work to the examination of minority entrepreneurs in other countries. However, the advocacy of comparative research should not be at the expense of more detailed studies of particular communities. In-depth single community studies have deepened understanding of minorities in self-employment. Ram indicates that there is sufficient room for the study of entrepreneurially active

communities like the Chinese, in what he states is “as yet a seriously under-researched issue” (1997: p.2). Work by Bailey et al. (1995), Liao (1992) and Parker (1994) is beginning to fill in some of the more glaring gaps in our knowledge about the Chinese community and its entrepreneurs, but there is still more room for this activity (Ram, 1997: p.2), along with the study of other single ethnic communities.

Another under-reported area is the role of ethnic minority women in self-employment. For instance, although South Asian women are much less likely to be self-employed than men from the same community, their “behind the scenes” role in small enterprises is often unacknowledged (Ram, 1994). The dimensions and dynamics of women’s contribution in such circumstances deserve further illumination. In relation to this, although African-Caribbean women are more likely to be self-employed than African-Caribbean men, their experiences too are little documented (Ram, 1997: p.4). The role of self-employed women is a topic that requires further consideration.

‘Break-out’ and accessing markets

It has long been argued that co-ethnic customer dependency places serious restrictions on business development (Aldrich et al., 1981), and the advancement of ethnic firms. For these firms to grow and expand it is important to ‘break-out’ into mainstream unbounded markets in higher order sectors (Jones et al., 2002). For many first generation ethnic businesses, survival and success has frequently been categorised by two components in relation to markets. First, establishing and

operating within 'protected' markets (Light, 1972) whereby advantage was taken of specialist knowledge of co-ethnic tastes, and businesses were established in order to provide such commodities. This often resulted in protection from competition from the general white-dominated economy (McEvoy and Hafeez, 2006). Second, by establishing businesses to supply goods and services to the indigenous population. In this situation, businesses were mostly based around retailing and manufacturing sectors and this process was termed the 'middleman minority' perspective.

Break-out strategies have been associated with the 'middleman minority' model initiated in the United States by Bonacich (1973) and have been evident in Britain amongst the South Asian and Chinese restaurant sectors that serve specialist cuisines to mainstream populations and the establishment of convenience stores selling newspapers, cigarettes, alcohol and foods to the mainstream population (McEvoy and Hafeez, 2006).

Studies on the 'break-out' processes have frequently conceptualised it as a set of four market spaces (Jones and McEvoy, 1992; Barrett et al., 1996; Barrett et al., 2001). Ethnic businesses usually begin with ethnic closure in which there is a local market concentration of co-ethnics, found in highly concentrated ethnic groups. There is limited profitability in ethnic closures, which frequently results from co-ethnic poverty, the size of the community and co-ethnic competition. In seeking break-out, businesses can move to one of three alternative market spaces. The first being a local 'non-ethnic' niche, associated with the typical 'middleman' strategies, such as convenience retailing and hot food takeaways. Firms escape the limitation of

serving only ethnic minorities, however, there are still restrictions related to small-scale, low-order activities and the neighbourhood effect. The second break-out process is the ethnic non-local market. This consists of firms expanding trade to other geographical spaces, whilst continuing to cater for minority ethnic groups. They continue to retain some advantages related to ethnic networking although they avoid local market restrictions. The third, relates to non-ethnic and non-local markets. In this situation, firms succeeded by selling in many places, to a range of people.

Break-out is not only applied to firms and markets, but is also extended to traditional working practices, such as the reliance on family labour (Barrett et al., 2003). Ram (1994) emphasised working practices and industrial relations in the firms. Ethnicity is perceived as a positive resource to provide a certain level of scale, performance and ambition but “beyond that, it acts as a brake rather than an accelerator, for example, when kinship or communal obligations dictates nepotistic rather than meritocratic hiring practices” (Kloosterman and Rath, 2003: p. 114). Therefore, skills remain limited so the importance of working skills and behaviour is crucial, especially if break-out is to be achieved.

In a study of Birmingham’s restaurant trade, Ram et al. (2002) warned against using the market-space typology as a predictive tool. Their study found that the majority of Asian and African-Caribbean restaurants in the sample served non-ethnic and non-local clientele, but they did not necessarily profit from it. Break-out, despite capturing customers from many places, meant over-competition. Nevertheless, this

in turn led to some entrepreneurs being inspired to reposition themselves by product diversification. This happened in two ways. Firstly, by going up market and, secondly, by developing portfolio businesses. Growth and expansion was achieved through product differentiation, which again allowed break-out away from more traditional commodities. In the case of restaurants, distinctive cuisines were provided as opposed to some of the curry and Balti versions that are altered to capture the wider white market, and going up market with these commodities. These types of enterprise can hardly operate as traditional family businesses as they operate on a much larger scale than the Asian business norm. The proprietors become genuine owner-managers rather than hands-on operators. Such businesses require organisation, delegation, planning customer relation and all-round professionalism beyond the scope of the standard ethnic micro-business. Their capital requirements are far beyond that available from ethnic sources. Owners generally have a lengthy business track record enabling them to acquire all manner of mainstream society resources (Light and Bonacich, 1988) including credibility, contacts, self-confidence, creditworthiness and labour market requirements which extend beyond the family and even co-ethnic network.

The second strategy deployed is developing a portfolio business with expansion achieved through acquiring further businesses. This was very much evident in Ram et al.'s (2002) restaurant sample, where several of the owners held assets outside the catering sectors, such as property investments. Both of the above groups demonstrate the well-known principle of capital accumulation as a self-reinforcing process, and therefore, demonstrated that beyond a certain threshold, class

resources begin to take precedence over ethnic resources as the central business dynamic (status of being in the mainstream arena becomes important and therefore, professional/ qualified employees often replace informal co-ethnic support). Despite these accounts, little is known about the break-out strategies of entrepreneurs from more recently arrived ethnic groups and this is something which will be explored in the thesis.

Entrepreneurial networks: social, financial and business related

The network concept dates back to the 1930s in organisational research and the 1950s in anthropology and sociology (Nohria, 1992). Over the past few decades, interest in this concept has grown especially in relation to business-related activities (Nohria and Eccles, 1992; Easton and Araujo, 1986). Within the literature on entrepreneurship, the 'network approach to entrepreneurship' holds a prominent theoretical perspective.

There are a number of debates focusing on these entrepreneurial networks (Aldrich and Zimmer, 1986; Uzzi, 1996; Mitchell, 2003). However, two distinct approaches stand out. The first is related to 'personal networks' that support entrepreneurship and centre on the individual in relation to their business activities (as a founder and operator). The second approach takes into account the organisational networks of the businesses and refers to the collective relations of new firms and their embeddedness in networks (Dubini and Aldrich, 1991; Uzzi, 1996). The personal network perspective can be divided into formal and informal networks: the former

consists of financial institutions, government business organisations as well as private funded business institutions, and the latter consists of family, friends and informal organisations including religious institutions.

Entrepreneurs tend to combine a number of resources to gather information to establish their businesses (Salaff et al., 2003). In setting up a business they also require access to their complementary resources in order to produce and deliver their goods (Teece, 1987). The process of raising money, developing technology, locating materials, obtaining training, hiring workers, finding and developing markets and shaping products to fit clients' needs is facilitated by an individual's social networks (Gabbay and Leenders, 1999). People are linked to organisations that themselves interact. These contacts provide a firm with access to the resources that sustain a new firm (Hansen, 1995).

The literature on personal networks emphasises the significance of this approach in relation to entrepreneurship (Birley, 1985; Aldrich et al., 1997; Aldrich and Zimmer, 1986; Aldrich, 1989; Boissevain et al., 1990; Nohria, 1992; Donckels and Lambrecht, 1997; Sanders and Nee, 1996). This suggests that entrepreneurship is based around a social role that is embedded in a social, political and cultural context (Aldrich and Zimmer, 1986). Entrepreneurs are seen as organisers and coordinators of resources (Herbert and Link, 1989); social activity and social interactions play a key part in this process. When forming a new business, existing social relationships are activated and new ones created, entrepreneurship becomes a rational task, a combinational problem and is "inherently a networking activity" (Dubini and Aldrich, 1991: p.306).

Furthermore, networking positions the entrepreneurs in a social context (Low and MacMillan, 1988). The social network literature suggests that entrepreneurs attempt to mobilise, and benefit from their social networks when establishing their businesses (Aldrich, 1999). Such networks reflect relationships between the entrepreneur and those who are involved in the process of delivering resources required to establish the business (Johannisson, 1988; Larson, 1991).

Birley's (1985) study in Indiana focused on the role that networks play in the founding of new firms. The study identified two network types: informal consisting of family and friends, and formal consisting of banks, accountants and lawyers. She concluded by arguing that entrepreneurship relies on informal networks and rarely taps into formal networks (Birley, 1985). Aldrich and Zimmer (1986) advanced understanding of network theory by exploring the entrepreneurial process as a shifting network of continuing social relations that facilitate and constrain; new firm formation is part of an evolutionary process of "variation, selection, retention, and diffusion and the struggle for existence" (Aldrich and Zimmer, 1986: p.9). Network activities and network support are used to establish new firms and social networks stimulate entrepreneurship (Burt, 1992). It is clear that various networks may contribute to business establishment, operation, and growth and expansion.

Networks influence the entrepreneurial process and its outcome (Hoang and Antoncic, 2003) and, therefore, it is important to understand the network concept. The effectiveness of a network is measured by strong and weak ties. It is these different forms of ties that provide distinct and different resources. The majority of

networks studies are characterised by the use and application of Granovetter's strong and weak ties hypothesis. According to Granovetter (1973, p.1361) "the strength of ties within a network defines the strength and quality of relations". He differentiated between strong and weak ties and described how the diversity, homogeneity and heterogeneity of these ties impact on the actions of individuals. Strong ties (friends) are the result of frequent interaction that occurs at least twice a week. Therefore, strength of the network is based on the frequency of interaction. Granovetter (1973) and Burt (1992) maintained that a network should consist of both strong and weak ties. The nature of these ties influenced the operation and structure of networks. In other words, weak ties, described as heterogeneous ties, are perceived as a significant part of a social structure as they enable information to flow into other social clusters as well as the broader society (Burt, 1992). Therefore, the value and strength of weak ties is not related to the weakness of the relationship, but on the possibility of connections to other social systems (Ibarra, 1993). Granovetter (1985: p.490) emphasised that the information and support gained via strong ties offered multiple benefits, such as it being cheap, more trustworthy, more detailed and accurate. It comes from continuing relationships and is therefore more reliable. However, strong ties were perceived as being less beneficial than weak ties, since they were more likely to provide redundant information (Burt, 1992). The homogeneity of strong ties creates local cohesion and is considered to be less effective compared to weak ties. Granovetter's (1973) strong tie thesis is about frequency of contact and the quality and intensity of relationships.

Ethnic networks are recognised as important components of business success (Aldrich and Zimmer, 1986; Waldinger, 1988; Bonacich et al., 1977; Ram, 1994; Deakins et al., 1977; Dhailwal, 1998; Dyer and Ross, 2000). Previous studies have suggested that ethnic networks act as informal business incubators, by nurturing new businesses as well as assisting in their growth by providing varying amounts of physical and intellectual resources (Green and Butler, 1996; Green, 1997).

Iyer and Sahpiro (1999) developed an evolutionary business model in relation to ethnic business success that emphasised the significance of social capital, networks, and the relationship to international businesses. Their framework suggested that an immigrant first begins by supplying co-ethnic labour in ethnic enclaves, second moves into self-employment still remaining in the ethnic enclave, third moves on by expanding horizontally to the wider non-ethnic markets, fourth, begins to make international investment with businesses back home, fifth, initiates international expansion and finally develops lateral links between multiple business interests in their homeland and host country. The network is important as each stage contributes to business success, and demonstrates the factors which relate to transnational entrepreneurial links.

There is recognition that ethnic businesses utilise various modes of support from informal networks, mostly these tend to be family and co-ethnic friends. This type of support can range from human capital to financial capital. Those who are closest to us are often important in providing resources required for business survival and success (Steier, 2009). Therefore, existing social groups such as families are

important for new firm creation especially based on trust which occurs at a family level (Sundaramurthy, 2008) and this makes them an important form of social capital. In terms of the resource-case view of the firm, Sirmon and Hitt (2003) emphasised how social capital acted as a specific resource for family firms: the 'familiness'⁵ approach (Habbershon and Williams, 1999; Tokarczyk et al., 2007) implied that a unique bundle of resources that reside in family networks can be used for business advantage (Steier, 2009). However, such functions are initiated through family networks themselves, especially in the case of nascent entrepreneurs, who may be cut off from the opportunities and resources required for firm formation (Aldrich and Ruef, 2006).

Family networks in entrepreneurship studies play a visible and invisible role in firm formation. Family contribution may be based on the strength of relationship ties. Individuals draw on weak ties to pass on information they would not obtain from their close ties (Granovetter, 1973) and strong ties such as family for accessing resources (Krackhardt, 1992). Entrepreneurial family networks take on diverse roles consisting of tangible and non-tangible inputs, such as financial support, unwaged and low waged labour, and intellectual property. In addition, they may also act as informal 'sign-posters', whereby they release business-related information in terms of marketing the product or service. The role of entrepreneurial family networks is the focus of Chapter Six and will be explored in further detail.

⁵ The familiness approach has been acknowledged as an appropriate framework for exploring how families find advantage and for exploring the relationship of that advantage to performance outcomes (Habbershon and Williams, 1999).

Family financial support into new business set-ups is not only substantial but it is also known to significantly increase entry into entrepreneurship (Basu, 1998). Furthermore, using this avenue often means that the banking system is 'by-passed' and businesses still manage to survive (Jones et al., 1989: p.1994). Recent studies show that in comparison to white-owned businesses, ethnic minority businesses experience finance constraints particularly at start up stages (Ram and Smallbone, 2001), and even now in relation to these constraints and financial preferences (i.e. avoiding bank loans as they are often expensive) entrepreneurs tend to rely on informal sources (Basu, 1998; Hussain and Matlay, 2007). Further research is necessary on the role of family support, particularly financial assistance, amongst entrepreneurs from recently arrived ethnic groups.

Individuals may also rely on external sources to aid start-up, growth and expansion. These may include private sector (accountants, consultants, and banks), and/or the public sector (government advice services). Furthermore, there are also many business support organisations that provide enterprise support.

Business associations have a number of functions including social networking opportunities, marketing and collective purchasing, self-regulation and lobbying to representation of the interest of the business (Bennet and Ramsden, 2007). Bennet and Ramsden (2007) found that in Britain, small and medium firms belonged to approximately two associations, on average, and this number increased with firm size. The services offered by the association covered a common core of information, advice, lobbying/representation and networking. Approximately 80 per cent of the

firms in the study were associated with trade and professional associations, with the most popular being the Chamber of Commerce, Federation of Small Business (FSB) and the Institute of Directors (IoD). In conclusion, Bennett and Ramsden (2007) confirmed that firms seek advice from a number of associations to meet their needs. In terms of ethnic businesses, studies suggest that ethnic groups tend to access external advice (Ram et al., 2002). Fraser (2007) whose research focuses on diverse types of advice used by businesses and how these differ by ethnicity found that for start-up advice 16 per cent of Indian entrepreneurs relied on bank managers, 16 per cent used accountants, and 60 per cent had no source of advice. Further research needs to be undertaken to explore business support for entrepreneurs from ethnic groups which have recently arrived in the UK.

Ethnic Entrepreneurship in Birmingham and the West Midlands

The West Midlands, and in particular the city of Birmingham, has been the focus of much of the literature on ethnic entrepreneurship. For instance, in *The 'Global' in the City Economy: Multicultural Economic Development in Birmingham*, McEwan, et al. (2005) draw on existing critiques to explore Birmingham, the UK's second largest metropole, as a 'global' city. They do so by highlighting forms of economic globalisation that draw on the city's residents, their histories and their social and cultural networks. Despite their economic, social and political marginalisation and exclusion from representations of the city, Birmingham's minority ethnic communities have long been a source of economic vitality and innovation. Birmingham has received little attention as a 'global city', yet its place in the global

economy is evolving in new ways that are often related to its multiculturalism, post-colonialism and the transnationalism of many of its residents (McEwan et al., 2005: p.917). As a destination for overseas investment, through its historical (colonial) links as the 'workshop of the world' (Bryson et al., 1996), and its postcolonial and other migratory paths, Birmingham can claim to be a multicultural city. The 2001 census revealed that 26.4 per cent of the city's population categorised themselves as other than 'White', with 19.5 percent of the population (over 190,000) identifying themselves as Asian/Asian British (ONS, 2001). The argument here is that this diversity is recognised as a strength and, indeed, as a route to economic development (Henry, 1998). Although data is scarce, some figures suggest that up to 33 per cent of Birmingham's business activity occurs within minority ethnic owned enterprises (The Economist, 1998).

The growth of the ethnic food industry in Birmingham is one example of the transnational links in ethnic enterprises in the city. Ethnic food manufacturing for both national and international distribution has grown significantly since the 1990s. This phenomenon might be linked to the concentration of 'ethnic' restaurants in the city. Ram et al. (2000) reject the idea of an ethnic enclave creating economic advantage in the city of Birmingham. Instead, they argue that the Balti industry is marginal and sub-optimal, with the result that individual businesses struggle to make a profit. While this is the case with the Balti restaurant business, other food networks in Birmingham present a somewhat different picture. These tend to be less visible and less consumer-orientated than the Balti industry, with more room for

manoeuvre and innovation. Some have been, effectively 'market makers' because of their transnational linkages (McEwan et al., 2005: p. 923).

One example is *East End Foods*, a family-run grocery wholesaling and cash and carry operation set up in 1972 and now one of the UK's largest importers/exporters of Indian foods, including pulses, rice, and pickles (McEwan et al., 2005). The company, housed in large premises at Digbeth and Smethwick, employs 130 people and had a turnover of £90 million in 2003-2004. It began as a small grocery shop selling to both Asian and European customers, using a small amount of personal capital and extensive credit from Asian suppliers. The company now sources from as far away as Australia and New Zealand and exports beyond the EU to Canada and the USA. Ethnic food manufacturers, such as *East End Foods*, are likely to have a competitive advantage as they make use of transnational and local trade links, overcoming barriers to trade by building on relationships based on a combination of family, ethnic and other business ties. These transnational linkages have helped to establish Birmingham as a "world class centre of excellence for ethnic food production" (Spooner, 2000: p.3).

Despite such success stories, the era of 'super-diversity', poses a number of challenges for the study of ethnic minority entrepreneurship (Ram et al., 2008). For instance, there is a preoccupation of existing studies with settled minority communities rather than the increasingly diverse communities that are now present in many British cities. In London, in 2001, there were forty-two migrant communities with a population of 10,000 or more (GLA, 2005). Yet, most studies of ethnic

minority enterprise focus on the African-Caribbean, South Asian and, to a lesser extent, Chinese groups. With such challenges in mind, Ram et al. (2008) examine the dynamics of business activity amongst Somalis who have recently arrived in the city of Leicester. Truly transnational in character, the overseas Somali communities are inter-connected through elaborate informal systems of remittances and information exchange (Vertovec, 2006). To account for the phenomenon of Somalis in business- a community that is emblematic of the new diversity- Ram et al. (2008) forge a synthesis between Nee and Sanders' (2001) 'forms of capital' model and the increasingly significant 'mixed embeddedness' approach to ethnic minority enterprise.

Typical of many newly arrived Third World origin immigrant groups, Somalis in Leicester enjoy social capital, much embedded in tight-knit kinship networks. Where Somalis appear distinctive is in the extensive part played by transnational linkages, with many families maintaining ties of mutual aid with members in Somalia itself and with diaspora in various other countries (Ram et al., 2008: p.6-7). By contrast, there is a drastic deficit in financial capital, with many firms struggling to gain access to commercial credit sources. Essentially, as Nee and Sanders (2001) suggest, informal family and community provision act as compensatory- but rarely sufficient- financial support. Human-cultural capital is a more mixed bag. Intriguingly, Somalis closely resemble groups like East African Asians in that they often have business track records, experience gained before migration and have come to the UK with the purpose of entering self-employment. Many also possess formal qualifications but these overseas credentials tend not to be recognised in the UK (Ram et al., 2008:

p.7). This truly 'globalised' community routinely used diasporic links. These links are important sources of information, new markets and finance for some enterprises. They suggest the transnational character of the Somali community in Leicester. A similar study focusing on other ethnic groups in the West Midlands region would be beneficial to the field of ethnic entrepreneurship. As these examples demonstrate, ethnic entrepreneurship in the West Midlands, and beyond, often consists of interactions between a variety of individuals, in a variety of locations, throughout the world. As such, ethnic entrepreneurship is often an example of transnational entrepreneurship.

2.4 Transnational entrepreneurship

Transnational entrepreneurship is a rapidly emerging aspect of international business expansion that was insignificant only a few decades ago. The process of transnational entrepreneurship involves "entrepreneurial activities that are carried out in a cross-national context, and initiated by actors who are embedded in at least two different social and economic arenas" (Drori, et al., 2009: p. 1001). A common misunderstanding associated with transnational entrepreneurship is that it lies within the domain of international business studies. However, because it is predominantly concerned with the firm as a unit of analysis, international business scholarship fails to examine many of the distinctive properties and perspectives essential in understanding the dual nature of transnational entrepreneurship. Transnational entrepreneurship is better understood as a cross-fertilisation between the fields of international business studies and entrepreneurship. As

entrepreneurship has already been explored in detail, the next sub-section outlines international business studies so that the two fields can be combined to provide an understanding of transnational entrepreneurship.

International Business Studies

International business and production have occupied an important position in the academic pursuit of business and management studies. Researchers from such academic disciplines as economics, international business, international political economy, and economic geography have pursued serious studies of the transnational corporation since the 1960s (Yeung, 2007: p.6). Any cursory review of international business studies, however, shows that there is unfortunately no room for the entrepreneur and entrepreneurship in existing international business studies. Yeung (2007) attempts to review critically three strands of literature in international business studies and related disciplines that have incorporated the role of the entrepreneur and entrepreneurship in their analysis: (1) the entrepreneurial decision model of TNC (Transnational Corporations); (2) corporate entrepreneurship and subsidiary initiatives; and (3) impact of TNCs on domestic entrepreneurship.

Casson (1985) has contributed significantly to international business theories of entrepreneurship and the transnational corporation by developing an *entrepreneurial decision model of the TNC*. His analysis of the internationalisation process of the TNC focuses on the channels through which the entrepreneur acquires information about potential overseas markets (Yeung, 2007: p.7). Yeung (2002: p.32) suggests that the entrepreneurial decision model of the TNC is likely to inform his “conceptualisation of the nature of the transnational entrepreneur as a social actor in control of resources in different countries”.

A recent drive to understand the role of subsidiary initiatives in the global reach of transnational corporations has led to an integration of studies of corporate entrepreneurship and international business. In particular, Birkinshaw (1997; 2000) has drawn upon ideas of corporate ‘champions’ (Schon, 1963) and corporate entrepreneurship in the strategic management literature to advance his empirical studies of the role of the subsidiary initiatives in the global firm (Yeung, 2007: p.7). Yeung (2002: p.32) asserts that the study of corporate entrepreneurship and subsidiary initiatives has demonstrated the need for proven resources within the TNC. This further testifies the relevance of a resource-based view of transnational entrepreneurship (Penrose, 1995; Garnsey, 1998).

Thirdly, the role of foreign TNCs in influencing domestic entrepreneurship is an important area of research in international business and development studies. Most impact studies have focused on the impact of TNC activities on regional development in host countries. Few empirical studies have been conducted on the

impact of TNC activities on local entrepreneurship. Studies of TNC impact on host countries have shown the importance of understanding the institutional context of host countries in which TNC subsidiaries are located. This focus on host country institutional context is relevant to the institutional perspective on transnational entrepreneurship. It is also important to our understanding of what exactly shapes the entrepreneurial processes of those subsidiaries (Yeung, 2002: p.32).

Transnationalising Entrepreneurship

International business activities clearly pose serious challenges to transnational entrepreneurs and their TNCs. Meeting these challenges of international business requires transnational entrepreneurship, defined simply as “the exceptional qualities required in the processes of creating and sustaining particular business ventures across national boundaries by social actors” (Yeung, 2002: p.32). These social actors are, of course, defined as *transnational entrepreneurs*. To understand more about both transnational entrepreneurs and transnational entrepreneurship Yeung (2002) revisits decades of entrepreneurship and international business studies. He argues that the study of transnational entrepreneurship can offer a new horizon to integrate “these two rather disparate strands of theoretical and empirical literature” (Yeung, 2002: p.31).

The theoretical insights explored in the previous sections can be used to inform the theory of transnational entrepreneurship. In a review article on comparative entrepreneurship in international business studies, Thomas and Mueller (2000:

p.288) observed that “the absence of a strong theoretical foundation has contributed to the fragmentation of entrepreneurship research, often resulting in studies that examine the same or similar issues from diverse disciplinary perspectives while ignoring others”. Yeung’s (2007) article, *Transnationalizing Entrepreneurship: A Critical Agenda for Economic-Geographical Research*, aims to show how the concept and perspective together can unite the intellectual concerns of the two fields through mutually converging processes of the internationalisation and institutionalisation in entrepreneurship studies, and the reassertion of entrepreneurs and intrapreneurs in international business studies. There are consequently at least two theoretical implications from this study of entrepreneurship in international business that informs entrepreneurship studies: the relevance of transnationalising entrepreneurship and the role of institutional analysis.

Yeung (2002: p.30) conceptualises ‘transnational entrepreneurs’ as “business-persons who take specific proactive action to overcome inherent problems and difficulties associated with international business activities”. Their actions, however, are both facilitated and constrained by ongoing processes of institutional relations in both home and host countries. In its essence, an institutional perspective on transnational entrepreneurship postulates that significant variations in institutional structures of home countries explain variations in the entrepreneurial endowments of prospective transnational entrepreneurs. These institutional structures inherently shape the logics governing economic decision-making, actions, values, views, norms, practices, and the so-called “rules of the game” (Yeung, 2002: p.40). These

institutional relations may be defined by “the social and business networks, in which these transnational entrepreneurs are embedded, political-economic structures, and dominant organisational and cultural practices in the home and host countries” (Yeung, 2002: p.30).

The lack of integration and cross-fertilisation between entrepreneurship studies and international business studies has been the main obstacle to a fuller understanding of the nature and processes of transnational entrepreneurship. A casual online keyword search of the Social Sciences Citation Index published by the Institute for Scientific information is instructive here. Between 1988 and 2001, there were respectively 1,199 and 1,470 articles published in about 1,600 journals that contain the keywords ‘entrepreneurship’ and ‘entrepreneurs’. Only two articles contain respectively such keywords as ‘transnational AND entrepreneurship’ and ‘transnational AND entrepreneurs’. A further ten articles contain keywords ‘international entrepreneurship’ and ‘international entrepreneurs’ (Yeung, 2002: p.36). These crude statistics show that while much has been published on entrepreneurship and entrepreneurs *per se* during the past few decades, the fields ‘transnational entrepreneurship’ and ‘international entrepreneurship’ are still emerging and relatively young in the historiography of entrepreneurship.

A possible reason for the lack of cross-fertilisation between the fields of entrepreneurship studies and international business studies could be partially due to the lack of precision when defining key concepts. Along these lines, Yeung (2002) suggests that defining the nature of transnational entrepreneurship is never easy for

at least three reasons. First, as already highlighted, it is always problematical to define the term 'entrepreneur'. Second, the definition of the entrepreneur and entrepreneurship has become a "terminological jungle that virtually anyone can plant his/her own tree" (Yeung, 2002: p.37). Third, very different views of entrepreneurship exist in different academic disciplines.

A further reason why defining the nature of transnational entrepreneurship is not an easy task, lies in the ambiguity of transnational activity. Transnationalism can be defined as "an ongoing series of cross-border movements in which immigrants develop and maintain numerous economic, political, social and cultural links in more than one nation" (Mitchell, 2000: p.853). One of the key components of transnationalism is the "multiplicity of involvements that transmigrants sustain in both home and host societies" (Basch et al., 1994: p.7). The concept is often invoked between those seeking a middle ground between proclamations of the death of the state and exaggerated claims of its ongoing vitality (Held et al., 1999). Furthermore, it is important to consider what transnational entrepreneurship actually consists of and how businesses generate value by bringing together activities based around the globe.

Other scholars emphasise a further dimension to transnational entrepreneurship which is important in the consideration of ethnic entrepreneurship. For instance, Drori et al. (2009: p.1001) see transnational entrepreneurs as "individuals that migrate from one country to another, concurrently maintaining business related linkages with their former country of origin, and currently adopted countries and

communities". Therefore, it is not only the business activities that are transnational but also the geographical location of the entrepreneurs. According to this view, by travelling both physically and virtually, transnational entrepreneurs simultaneously engage in two or more socially embedded environments, allowing them to maintain critical global relations that enhance their ability to creatively, dynamically, and logistically maximise their resource base. Transnational entrepreneurs are therefore social actors who enact networks, ideas, information, and practices for the purpose of seeking business opportunities or maintaining businesses within dual social fields, which in turn force them to engage in varied strategies of action to promote their entrepreneurial activities.

Since information is critical to the success of any organisational endeavour, and because transnational entrepreneurs occupy two geographical locations that provide and support unique informational flows, "they are in a unique position to identify and exploit opportunities that might not be otherwise recognised" (Drori et al., 2009: p.9). In short, by virtue of their unique geographical affiliations, they may be in a unique position to exploit opportunities either unobserved, or unavailable, to other entrepreneurs located in a single geographical location.

In part, the growing impact of transnational entrepreneurship can be attributed to the changing nature of international migration and diasporas (Light, 2007; Riddle, 2008) and to the complex nature of international business activities (Yeung, 2002; Zahra and George, 2002). Added to this is the prevalence of email, fax, the Internet, cheap telephone services, and air travel, as well as increasingly heterogeneous

populations in many formerly mono-cultural cities and nations that provide a measure of support, both material and social (Riddle, 2008). The development of social networks, diffusion of information, and the creation of new markets are all significantly impacted by these factors that support transnational entrepreneurship activities. As a result, in recent years, the concept of transnational entrepreneurship as a distinctive attribute of globalisation has drawn considerable attention in social-science-related disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, economics, regional planning and economic geography (Light, 1972; Portes, 1987; Portes and Zhou, 1996; Portes et al., 2002; Saxenian et al., 2000).

By their nature, these diverse studies provide rigorous in-depth attention to issues associated with their respective disciplines. For example, sociologists view transnational entrepreneurship in terms of the immigrants' integration and economic adaptation (Light and Gold, 2000; Morawska, 2005; Portes and Jensen, 1989), or in terms of social structure and network relations of immigrant communities (Light and Gold, 2000). Also studied are demographic and social characteristics of transnational entrepreneurs, such as their growth rate, impact on particular industries, and integration into mainstream institutional frameworks (Light and Bonacich, 1988), and the propensity to become a transnational entrepreneur (Portes, 1995). Economic geographers and regional planners, on the other hand, view the role of transnational entrepreneurship as influencing the creation of business opportunities, as well as its impact on the transfer of knowledge, technology, and knowhow, and as a catalyst for the evolution of global production networks (Saxenian, 2002; Saxenian and Hsu, 2001).

Transnational entrepreneurship has been examined mainly on the basis of case studies that note its potential significance for immigrant integration into the receiving countries and for economic development in the countries of origin. Despite their suggestive character, these studies consistently sample on the dependent variable, failing to establish the empirical existence of transnational activities beyond a few descriptive examples and their possible determinants (Portes et al., 2001). In response, Portes et al. (2001) address these issues on the basis of a survey designed explicitly for this purpose and conducted among selected Latin immigrant groups in the United States. With this in mind, although immigrant transnationalism has received little attention in the mainstream sociological literature so far, it has the potential of altering the character of the new ethnic communities spawned by contemporary immigration.

Transnationalism versus translocalism

Since its 'launch' in 1990 (Glick Schiller et al., 1992), the term 'transnationalism' has been extensively employed in migration scholarship, acquired a myriad of meanings and generated considerable debate (see for example Kivisto, 2001; Portes et al., 2001; Vertovec, 2001). On the most general level, "the literature on transnationalism generally underscores the fact that large numbers of people now live in social worlds that are stretched between, or dually located in, physical places and communities in two or more nation-states" (Vertovec, 2001: p.578). One of the key components of transnationalism is the "multiplicity of involvements that transmigrants sustain in both home and host societies" (Basch et al., 1994: p.7).

As Vertovec's formulation suggests, it is possible to view migrants' links with their sending communities as being translocal and transnational in equal measure. Some authors (Cartier, 2001; Smart and Lin, 2007) appear not to sense any tension between the terms, and use the term translocal as an occasional alternative to transnational, apparently for stylistic variation. However, the term translocal is also used more precisely to imply that a distinction is being drawn between translocal and transnational.

Given that many scholars of transnationalism have been particularly interested in the impact of transnational ties on state borders, citizenship and migrant integration, it is hardly surprising that the term is often used with particular focus on the portability of 'national' cultural and political identities. This way of using transnationalism, implying that it is all about 'nationality' and not about 'locality', is so common that it seems helpful to employ the term translocalism to restore the focus on cross-local links. However, different scholars view the relationship between the concepts of transnationalism and translocalism differently (Vertovec, 2001; Oakes and Schein, 2006; White, 2011).

There has been a coalescing of interest surrounding the notion of translocality, which increasingly appears in geographical work on transnationalism (see for example Cartier, 2001; Oakes and Schein, 2006; Smart and Lin, 2007; McFarlane, 2009; Freitag and Von Oppen, 2010; 2011). Translocality involves "a focus on the multiplying forms of mobility... without losing sight of the importance of localities in people's lives" (Oakes and Schein, 2006: p.1). Translocalism provides a spatial

understanding of what situates the migrant experience within/across particular 'locales' without confining it to the territorial boundedness of the nation-state (Brickell and Datta, 2011). Seen as a way of situating earlier deterritorialised notions of transnationalism, translocalism is focussed largely on social networks and economic exchanges. The differences between the concepts of transnationalism and translocalism are illustrated in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1 Transnationalism versus translocalism

Concept	Transnationalism	Translocalism
Social space	Nation to nation Interactions take places between nations	Locality to locality Interactions take place between places
Sense of belonging	Nationality Migrants are defined by their nationality	Locality Migrants are defined by their place of settlement and ties to their localities
Individual	Connection to nation-state, national identity and citizenship Migrants feel a connection to the nation-state	Connection to a specific place and to a group of people Migrants feel a connection to their locality
Dynamism	Change between nations Change and movement over time occurs between nations	Change between localities Change and movement over time occurs between localities

Source: Author (2012)

The translocal can be seen as a sub-set of the transnational, but the translocal emphasises the local scale and that there are differences between different places within a nation (Table 2.1). Collectively, communities of fellow nationals span from nation to nation, but individual migrants experience the sending-receiving country

relationship as local-to-local. For example, Smith (2001: p.169) argues, “recent research on transnationalism illustrates that the specific social space in which transnational actions take place is not merely local but often ‘translocal’ (i.e. local-to-local)” (see also Grillo, 2007: p.204). Viewed within this relationship, both translocalism and transnationalism are aspects of globalisation.

It is common, however, for transnationalism to be viewed as distinct from translocalism, and for translocalism to be identified with a narrower perspective. For example, Wessendorf, writing about Italian migrants to Switzerland and their return migrations, prefers translocal to transnational for the following reasons:

“The connections Italians maintain to their homeland are translocal rather than transnational. Italian migrants’ relation to place is localised in that they usually travel between the town of settlement in Switzerland and the village of origin in Italy. Most of them feel a strong connection to these places rather than to the nation-states” (Wessendorf, 2007: p.110).

For these Italian migrants in Switzerland translocality is a significant concept. These migrants draw attention to multiplying forms of mobility. They have settled in a Swiss town without losing sight of the importance of localities in their lives in their villages of origin in Italy.

Oakes and Schein (2006: p.20) argue that translocality “deliberately confuses the boundaries of the local in an effort to capture the increasingly complicated nature of spatial processes and identities, yet it insists on viewing such processes and identities as place-based rather than exclusively mobile, uprooted or ‘travelling’”.

Taking into account the localised contexts where transnational networks are maintained, negotiated and sustained in everyday urban life, scholars now assert the importance of local-local connections during transnational migration (Smith and Guarnizo, 1998; Smith, 2001; Velayutham and Wise, 2005; McKay, 2006; Gielis, 2009; Lyons and Mandaville, 2010). They suggest that localities need not necessarily be limited to the shared social relations of local histories, experiences and relations, but can connect to wider geographical histories and processes.

These calls to situatedness during mobility however, still retain national boundaries as the predominant focus of local-local connections. This is perhaps the history of translocality itself, which has emerged from a concern over the disembodied understanding of transnational networks. Research on translocality primarily refers to how social relationships across locales shape transnational migrant networks, economic exchanges and diasporic space. In such an inquiry spatial registers of affiliation that are part of migrants' everyday embodied experiences remain largely unexplored. The effect of this has been to subsume the debates on translocality within a wider notion of transnationality. Translocality is now widely seen to be a form of 'grounded transnationalism' – a space where deterritorialised networks of transnational social relations take shape through migrant agencies. This means that translocality as a form of local-local relations exists primarily within the debates on transnationalism and provides a conceptualised approach for explaining migrant entrepreneurship and other forms of migrant employment. This concept will be applied in Chapter Six in order to explore the role of translocalism in Polish migrant entrepreneurship.

2.5 Conclusion

There is no universally accepted definition of entrepreneurship (Thomas and Willard, 1995). Nevertheless, the study of entrepreneurship has taken various routes, from classical theories (Cantillon, 1775; Turgot, 1776) and neoclassical theories (Schumpeter, 1934), to ethnic entrepreneurship (Light 1972; Bonacich, 1973; Borjas, 1986; Aldrich and Waldinger, 1990; Ram, 1997), transnational entrepreneurship (Portes, et al., 2001; Yeung, 2002; 2007) and gender (Marlow and Patton, 2005; Marlow et al., 2009).

A numbers of gaps relevant to the understanding of entrepreneurship, and specifically ethnic entrepreneurship in the UK, have been identified in the literatures explored in this chapter. These gaps are key themes used to guide and inform the empirical research and analysis but further engagement with these debates is undertaken in the empirical chapters. The first of these gaps relates to the entrepreneurial environment since the review of the literature has noted that studies fail to link entrepreneurship to the external environment (Thorton, 1999). Research gaps are also apparent when considering ethnic entrepreneurship. For instance, the increasing heterogeneity of the ethnic business sector is still too little appreciated (Ram, 1997). Furthermore, there is a preoccupation of existing studies with settled minority communities rather than the increasingly diverse communities that are now present in many British cities (Ram et al., 2007). The detailed literature search failed to identify a consideration of the 'break-out' strategies of entrepreneurs from recently arrived ethnic groups in the UK. The literature search

also failed to highlight any research into the formal business support networks of entrepreneurs from ethnic groups who have recently arrived in the UK. Other indications of research gaps in ethnic entrepreneurship suggest that future research is necessary on the role of family support, particularly financial assistance, amongst entrepreneurs from ethnic groups who have recently arrived in the UK. The last of the concepts identified, transnational entrepreneurship, demonstrates that a lack of integration and cross-fertilisation between entrepreneurship studies and international business studies has been the main obstacle to a fuller understanding of the nature and processes of transnational entrepreneurship (Yeung, 2002; 2007).

These gaps identified through the literatures explored in this chapter form the background to Chapter Three, which builds upon this literature review by discussing literature on EU accession and Polish migration to the UK in relation to ethnic entrepreneurship, in addition to my own original research (Harris et al., 2012), to establish the research context. The gaps identified here are combined with those identified in Chapter Three to bring together the two literature review chapters and to develop a conceptual approach which explains the justification of the themes of the thesis.

CHAPTER THREE

EU ACCESSION AND POLISH MIGRATION TO THE UK: THE RESEARCH CONTEXT

3.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the literature on EU accession and Polish migration to the UK. It also develops this literature through my own original research, which is used to justify the study area and the choice to focus upon Polish migrants. By combining this discussion and original research with the concepts of entrepreneurship and ethnic entrepreneurship, highlighted in Chapter Two, the issues of self-employment amongst NMS nationals, and particularly Polish migrant entrepreneurship, are explored. The chapter identifies gaps in the EU accession and Polish migration literature. These are added to the gaps identified in the last chapter to develop a comprehensive conceptual approach for the research.

The chapter has four sections. The first section introduces EU accession, the flows of NMS migrants to the UK and their role in the labour market on arrival, particularly in terms of self-employment. The second section identifies Polish migrants as the largest NMS group to have migrated to the UK (through my own original research) (Harris et al., 2012) and investigates their history of migration to the UK, as well as an association with their recent migration and labour market characteristics. It also highlights a gap in the research on Polish entrepreneurship. Section three revisits the

research gaps identified in both this chapter and Chapter Two and combines these to develop a conceptual approach that is used to support the empirical research.

3.2 EU accession

The theory behind ethnic entrepreneurship leads a consideration of the different ethnic groups who are involved in self-employment. A recent development has had a huge impact on migration and consequently on ethnic entrepreneurship. In the UK, debates surrounding migration have grown considerably following the 2004 enlargement of the European Union (EU) to the East and again in 2007. Ten countries joined the EU with effect from 1st May 2004- Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Malta, and Cyprus. Bulgaria and Romania joined on 1st January 2007. The EU is a free trade area, with 'free movement of workers' (FMOW) for its citizens (excluding Bulgaria and Romania), without visas or work permits (Portes and French, 2005: p.3). Previous accessions had caused EU Member States (the 'EU-15') considerable concern about the impact of complete liberalisation on their labour markets, and the Accession Treaties gave the EU-15 the option to delay implementation of full FMOW for up to seven years. Most, including France, Germany and Spain, imposed restrictions on movement in one form or another; the United Kingdom was one of only three countries (along with Ireland and Sweden) to allow migrants from the NMS to enter their labour markets more or less without restriction. The UK government announced in December 2002 that it would allow immediate free movement of A8 country workers following accession.

Nationals from two of the new entrants, Cyprus and Malta, were granted full free movement rights and rights to work, whilst transitional measures were applied to nationals from the other eight entrants i.e. the A8. In particular, in order to take up employment in the United Kingdom, A8 nationals were required to register on the Worker Registration Scheme (WRS) between 1st May 2004 and 30th April 2011. During this time of transitional restrictions the access of A8 nationals to the UK labour market was further regulated by the restriction of access to welfare benefits. After the seven years of transitional arrangements A8 nationals are no longer subject to any restrictions.

Estimating accession migration flows

In the run-up to accession, a number of studies attempted to estimate likely migration flows from the accession countries to the existing member states (Dustmann et al., 2003). However these studies have exposed the weaknesses of existing methods of measuring migration; governmental and administrative processes have not kept up with the political changes in the EU, and there is a general recognition that official statistics on migration are inadequate, particularly at the local level (LGA Research, 2007). Existing measures of migration include the UK Census, the Labour Force Survey, the International Passenger Survey, and the Worker Registration Scheme (Boden and Rees, 2010). In essence, the problem is both the lack of a single, all-inclusive system to measure the movement of people into and out of the UK as a whole, and the infrequency of measurement of the actual location of migrants once they have settled in the UK (Harris et al., 2012). Although

the data problems are widely recognised, especially in the context of accession migration, (see Meardi, 2007; Abel, 2010; de Beer et al., 2010), few alternative measurements are suggested or analysed. Garapich asserts that “this can perhaps be attributed to the fast-moving and complex nature of the migration phenomenon which develops quicker than the research can follow” (2008: p.735), and perhaps also at a faster rate than EU border changes and the development of national statistics. These problems, along with a lack of accuracy, should be considered throughout any discussion of measuring accession migration.

Taking this into consideration, the most comprehensive assessment was conducted by the European Commission. This study predicted that the UK would receive a relatively small proportion of these flows, with the annual net flow peaking at 17,000 in 2005, equivalent to somewhat more than 10 per cent of current annual net migration to the UK, but less than 0.03 per cent of the existing UK population (Portes and French, 2005: p.7). Other studies produced similar results. A research review commissioned by the UK Home Office, assessing all the available studies, concluded that likely new inflows to the UK might be between 5,000 and 13,000 annually (Dustmann et al., 2003). However, the actual movements since enlargement have been much greater.

The most recent *Accession Monitoring Report* (Home Office, 2009), reports that more than 989,000 A8 migrants entered the UK between May 2004 and March 2009. The basic demographic information provided by the WRS indicates that 66 per cent of applications to work in the UK between May 2004 and March 2009 from A8

countries came from Poland. Lithuanians and Slovaks each contributed 10 per cent of WRS applications (Home Office, 2009).

A8 nationals are legally allowed to work in the UK, but between 1st May 2004 and 30th April 2011 they were required register with the WRS within one month of starting a new job, paying £90 to do so. They were also required to re-register if they changed employer (but did not pay another fee). Application forms were available online and were submitted to the UK Border Agency by post. Each application to WRS therefore represents one job, not one applicant, and applicants are only represented once in the data. After 12 months' work without interruption of more than 30 days in total, migrants acquired full Worker Treaty rights, were free from the requirement to register, and were able to apply for a European Economic Area (EEA) residence permit to confirm their right to reside in the UK as a worker (Home Office, 2008). Although there is a question on the expected duration of stay in the WRS, this information is not reported in the *Accession Monitoring Report*. The WRS, however, only captures a fraction of A8 accession migration to the UK. It is estimated that relatively high proportions of migrants, between around a quarter and a third, did not register on the scheme at all (Drinkwater, 2008; Fife Research Coordination Group, 2008) and critically, the self-employed were not required to register. Pollard et al.'s (2008: p.18) survey of A8 migrants suggested that more than 40 per cent of Poles who worked in the UK since 2004, before returning to Poland, had never registered on the WRS.

Harris et al. (2012) argue that a more useful and alternative data source to measure NMS migration is National Insurance Number (NINo) allocations to adult overseas (non-UK) nationals entering the UK, collected by the UK Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) (DWP, 2007; 2008). In the UK, National Insurance Contributions (NIC) are paid by employers and employees (aged 16 to state pensionable age) to build up an individual's entitlement to social security benefits including the state pension. The type and level of NIC paid depends upon income level and employment/self-employment. A NINo is assigned as a personal account number, to ensure that NIC contributions and tax paid are properly recorded. A NINo is required by any overseas national intending to work or claim welfare benefits in the UK, critically including the self-employed or students working part-time. NINo data pertaining to migrants reflect all adult overseas nationals allocated a NINo through the adult registration scheme. NINo data is therefore a 100 per cent sample held at case level, not subject to sampling error, and suitable for merging with other case-level data sources (DWP, 2007: p.12). NINo data is provided by country of origin and disaggregated by Government Office Region (GOR), Local Authority (LA) and Parliamentary Constituency (PC). Unlike the census, it covers much shorter and more recent time periods, from 2002/03 to 2010/11, therefore capturing the EU enlargements of 2004 and 2007.

The NINo dataset captures accession migration at a number of geographical scales. Data collected by world area of origin and year of allocation from 2002/03 to 2008/09 illustrates annual increases in allocations of NINos to NMS nationals entering the UK, with particularly marked rises from 2004/05 following EU

enlargement. From 2004/05 onwards allocations are highest for NMS nationals, increasing from 29,000 in 2003/04 to 117,000 in 2004/05 (Table 3.1), and over 332,000 by 2007/08. Although the number of NINo allocations to NMS nationals fell to 257,000 in 2008/09, this figure remains higher than the pre-accession level. Since the NINo data does not provide exit figures or information on length of stay in the UK, falling NINo allocations does not mean that NMS migrants are leaving the UK.

Table 3.1 NINo allocations to adult overseas nationals entering the UK, by year of allocation and world region of origin

World Region of Origin	<i>Thousands</i>						
	2002/3	2003/4	2004/5	2005/6	2006/7	2007/8	2008/9
All	346,23	373,50	435,35	663,06	705,84	733,09	686,11
Europe-EU excluding							
Accession Countries	80,09	85,54	80,71	97,84	102,75	107,47	120,14
Europe-EU Accession							
Countries	17,67	28,72	116,84	276,68	317,50	332,44	257,04
Europe-non-EU	14,66	15,87	14,04	15,50	16,14	17,21	16,10
Africa	65,98	70,71	64,08	74,03	60,72	59,63	63,31
Asia and Middle East	113,56	116,03	109,39	134,40	143,79	149,87	163,04
The Americas	26,33	31,41	26,52	31,53	31,50	32,64	36,45
Australasia and Oceania	27,13	24,49	23,16	32,51	32,98	33,35	29,53
Others and unknown	0,80	0,72	0,61	0,56	0,46	0,49	0,50

Source: 100 per cent extract from NIRS DWP (2009)

Despite the unprecedented size of the flows of migrants following EU accession it is widely believed that there is now considerable return migration (BBC, 2008; Pollard et al., 2008). According to the International Passenger Survey (IPS), just 40,000 A8

migrants permanently left the UK between 2004 and 2006 (Pollard et al., 2008: p.19). The IPS has been the main source for migration studies for over thirty years, but there are well known problems related to the purpose of the survey and small sample sizes. This survey is extrapolated to estimate the number and characteristics of migrants into and out of the UK, but only those intending to stay for a year or longer. Therefore, it is highly likely that the IPS significantly underestimated the numbers of A8 migrants who have left the UK.

A better estimation of the number of A8 migrants who have left the country can be obtained by comparing estimated inflow figures with stock figures. This methodology broadly suggests that around half of A8 migrants who have arrived since May 2004 had left the UK by the end of December 2007 (Pollard et al., 2008: p.19).

The geography of A8 migrants

Post-enlargement migrants have moved to a larger number of different areas in the UK than have any previous groups of migrants (Pollard et al., 2008). This reflects the fact that this group's overwhelming motivation for coming to the UK is to work. As a group they have a high degree of mobility, moving to where work is available (Coombes et al., 2007).

Traditionally, immigrants to the UK have gravitated towards London and the South East, towards conurbations and to a relatively small number of larger towns and cities (Dobson et al., 2001). Research into accession migration, and particularly Polish

migration, (e.g. Düvell, 2004; Garapich, 2005; Garapich, 2006; Eade et al., 2006) seems to have been influenced by this immigration history, and follows the pattern of migration research more widely, by focussing on the capital city of London (e.g. Peach, 1999; Peach, 2006; McDowell et al., 2007; and Wills et al., 2009). However, successive rounds of recent Labour Force Survey (LFS) data have suggested that the overall regional distribution of A8 immigration might reflect a much broader geographical spread (Salt, 2011). Smaller scale, local studies incorporating an analysis of WRS confirm that the geographical distribution of A8 migrants extends way beyond the 'traditional' immigrant destinations (Stenning et al., 2006; Bauere et al., 2007; Green et al., 2007a; Green et al., 2007b; CRC, 2007; Chappell et al., 2009). This broad geographical spread of migrants should be reflected in migration research, rather than focusing on migrants in the capital city of London.

Bauere et al. (2007: p.8) map A8 nationals' WRS registrations per thousand population for each UK local authority, showing that the A8 population is widely spread across the UK, with high figures in Northern Ireland, Eastern England, and North Norfolk, scattered concentrations in the Midlands, the South West and South East, and relatively low rates in Wales, the North East and North West. Their ranking of registrations places the City of London top, with the City of Westminster (central London) in third place. The East Midlands localities of Boston, Northampton, and South Holland rank second, fourth and fifth. Registration rates are also high in the East of England, in Peterborough, Fenland and East Cambridgeshire (Bauere et al., 2007).

Similarly, Green et al. (2007a; 2007b) used WRS data to study recent waves of A8 migration into the UK's East and West Midlands labour markets, identifying the highest levels of migration in food growing, processing and packaging regions; a summer peak in WRS applications suggested seasonal work undertaken by NMS migrants. This rural migration is also identified in other research using WRS which argues that a key feature of the A8 migration appears to be a greater orientation towards rural areas than has been the case for previous immigrations (Stenning et al., 2006; CRC, 2007; Chappell et al., 2009). High levels of NMS migrants in rural areas may reflect a geography of legal work - migrants working legally in agricultural regions of the UK may register with WRS whereas those engaged in informal work in urban areas may not, although more research is needed to establish the factors involved in WRS registration decisions.

Employment

In addition to the geographical distribution of migrants, it is important to establish the characteristics and labour market performance of migrants from these countries who have subsequently entered the UK (Drinkwater, et. al, 2006: p.1). There is an abundance of research into the associated waves of migration brought about by EU enlargement (see Dustmann et al., 2003; Anderson et al., 2006; Scott, 2006; Stenning et al., 2006; Blanchflower et al., 2007; LGA, 2007; Currie, 2008; Lemos and Portes, 2008).

The vast majority of post-enlargement migrants living in Britain are working. According to the LFS, 84 per cent of A8 and A2⁶ nationals of working age living in the UK in December 2007 were in work (Pollard et al., 2008: p. 30). This figure is higher than the percentage of UK nationals of working age in employment at this time (76 per cent) and is one of the highest levels among all foreign nationals living in the UK (Pollard et al., 2008: p. 30). One of the reasons behind this could be that these migrants are 'white' (Roediger, 2005; McDowell, 2007). McDowell et al. explain that this gives "them a clear advantage in labour markets distinguished by racialized and ethnic disadvantage" (2009: p.5).

In 2007 more than half of those registering on the WRS were in temporary employment. The agricultural and business, administration and management sectors employ very high proportions of temporary workers, while a majority of workers in the hospitality and catering and manufacturing sectors are permanent (Home Office, 2008). This type of work is often seen as poorly paid and precarious in nature (McDowell et al., 2009). Work may be unstimulating, but it is not necessarily permanent. Employees often envisage progressing to better jobs, in or outside the UK, having "gained contacts, experience or repaid debt" (Anderson et al., 2006: p.114). Anderson et al. (2006) comment that "for migrants, poor work, low pay and uncertain status can be rendered more tolerable if their situation is perceived as temporary" (p.114). This does not mean that stay in the UK is necessarily regarded as temporary.

⁶ The A2 countries are Bulgaria and Romania. Combined with the A8 countries they become the A10 countries.

The literature on the employment of EU migrants in the UK tends to focus on general accounts of their role in labour market. Those specific accounts and case studies predominantly feature Polish migrants- this literature will be explored in the next section. However, there are some detailed accounts of other NMS nationals. Anderson et al. (2006) describe the perceptions and experiences of the employment of migrants from four new member states (the Czech Republic, Slovak Republic, Poland and Lithuania) working in low-wage occupations. The sectors of the UK economy that they focus on are agriculture, construction, hospitality, and the au pair sector. Through interviews with workers and employers, they examine employers' recruitment practices and why they hire migrant labour and migrants' experiences of working in low-wage jobs in the UK. One of their key arguments is that migrants from Czech Republic, Slovak Republic, Poland and Lithuania, although working in low-wage, low-status occupations, are in fact well educated and/or experienced (Anderson et al. 2006: p. 113). They can be described as high-quality migrants in low-wage jobs.

McDowell et al. (2009) investigate the connection between insecure forms of work and the rising number of economic migrants employed in the UK labour market, particularly those from the EU accession countries. They suggest that a rise in low-wage employment and temporary forms of employment contracts, especially in the expanding service economy, has left both British and migrant workers in a precarious position. Specific examples are given of Polish and Latvian workers in a London hotel. Through such examples McDowell et al. also argue that EU migrants are desirable employees as they are "white skinned, often single, relatively young and typically

much better educated than their competitors for basic entry-level jobs” (2009: p.19). Interestingly, amongst the EU migrant workers there is a “hierarchy of desirability” (McDowell et al., 2009: p.20). For instance, they explain how “Poles may be seen as more or less desirable than, say, Latvians, based on their assumed ‘willingness to work’” (McDowell et al., 2009: p.20). Research such as this provides a valuable insight into the specific experiences of accession migrants working in the UK. Despite this extensive research into the experiences of accession migrants there is an absence of detailed literature into the reasons why migrants chose to migrate to the UK at the time of accession. This could be explored in future research.

Self-employment

One of the other areas in which immigrants are often seen to have a particularly positive economic contribution is in self-employment and enterprise. According to the LFS 14 per cent of A8 and A2 nationals are self-employed (Pollard et al., 2008; p.33). More than half (52 per cent) of those who are self-employed are aged under 30, and approaching three quarters (73 per cent) of self-employed are men (Pollard et al., 2008; p.33). It is clear that these migrants wish to work, but they are not typically viewed as a source of new enterprise (Barnes and Cox, 2007). Consequently, whilst there is considerable literature on ethnic entrepreneurialism and urban and regional development, there is little literature which deals with NMS migrants and self-employment and/or entrepreneurialism.

Blanchflower et al. (2007) suggest reasons for the existence of A8 entrepreneurs in the UK. They explain how there is a desire for self-employment in the A8 countries as well as a perceived lack of financial support alongside complex administrative procedures that make it hard to set up in business. It is well established in the literature that capital constraints have a major impact on the ability to become and remain self-employed (Blanchflower and Oswald, 1998). These factors are likely to contribute to a desire to come to the UK, where these circumstances may appear less prevalent. Blanchflower et al. (2007: p.18) also assert that recent A8 immigrants have higher self-employment rates than natives. The current number of people who are self-employed in the UK is 4.2 million (ONS, 2011), around 11 per cent of the working population.

In one of only a few investigations into the recent EU migrants as entrepreneurs Barnes and Cox (2007) focus on East European entrepreneurship in Lincolnshire, an essentially rural county in the East Midlands region of the UK. These migrants sought to establish businesses, with many (e.g. shops and personal services) aimed to exploit their privileged access to their co-ethnic market. However, underlying this is the huge business of labour importation into the countryside, and the authors claim that this is by far the largest source of immigrant entrepreneurs (Barnes and Cox, 2007).

3.3 Polish migration to the UK

Among these A8 immigrants to the UK, those coming from Poland have, arguably, been dominant – the most numerous, and certainly the most visible in the public arena. The Home Office figures suggest that a minimum of 600,000 Polish citizens have been working in the UK labour market since 2004 – 66 per cent of the total of migrants from the different A8 countries (Home Office, 2009: p.8). Therefore, Polish migrants in the UK would appear to be the NMS group which justifies further investigation.

The Polish community in a historical perspective

Despite the recent EU enlargement and the influx of citizens of new member states to the West, one needs to remember that Eastern European migration and particularly Polish migration, was in full swing before 1st May 2004 (Düvell, 2004; Górny and Ruspini, 2004; Morawska, 2002). Poles have constituted a highly mobile and visible migrant workforce for more than a century in Europe, with the first generation of Polish migrants demobilised in the UK following the Second World War. While migration is not a new phenomenon, it is generally accepted that since 1945 international flows have increased in intensity, reflecting both the growing mobility of labour and an ongoing catalogue of population displacements triggered by conflict and natural disasters (Burrell, 2002: p.57). Polish migration is represented by three distinct waves. The first generation of Polish migration to Britain occurred post-war and resulted predominantly from the dual German and Russian

occupations of Poland in 1939, a traumatic episode in Polish history that is well documented. The other major 'route' to Britain involved those who had originated from eastern Poland and were part of the 1.7 million Poles who experienced forced deportation to Siberia by Russian troops in 1940 (Sword, 1996: p.25-7). At the end of the war, as Poland fell to communism and the eastern territories were lost to Russia, it became clear to the Polish forces and refugees abroad that a return to the homeland was unrealistic, and staying in Britain was one of the viable options (Burrell, 2002: p.60). As a result, by 1951 the Polish-born population in Britain was recorded at 162,339 (Sword, 1996), rising from 44,642 in 1931 (Holmes, 1988: p.211-12).

The second wave of Polish migration to the UK occurred from the 1980s until 1st May 2004. During the 1980s when the communist years of isolation from the West came to an end there was an increasing flow of illegal migration from Poland (Düvell, 2004: p.4). From 1980, there was also a small stream of asylum applications to the UK, accounting for 2,900 applications between 1986 and 1996 (Refugee Council, 1997). A significant development in Polish migration came with the European Community Association Agreement (ECAA) of the 1990s which liberalised labour migration and therefore encouraged the flow of second generation Polish migrants. However, Sword (1996) suggests that only relatively small inflows arrived in the UK up until the beginning of the twenty-first century. As a result, the 2001 Census recorded fewer than 61,000 Polish-born individuals living in the UK, 57 per cent of whom were aged over 64 (Drinkwater et al., 2006: p.4-5). This was an 18 per cent drop in the figure for 1991, which stood at 73,951 (ONS, 1991). Nevertheless, there

existed an active Polish diaspora in the UK, which may have encouraged the flow of Poles post-enlargement by providing an established migration network (Sword, 1996).

The third and most widely discussed wave of Polish migration to the UK occurred following EU enlargement in May 2004. According to Home Office statistics, in 2006 there were 307,000 Poles in Britain (Home Office, 2006). However, the Polish ambassador to Britain has suggested that there may be as many as 600,000 of her compatriots living in the UK (Polish Business News, 2007). Other estimates put this figure as high as 750,000 (The Independent, 2006). This influx of Polish migrants has had a substantial impact on the labour market in the UK through introducing a new element to the working population.

Poland's route to the EU

The history of Poland's route to the EU highlights significant information related to the current state of the Polish labour market in the UK, particularly in terms of entrepreneurship. The 1990s were not exceptional in terms of its migrant workforce, but it is often forgotten that the liberalisation of migration restrictions in the UK began before the enlargement of 2004. The European Community Association Agreement (ECAA), which came into effect in 1994, established an associate relationship between the EC and the Republic of Poland, and began Poland's process of European integration. It gave Polish migrants a very effective means to enter the labour market (Düvell, 2004), and it stipulated that one of the provisions for entering

the labour market was a right to establish businesses in EU states. The ECAA encouraged the second wave of Polish migration to the UK with many migrants entering via the self-employment route.

The second generation of Poles in the UK arrived from the 1980s, until early 2004, before EU enlargement. When the communist years of isolation from the West came to an end there was an increasing flow of illegal migration from Poland in the 1980s (Düvell, 2004: p.4). From 1980, the time of the military coup, one can also notice a small stream of asylum applications to the UK, accounting for 2,900 applications between 1986 and 1996 (Refugee Council, 1997). With the fall of communism in Poland, Poland initiated the reform of its political system and economy in 1989. In this new situation, a return to the West, as embodied in the form of the EU and NATO, became realistic. On 19th September 1989 Poland signed the agreement for trade and trade co-operation with the then European Community (EC). That agreement was not only the basis for further relations but also a starting point for future negotiations on the subject of associating with the EC.

On 19th May 1990 Poland officially applied for a beginning of negotiations for an agreement of associating, and the negotiations began in December 1990. After eleven months, on 16th December 1991, the Polish government signed the European Union Association Agreement (EUAA), also referred to as the European Community Association Agreement (ECAA), which established an associate relationship between the EC and the Republic of Poland. The ECAA set out the legal grounds for the pursuit and implementation of economic, political, scientific, and

cultural union. The agreements signed with the EC, which at this time was preparing for its transformation into the EU, initiated Poland's process of European integration. The ECAA came into force on 1st February 1994.

The ECAA had important consequences for the labour market in the UK, through relaxing travel restrictions which enabled Poles to move to the UK and work in the grey economy. The ECAA also had a critical impact particularly in terms of self-employment. It encouraged the movement of the second generation of Polish migrants through the liberalisation of labour migration. In a ministerial statement in 2004 the then Home Secretary David Blunkett detailed how the Association Agreement gave the rights of establishment in EU member states to those from accession countries seeking to set up in business or self-employment. Such people were to be treated no less favourably than nationals of the host states. The thinking behind the Agreements was that, in advance of accession, citizens of countries joining the European Union should have some of the advantages of membership. The people who established themselves in business or in self-employment were viewed as bringing real benefits to the UK's economy and to their own countries as they prepared for membership of the EU. It worked differently for each country, but in the UK, since the late 1990s, it eased entry in the UK labour market for Polish migrants. Consequently, the recent influx of Poles into the UK following EU enlargement should be regarded as a continuation of a process that began more than a decade ago. Indeed, Garapich (2008: p.9) argues that "our preoccupation with the phenomenon shows a change in our perception rather than a qualitatively different reality on the ground".

In spite of the conditions of the ECAA suggesting high levels of self-employment amongst Polish migrants arriving during the late 1990s up until May 2004, the situation is misleading. The British government's decision to open the labour market was presented as an honourable and generous thing to do, but effectively it was simply a legal manoeuvre to legitimise already established flows. The ECAA is therefore associated with much controversy. It was effectively a grey area which tens of thousands of Poles took advantage of. In theory Poles could apply for a 'business visa' on the basis of their visitor visa.

Further controversy followed in the form of immigration offices which were established to assist with ECAA applications. Since the process of establishing a business takes considerable time and requires a knowledge of bureaucracy, a group of immigration advisors emerged who quickly (in the years 2000-2004) transformed the observable patterns of economic and labour behaviour of migrants in their ethnic economic niche. Most of these advisors began as low-key, back-door, one person businesses, often with a single telephone number and private visits at home. They were rarely professional immigration lawyers but rather people who seized the opportunity to help others fill out forms and follow procedures. Between 2000 and 2004 around forty immigration advice offices sprang up around London (Garapich, 2008). That process, however, was not entirely positive. Some of the Polish advisors quickly developed into respectable business ventures, but others turned out to be run by human smugglers and organised groups providing migrants with false documents (Garapich and Bany, 2003, cited in Garapich, 2008). Thousands of identical business plans were produced, the professions were often fictitious, and

the advisors explicitly shared with the clients the fiction behind the whole scheme. A significant number of advisors were investigated by *Scotland Yard* or the *Office of Immigration Service Commission*. This did not stop many migrants from using this opportunity en masse. In the years 2001 to 2004, tens of thousands of Polish migrants obtained the so-called 'self-employed visa' which allowed them to legalise their presence, work, pay taxes, take out mortgages, and be allowed to participate in the social and economic life of the UK (Garapich, 2008). The popularity of the right of business establishment as an avenue of migration is even reflected by the Home Office (2003: p. 15) whose 2003 immigration statistics report noted that:

"2003 saw an increase of 151 per cent in the number of persons granted an extension as a person of independent means or a businessman (sic) to 24,800... Significant increases occurred in nationals from Poland (up 156 per cent to 9,410)".

The advisors were in fact easing the passage from the grey economy into a formal one. From the fuzzy and highly ambiguous state of being officially tourists, illegal immigrants or visitors, migrants were channelled towards the legal status of being self-employed. The system was ultimately attacked by the right-wing press and the Conservative Party, and various scams uncovered in March 2004 led to the downfall of the Minister for Immigration Beverley Hughes. This is a reminder that the actual liberalisation of the immigration regime for Polish migrants took place well before EU enlargement.

The issues surrounding the ECAA are often ignored, suggesting a gap in the research and the need for further enquiry. Its impact on self-employment levels of Polish

migrants is particularly interesting. As a result of the ECAA the number of second generation Polish migrants coming to the UK for the purpose of self-employment, was extremely high. Roughly a third of Poles with jobs who arrived in the UK between 2000 and 2003 were self-employed (Drinkwater et al., 2006: p.11). However, it is unknown if their role in self-employment was a means to enter the country rather than to establish their own business.

This legal issue raises interesting questions about the impact that this has had on the self-employment of Polish migrants. For instance, questions should be asked about the actual levels of self-employment amongst second and third generation Poles, and any differences between the two generations in the types of private businesses involved. Therefore, any future research into the Polish labour market in the UK, particularly in terms of entrepreneurship, should be regarded as a continuing process which began in the early 1990s, with consideration paid to the different legal positions before and after EU enlargement.

Polish migration: 2004-present

Migrants from Poland were by far the largest group of the new entrants to the UK. Harris et al. (2012) disaggregate NINO allocations to NMS migrants by country of origin. This analysis shows that between 2004/05 and 2008/09, Polish nationals were the largest group of migrants from the accession states (Table 3.2). By 2006/07 over 220,000 allocations had been made to Poles. Other NMS in the top ten included Lithuania, Slovakia, Latvia, and recently Romania. With Polish nationals not only

receiving the majority of NINOs amongst NMS nationals, but also amongst all overseas nationals applying for a NINO, they are the most significant recently-arrived ethnic minority group currently working in the UK.

Harris et al. (2012) unpack these annual figures further. NINO allocation data are available by nationality and quarter of allocation from 2004 to 2009, and show that allocations to Polish nationals peaked between January and March 2007 at 81,000, accounting for 70 per cent of the total made to all NMS nationals during this period. More recently, allocations to Poles have declined significantly, and in January-March 2009 just 31,000 registered. NINO data allow cumulative totals to be calculated and show that Polish registrations (January 2004-March 2009) are the highest among NMS (Harris et al., 2012).

Table 3.2 NINO allocations to adult overseas nationals entering the UK; top ten countries by year of allocation (in thousands)

<i>Thousands</i>									
2004/05		2005/06		2006/07		2007/08		2008/09	
Poland	61,12	Poland	171,08	Poland	220,43	Poland	210,66	Poland	134,36
India	32,47	India	45,93	India	48,82	India	49,76	India	59,39
Pakistan	20,19	Lithuania	30,94	Slovakia	28,60	Slovakia	29,99	Slovakia	24,09
South Africa	19,19	Slovak Rep	27,51	Pakistan	25,01	Pakistan	24,83	France	24,01
Australia	16,47	South Africa	24,03	Australia	24,21	Australia	24,10	Romania	23,95
Lithuania	15,54	Australia	23,83	Lithuania	23,92	Romania	22,95	Pakistan	23,46
France	13,18	Pakistan	22,29	France	20,01	France	21,77	Australia	21,39
China	12,55	France	17,23	South Africa	16,80	Lithuania	19,03	Italy	18,63
Portugal	12,20	Latvia	14,40	Germany	15,07	Germany	15,53	Lithuania	17,62
Slovak Rep	11,11	Germany	13,39	China	13,00	Italy	15,40	Nigeria	17,46

Source: 100 per cent extract from NIRS DWP (2009: p.11)

Despite the dominance of Polish registrations, British employment agencies and the Polish media all believe that the tide of immigration has now turned; “a combination of tightening economic conditions in the UK, a comparatively weak pound and an unprecedented surge in the Polish economy has made it unattractive for Poles to remain” (Mostrous and Seib, 2008). This echoes reports of the wider East European population returning to their home countries. Survey data collected by Pollard et al. (2008) indicates that the pace of return to Poland among migrants in the UK accelerated during 2007 and 2008, indicating that anecdotal evidence that Poles are starting to return in greater numbers paints an accurate picture. Nevertheless, these figures are open to debate and there still exists a significant and highly visible Polish diaspora in the UK.

The geography of recent Polish migrants to the UK

Comparing studies using the WRS dataset with an analysis of the NINo dataset as it pertains to Poles shows some interesting geographical distributions. At the national level, during the period 2002-09 there were high absolute numbers of Polish registrations right across the UK (Table 3.3), with the majority in London, the South East, Scotland, the East of England and the North West GORs⁷. Considering Polish registrations as a proportion of the working population of each GOR, however, while London remains dominant, the NINo results echo the work of Bauere et al. (2007)

⁷ In 1994 Government Offices for the Regions were established across England. This administrative sub-division was intended to enable government departments to work in partnership with local people and organisations in order to maximise regional prosperity and enhance the quality of life. In 1996 the Government Office Regions (GOR) became the primary classification for the presentation of regional statistics.

and Stenning and Dawley (2009), in also identifying Northern Ireland, the East Midlands, Scotland and the West Midlands as regions with high relative levels of migrants. However, whereas Stenning and Dawley (2009) described this distribution as migrants living in ‘peripheral’ regions, in terms of their location in predominantly rural local authorities within these GORs, the NINo data indicates a slightly different pattern.

Table 3.3 NINo registrations to Polish nationals entering the UK by Government Office Region 2002/2003- 2010/2011

Government Office Region	NINo registrations to Polish nationals (000)	Total regional employment (000)	Poles as a Percentage of the working population	Standard deviation	Rank
London	231.97	3850.33	6.02	2.48	1
Northern Ireland	31.71	803.11	3.95	0.6892	2
Scotland	92.52	2506.14	3.69	0.46427	3
East Midlands	76.41	2152.60	3.55	0.34316	4
West Midlands	77.01	2412.48	3.19	0.03172	5
East of England	88.61	2845.77	3.11	-0.03749	6
Yorkshire and the Humber	67.37	2398.87	2.81	-0.29702	7
South East	115.84	4198.33	2.76	-0.34027	8
South West	68.64	2494.07	2.75	-0.34893	9
North West	82.19	3121.09	2.63	-0.45274	10
Wales	28.70	1338.22	2.14	-0.87664	11
North East	14.23	1144.17	1.24	-1.65524	12
Total	743.23	25414.85			

Source: NINo time series-financial year of registration date= 2002/2003- 2010/2011. In employment time series= April 2011- June 2011. NINo registrations are 100 per cent extract from NIRS DWP (2011). In employment figures are from ONS (2011)

Existing studies have identified an apparent ‘rural bias’ in flows of Polish migrants to the UK, but this analysis is based on the Worker Registration Scheme (Stenning and Dawley, 2009). If the evidence from the city of London is extrapolated to other large

cities, then this might indicate a widespread undercounting of Polish migrant workers in urban areas. If this is the case, then it calls into question some conclusions already drawn about the geographical distribution of Polish workers which, based on WRS data, show disproportionately high levels of migrants in rural areas (Stenning and Dawley, 2009).

Another data source, which has recently been used to support investigations into Polish migrants in the UK, is School Census data (Sales et al., 2009; D'Angelo and Ryan, 2011; Ryan and Sales, 2011). This data displays the number of Polish families with young children, and their distribution across Great Britain. Although not flawless (see Department for Education, 2012), the School Census Data does provide an insight into family settlement patterns, and therefore it could be used to investigate Polish migrant settlement patterns, which is difficult to determine from other data sources.

Polish life in the UK

Polish immigrants are a heterogeneous group including unskilled and semi-skilled workers, in addition to students and graduates who are seeking short-term employment (Düvell, 2004). Their presence has been popular among the middle classes, who needed plumbers and nannies, and welcomed by the catering and construction industries, local public transport and by agriculture. Their work ethic has been praised by employers, customers and fellow workers alike (Moszczynski, 2010).

Polish migration has attracted sustained press interest, locally and nationally. Research by Fomina and Frelak (2008) into the tone of this coverage found it to range widely between depicting the newcomers as good workers who will aid the UK economy, through to reinforcing stereotypical images of eastern European migrants as a frightening foreign other, bringing odd cultural traits, pushing up crime rates and exhausting local services.

The focus on the economically driven nature of this migration has been strong; many researchers have highlighted, for example, the high levels of unemployment in Poland – 20 per cent in 2003 (Drinkwater et al., 2006: p.2) – to explain these trends. The role of the UK labour market, in opening its doors to new migrants, has also been widely recognised as the fundamental factor in contemporary migration flows from Poland (for example, see Pollard et al., 2008).

Non-economic motivations and experiences of migration and life in the UK have also been explored. This research into non-economic experiences extends to the children of Polish migrants with substantial investigations into the schooling of Polish children in the UK (Sales et al., 2009; Ryan and Sales, 2011; Lopez-Rodriguez et al., 2010; D'Angelo and Ryan, 2011).

Janta's (2007) research on Polish migrants in the hospitality sector focuses on non-economic experiences in employment. It demonstrates the coping mechanisms of different workers as they struggle in their jobs and reinforces the sense that working conditions can be very tough. Gill and Bialski (2011) investigate how migrant

associational ties evolve during and immediately after arrival in their destination country, with a focus on Poles in the UK. They found that weak associational ties between migrants were locally dense and rapidly formed. More surprisingly, they also found that the Poles from lower socio-economic groups tended to rely upon weak associational ties while higher socio-economic group Poles tended to rely on associations made through their employing institutions (Gill and Bialski, 2011).

Garapich (2006) investigates how Polish migrants interpret their class position and ethnic affiliation in London. With young people being identified as the most significant demographic component of this new migration, the aspiration of youth has been closely considered. Fabiszak (2007) sees much of this migration as something akin to 'gap year' travel, and Eade et al. (2007: p.34) have asserted that many of these younger, often highly skilled migrants, can be termed 'searchers', migrating for new experiences and skills, in addition to the economic needs of employment. Datta (2007) has further added to this argument, investigating the growing 'cosmopolitanism' of young London-based Poles.

Meardi (2007) suggests that although it is impossible to generalise to a clearly heterogeneous population, the majority of new Polish migrants to the UK correspond more to the idea of 'transnational migrants' than to that of 'classical migrants', as their lives are organised across borders. Following on from this, there has been a tendency to identify contrasting migrants with narrower agendas to those with more cosmopolitan attitudes. Eade et al. (2006) distinguish between 'storks', labour migrants who fly back and forward between countries for the narrow

purpose of seasonal labour, and ‘searchers’, whose plans are more open-ended and who “are keen to raise their own social and human capital in both countries simultaneously in order to keep their options open... They represent the best example of a de-localised social class where social position and status depends on several reference points in more than one country” (ibid: p.17).

Fomina (2009: p.1) describes the “parallel worlds” of Poles in Bradford, UK. “Educated, upwardly mobile, confident Poles” live in one world (Fomina, 2009: p.1). Quite separate, according to Fomina, is the “world of less successful Polish immigrants, stuck in one place” (2009: p.1). Eade et al. (2006) and Fomina (2009) illustrate that different Poles have different links to different places. Furthermore, both are interested chiefly in social, rather than geographical mobility; however, the two are interlinked, since migrants with less human and social capital often have reduced geographical as well as social mobility, particularly if they are inhibited about migrating except to be with close friends and family.

Fomina emphasises that well-educated Polish migrants in Bradford want to integrate into British society, and that – in their eyes – this is a key difference between them and less-educated Poles, as well as British Pakistani Bradfordians. Clearly, less well-educated and confident Polish migrants, who do not speak much English and work in sections of the labour market dominated by migrant workers, with weaker ties to the receiving community, are likely to socialise more with fellow Poles (White and Ryan, 2008; White, 2010).

White (2011) takes the idea of transnational Poles further. She claims that too much emphasis can be placed on the role of ethnicity and national belonging in the lives of migrants. Therefore, she asserts that 'translocal' is sometimes a more helpful label than 'transnational' to describe the lifestyles of Polish labour migrants in the UK. One of the ways in which translocalism is present in White's study is in family migration. This was also often translocal in the sense of the home town in the UK being similar to the home location in Poland. In other words, the place was chosen because it was a familiar size and seemed safe for children (White, 2011: p.8). Translocal linkages are also present through maintaining relationships with family and friends in their home town in Poland.

Another helpful approach to translocalism, for the purposes of this research, is to remember that Poles in the UK since 2004, unlike earlier generations of migrants, have such easy access to Poland, and to Polish goods and services, that "they do not particularly need to worry about maintaining their Polishness" (Fomina, 2009: p.28). If Polish identity can be taken for granted, then local preoccupations may have space to take precedence over national ones, therefore reinforcing translocal rather than transnational relationships.

Whilst this demonstrates that there is an abundance of research into NMS migrants in the UK, particularly those from Poland (Drinkwater et al., 2006; Eade et al., 2006; Garapich 2008; White, 2010; White, 2011), this is not in-depth, empirical, case-study based research. This points to a gap in the literature which needs to be further explored.

In Poland, persons engaged in self-employment constitute more than 30 per cent of the active workforce (Lommatzsch et al., 2004: p.113). Therefore, it is likely that some of this self-employed population will have migrated to the UK as a result of EU enlargement. The issues surrounding the ECAA and the high number of second generation Polish migrants coming to the UK for the purpose of self-employment has already been noted. In contrast, Drinkwater (2008) claims that only 4.4 per cent of the recently arrived (post-accession) Polish population in the UK are self-employed. It is not unexpected that recent immigrants will have very low rates of self-employment, because it is likely that these groups will have difficulty obtaining the capital required to start a business (Borjas, 1986). In addition, Polish migrants can now freely enter the UK and need not therefore apply for a business visa in order to work in the UK.

Nevertheless, the British-Polish Chamber of Commerce (BPCC) estimates that there are currently 40,000 Polish entrepreneurs who have set up businesses in the UK (Pollard et al., 2008: p.44). Despite their suggested sizable presence and the significant literature on Polish migrants in the UK, the political and media debate concerning Polish immigration to the UK has concentrated on employment rather than the role of migrants as entrepreneurs. It has focussed on Poles as 'job takers', rather than 'job makers'. This is reflected in academic debates and there is very little research into those Polish migrants who are self-employed, pointing to an avenue for research. This absence of detailed research covers both entrepreneurs who set-

up a business before May 2004 under the ECAA, and those who established a business after EU accession.

The research into Polish entrepreneurship in the UK is limited. Lassalle et al. (2011a) investigate Polish entrepreneurial strategies in the UK, and provide case studies of Polish entrepreneurs in Glasgow detailing migration and business strategies (Lassalle et al., 2011b). This builds upon earlier work which focuses on the role of social capital in Polish immigrant businesses in Scotland (Helinska-Hughes et al., 2009). Vershinina et al. (2009) investigate ten Polish immigrant entrepreneurs operating in Leicester. Amongst the Polish entrepreneurs they identify three groups – traditional, opportunity and opportunist entrepreneurs - based on when they immigrated and the implications of the differing origins and amounts of capital they can access and convert into entrepreneurial activity. They move beyond a discussion of ethnic entrepreneurship in terms of social capital arising from ethnic group membership and show the existence of intra-ethnic variation in the UK Polish entrepreneurial community.

Given claims that Polish migrants in the UK are returning to their homeland, it is important to ascertain whether or not this is the case for Polish entrepreneurs. While LFS data suggests that 14 per cent of A8 and A2 migrants are self-employed, Pollard et al.'s (2008) survey sample picked up very few migrants now returned to Poland who had been self-employed in Britain. This supports a trend highlighted by their qualitative research with Poles in London: that those who set up a business in the UK are less likely to return home than others (Pollard et al., 2008). Migrants who

have invested time and money in setting up a business are less likely to give this up and return home than those who have simply been working for employers. This sentiment is perhaps augmented by many considering that it would be hard to relocate their business back home or set up a new business there. According to Pollard et al. (2008: p.44) one in five returned Polish migrants says that making it easier to start a business in Poland would encourage Poles living in the UK to come home.

One of the reasons for the absence of literature on self-employment amongst Polish nationals (and other NMS migrants) is the problem of measuring their presence. Harris et al. (2012) provide a comparison of the number of NINO allocations with WRS registrations to Polish nationals between May 2004 and March 2009. The data shows far higher numbers of NINO allocations than WRS registrations. Harris et al. (2012) suggest that the NINO allocations data captures a different and perhaps a more comprehensive dataset and that some of the discrepancy between WRS and NINO data could originate in self-employment. Self-employed A8 migrants do not have to register under the WRS, although they do have to apply for a NINO, unless they work illegally in the black economy and are paid cash in hand. The intrinsic difference between the two datasets might give some idea of the scale of self-employment amongst A8 migrants (but still little idea of its nature) (Harris et al., 2012).

The difference between the NINO and the WRS needs to be explored further through detailed research as it may go some way towards indicating the size, and/or the

geographical distribution, of the self-employed Polish population in the UK. Harris et al. (2012) do not suggest that self-employment amongst Poles is so widespread as to account for the whole of the discrepancy between WRS and NINo, but they do contend that there is sufficient indication here of its magnitude; entrepreneurialism amongst Poles, and potentially other A8 migrants, should be afforded more academic and policy attention.

3.4 Choosing a single research location and ethnic group, rather than comparative analysis

The choice of Polish nationals as the ethnic group of the research and the choice of the West Midlands as the research location have already been justified. They will also be justified in further detail in Chapter Four. These choices raise questions over the decision to focus on one research location (the West Midlands) and one EU accession group (Poles), rather than incorporating comparative analysis between different locations and ethnic groups.

The choice of one research location and one EU accession group was made largely because this research is the first in-depth study of its kind. Studies state the existence of East European ethnic entrepreneurship in the UK (Barnes and Cox, 2007) and there is some research into Polish entrepreneurship in the UK (Helinska-Hughes et al., 2009; Lassalle et al., 2011a; Lassalle et al., 2011b). However, this research is limited. It focuses on single cities rather than regions of the UK and it does not include extensive case studies. Consequently, my research did not have existing research into Polish entrepreneurship to act a basis to build upon and

develop. There were no existing theories on Polish entrepreneurship to inform my research. Due to this, combined with the time scale and the scope of the study, the decision was made to focus on one research location and one EU accession ethnic group. Incorporating comparative analysis would have resulted in a complicated research project which was already challenging due to its originality.

Comparative analysis could have included a consideration of multiple regions throughout the UK. For instance the West Midlands could have been compared with the South East region, as in my research into Polish NINO registrations (Harris et al., forthcoming). The South East is home to sizeable Polish populations, in towns and cities such as Slough, Southampton and Reading, therefore making it suitable for research into Polish entrepreneurship. A comparative analysis between regions would have identified any similarities or differences between the regions; therefore suggesting whether the information obtained from each region is distinctive or representative of Polish entrepreneurship throughout the UK.

Comparative analysis could have also been undertaken between ethnic groups, including established migrant groups, such as the Chinese and South Asians, or other NMS migrants. This could have been achieved in two ways. Firstly, by replicating the research methods of this project with different ethnic groups and secondly, by using the information obtained on Polish entrepreneurs and comparing it with the findings and theories of existing research on other ethnic groups. However, after careful consideration these comparative approaches were decided against for a number of reasons. Replicating the research methods used to investigate Polish entrepreneurs

to include a comparison with other ethnic groups was decided against. This would have reduced the detail and quality of information obtained from Polish entrepreneurs, as time would have been given to other respondents. It was deemed more appropriate to provide a detailed, in-depth investigation of Polish entrepreneurs rather than an overview of the entrepreneurial experiences of a number of ethnic groups.

Comparing the information obtained on Polish entrepreneurs in the West Midlands with existing studies of ethnic entrepreneurship was also decided against after careful consideration. This was not possible for other NMS migrant entrepreneurs, such as Slovaks or Lithuanians since there is no research into their entrepreneurial experiences in the UK. There is an abundance of literature on the entrepreneurial activities of more established ethnic minority groups such as the Chinese (Watson, 1977; Yeung and Olds, 2000; Gomez and Cheung, 2009) and South Asians (Werbner, 1984; Basu, 1998; Basu and Goswami, 1999; Ram et al., 2002), which could have been used for comparative analysis. However, a focus on existing research would have reduced the attention given Polish entrepreneurship which was considered to be the priority of this research considering the originality of the topic and the contribution that a detailed analysis could make to the field of study.

This research into Polish entrepreneurship can now be used to form the basis of future investigations into NMS migrant entrepreneurship. Consequently, it can be developed to include a comparative analysis between different regions of the UK and between different ethnic groups. Whilst this was deemed as an insightful approach it

was inappropriate for this thesis due to the time constraints of the project and the focus on a detailed understanding of Polish entrepreneurship brought about by the original nature of the work.

3.5 A conceptual approach to understanding Polish entrepreneurship in the UK

The discussions of EU accession and Polish migration to the UK, in addition to the original research (Harris et al., 2012), presented in this chapter, have identified a number of gaps in the literature. When considering EU accession there is a developing body of research into NMS migrants in the UK, particularly those from Poland (Drinkwater et al., 2006; Eade et al., 2006; Garapich, 2008; White, 2010; White, 2011). Nevertheless, this is not in-depth, empirical, case-study based research. In addition, there is an absence of research into the reasons why migrants chose to migrate to the UK at the time of accession. Much of the research into EU migrants is centred on London (McDowell et al., 2007; Wills et al., 2009), pointing to an avenue for research into other locations throughout the UK. When conducting research into EU accession there should be a consideration that measuring migration flows from the NMS presents a problem due to the weaknesses of existing measures (Harris et al., 2012). When the issue of measuring NMS migration is combined with ethnic entrepreneurship it can be seen that the discrepancy between NINo and WRS data enables a connection to the entrepreneurial community (Harris et al., 2012). Despite this, a detailed review of the literature has failed to identify research into the impact of the ECAA, particularly in terms of self-employment. Furthermore, there is very little research into Polish migrants who are self-employed.

If these gaps are combined with those from the literature reviewed in Chapter Two, a conceptual approach can be developed that incorporates specific elements that are required to understand Polish migrant entrepreneurship. This approach also has wider applicability to other migrant entrepreneurial communities. The conceptual approach draws upon the evidence and examples contained in the literature reviewed in chapters two and three. The conceptual approach, which is built upon four elements- *drivers to the timing of migration; transnational relationships; business adaptations; and local entrepreneurship*- can be used to determine the factors involved in the decision to migrate to the UK, and the establishment and growth of businesses. The four elements are processes that are not mutually exclusive and together will affect the decision to set up a business, and may also facilitate the growth of enterprises. Each element of the conceptual approach is explained.

The first element is *drivers to the timing of migration*. In the case of Polish entrepreneurs the influence of governance through the ECAA and EU accession will be the main driver. A further consideration of this is necessary. For instance, the ECAA and EU accession are allowing migration to take place but there will be other drivers operating at particular points in time that contributed to migrants making a decision to take advantage of accession, and also to establish a business. These could relate to the life-stage of potential migrants and also their lifestyle. The second element of the conceptual approach addresses the *transnational relationships* that these entrepreneurs may be engaged in. Here emphasis will be placed upon

exchanges between the UK and Poland, such as advice from family and friends, and flows of finance and products. The third element explores *business adaptations* amongst Polish entrepreneurs. It does this through understanding adaptation for business growth and also for business survival, particularly in response to hostile environments. The final feature of the conceptual approach focuses on *local entrepreneurship*. Here the emphasis is on the local business community, particularly the support provided to entrepreneurs (including both ethnic and non-ethnic entrepreneurs). Attention is also given to the relationship that Polish migrant entrepreneurs have between place and locality.

This conceptual approach supports the thesis as it has been developed through the review of the literature and it provides the conceptual framing for the basis and structure of the subsequent empirical chapters of the thesis. It is believed that by utilising this conceptual approach the research gaps and key points identified through the literature review will be fully considered providing a detailed and holistic investigation into Polish entrepreneurship in the West Midlands.

The diverse nature of the literature and themes included in the conceptual approach supports the need to structure the two literature review chapters in this manner, and the feature of introducing new and more specific literature within the relevant empirical chapters. The concepts highlighted in this approach are those which have been identified through the literature review but will be explored further in the empirical chapters.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the literature on EU accession and Polish migration to the UK with particular attention paid to the self-employment of NMS migrants, to establish the research context. The gaps identified in this chapter have been combined with those identified in Chapter Two, and with the insights of original research (Harris et al., 2012) to bring together the two literature review chapters and to illustrate that research is required to develop a better understanding of Polish entrepreneurship in the UK. When combined these gaps are:

- 1) **Entrepreneurial environment.** Studies fail to link entrepreneurship to the external environment (Thorton, 1999).
- 2) **Ethnic entrepreneurship.** There is a preoccupation of existing studies with settled minority communities rather than the increasingly diverse communities that are now present in many British cities (Ram et al., 2007). This is demonstrated by an absence of detailed research on self-employed Polish migrants. The discrepancy between NINo and WRS data enables a connection to the Polish entrepreneurial community (Harris et al., 2012).
- 3) **EU accession.** There is a growing body of research on NMS migrants in the UK, particularly those from Poland (Drinkwater et al., 2006; Eade et al., 2006; Garapich, 2008; White, 2010; White, 2011). This is not in-depth, empirical, case-study based research. There is also an absence of detailed

research into the reasons why NMS migrants chose to migrate to the UK at the time of accession, along with the timing motivations of migrants who arrived in the UK prior to accession as a result of the ECAA.

- 4) Transnational entrepreneurship.** The lack of integration and cross-fertilisation between entrepreneurship studies and international business studies has been the main obstacle to a fuller understanding of the nature and processes of transnational entrepreneurship (Yeung, 2002; 2007).

These gaps are investigated in the thesis. To explore these gaps, a four-part conceptual approach has been developed which includes focusing on *drivers to the timing of migration, transnational relationships, business adaptations, and local entrepreneurship*. These four issues will be explored in this thesis through a detailed analysis of Polish migrant entrepreneurs in the West Midlands. The conceptual approach supports the research as it outlines the content of the empirical chapters, ensuring that they cover the key points and research gaps identified, therefore providing a holistic analysis. The following chapter provides an account of the research design that was developed to explore these issues.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODS: TOOLS AND TECHNIQUES ADOPTED IN THE STUDY OF POLISH MIGRANT ENTREPRENEURSHIP

4.1 Introduction

This thesis explores Polish entrepreneurship in the West Midlands by examining the strategies used to establish businesses and the relationships and resources involved in the running of the businesses. To achieve these aims in identifying and investigating these businesses different sources of information are required. Researching Polish businesses requires taking into consideration the different factors involved in the process of establishing and developing a business, such as the business idea, raising capital and adapting to the external environment. For this purpose, careful consideration had to be taken when selecting technical and methodological tools.

This chapter explores the main tools and techniques developed and applied in the study area to unpack the factors affecting Polish entrepreneurship in the West Midlands, whilst highlighting some of the methodological problems encountered and the strategies adopted to solve them. The results will add to the literature on ethnic entrepreneurship, whilst shedding light on the experiences of Polish entrepreneurs in the UK. It is important to note that my accounts are those of a British researcher, who prior to this research had no interaction with the Polish community. Consequently, my positionality as a researcher will be affected by these circumstances.

Following this introduction, the second section of the chapter begins by exploring some of the methodologies adopted in the study of ethnic entrepreneurship, whilst reviewing the existing methodological problems when undertaking research into Polish entrepreneurship. The third section is split into four stages of the research and specifies the issues involved with them, beginning with the pre-fieldwork investigations and giving an insight into the area of study. The first stage explains the rationale behind the decision to study Polish entrepreneurship in the UK, specifically the West Midlands, whilst the second stage gives a detailed account of the pre-fieldwork preparations. In stage three, emphasis is on the fieldwork and selection of informants. In stage four, the interview process is elaborated, with the choices of interview locations available, and the different positional strategies adopted in the field. Section four of the chapter focuses on the data collected and its treatment using both qualitative techniques, whilst section five provides a reflection of the methodology adopted with suggestions for future research. In the final section there is a summary of the main themes discussed in the chapter.

4.2 Research on entrepreneurship

The numerous strands that comprise the field of entrepreneurship (Belcourt, 1990; Lerner et al., 1997; Hisrich and Ozturk, 1999; Carter et al., 2004) have been explored using various methodological tools (for instance, traditional quantitative, participant observation, holistic-inductive qualitative). Some studies have adopted an inclusive approach to capture personal topics, taking into account entrepreneurs' behaviour. Howorth et al. (2005) suggested adopting multiple paradigms for developing theories of entrepreneurship using four different research perspectives (functionalist, interpretivist, radical humanist and radical structuralist). From an ethnic entrepreneurship perspective, and focusing on black African entrepreneurs in London, Nwankwo (2005) used a connected narrative approach when presenting the results of his research. Focusing on Polish entrepreneurs, Helinska-Hughes et al.'s (2009) research into Polish immigrants as ethnic minority entrepreneurs in Scotland uses illustrative case studies. Their analysis is based on a pilot study comprising of four semi-structured interviews conducted amongst Polish Entrepreneurs in Glasgow. In this thesis the choice of a methodology will be dependent on numerous factors, including the type of information which I am attempting to uncover.

The boundaries of this research reflect the geographical environment within which the study has taken place. The choice of methodological tools and the success of the fieldwork have been affected by a number of problems associated with doing research on ethnic entrepreneurship (Vinogradov, 2011). Reflecting on the methodological issues surrounding this research also means that new problems can be brought to light, and solutions offered that may help other researchers who are planning to embark on research into ethnic entrepreneurship.

Several researchers have reported methodological issues arising from field studies of vulnerable groups (Yu and Liu, 1986; James and Platzer, 1999), particularly the ethical aspects of conducting research on ethnic entrepreneurship (Birman, 2006; Vinogradov, 2011). Vulnerable participants or vulnerable subjects are persons who may be incapable of giving fully informed consent (Polit and Beck, 2004). The majority of ethical codes underline that vulnerable populations should be approached with a special consciousness. Thus, the research strategy regarding studies on immigrants depends on whether immigrants are more vulnerable compared to natives.

The difference between immigrant and mainstream entrepreneurs is one of the fundamental themes within the area of immigrant entrepreneurship research (Ram, 1997: p.149). Even the suggestion that ethnic entrepreneurs are different from mainstream entrepreneurs may be judged abusive and unethical by informants

(Vinogradov, 2011: p.5). However, several sources of immigrants' vulnerability have been identified in the literature (Kissell, 2005). The same is confirmed by experts in ethnic entrepreneurship (Aldrich et al., 1984; Vinogradov, 2011).

For instance, Vinogradov argues that "immigrant entrepreneurs should be treated differently from mainstream research objects as far as these two groups are different with respect to their cultures, legal status, educational levels, economic position, languages and migration experiences" (2011: p.6). Consequently, he indicates that research on immigrant and ethnic minority entrepreneurs requires specific methodology that differs from the approaches applied in the mainstream entrepreneurship research. His study reveals a number of potential ethical problems which are important for conducting research on immigrants and ethnic minorities (Vinogradov, 2011).

Ethical aspects should be considered throughout the entire research process. Vinogradov (2011) provides a number of solutions to the potential ethical problems in research on ethnic and immigrant entrepreneurs (summarised in Table 4.1). The work of Vinogradov (2011) was unavailable when I conducted my fieldwork and therefore did not inform my ethical approach. However, my research did adopt a similar method to Vinogradov (2011) and as such, his work provides a useful summary of the problems and solutions involved in my research into Polish entrepreneurs. Where possible I made myself aware of these potential ethical problems prior to commencing the data collection, and took the necessary steps suggested here to minimise or reduce the risk of such problems.

Table 4.1 Ethical issues in research on ethnic/immigrant entrepreneurs: sources and possible solutions

Sources of ethical ambiguity	Ethical issues	Practical solutions
Cultural differences between the researcher and the subject	Perception of informed consent	Personal, verbal communication, co-ethnic interviewers.
	Perception of investigator's position and authority	Underlining researcher's independence from immigration authorities and voluntary participation.
	Interpretation of age, gender and dress code	Preliminary research on social norms within the ethnic group. Selecting interviewers with respect to age and gender.
	Perception of personal autonomy	Dialogue with community members and object's relatives.
	Religious dogmas	Consultations from religious leaders. Respect to dogmas.
	Links to ethnic community	Dialogue with ethnic community
	Group self-image	Show respect to the group self-image. Present results in a non-diminishing way.
Legal differences between the subject and the mainstream population	Attitude to immigration authorities	Underlining researcher's independence from immigration authorities and confidentiality.
	Restricted freedom of movement	Avoid, wherever possible, asylum seekers.
	Restricted economic freedom	Avoid, wherever possible, asylum seekers.
Educational differences between the subject and the researcher	Comprehension of informed consent	Explaining the concept of informed consent. Use of experienced interviewers. Verbal communication.
	Comprehension of the concept of social research	Explaining the goals of the research. Use of experienced interviewers.
	Perception of education as a sensitive topic	Use broad categories in questionnaires.
Economic differences between a subject and mainstream population	Income sources	Use broad categories in questionnaires. Anonymity. Underlining researcher's independence from tax authorities.
	Employment practices	Underlining researcher's independence from authorities.
Linguistic differences between the subject and the researcher	Linguistic barrier	Use bi-lingual interviewers. Translations into mother language.
Object's links to the home country	Concern about stay-at-home relatives and peers	Underlining researcher's independence from the object's home country authorities.
	Traumatic pre-migration experience	Avoiding triggering traumatic memories.

Source: Vinogradov (2011: p.13-14)

Undertaking research into Polish entrepreneurship as a white British researcher presupposes the adoption of some important ethical and research-policy instances, which involve consent, guarantee of anonymity and confidentiality (Punch, 1986) (Table 4.1). To reduce pressure for some respondents and to maintain a strong dimension of ethics in the research, compromises sometimes had to be made in favour of the participants. For instance, some participants were concerned about the quality of their English language or accent and requested that the interviewing process be very relaxed and conversational, rather than structured and formal, while many requested that the information they provided during the interview should not be passed on to government or any other state institution, unless their identity was hidden. Consequently, participants were given assurance and were well informed about the purpose and the intents of the research before interviews were undertaken. Elsewhere some respondents were reluctant to, or categorically refused to answer some delicate and sensitive questions about themselves and their business (the financial performance of the business, and the formality of the business). Some respondents expressed suspicions that I may be a “spy for the government”, since it is likely that not all businesses were operating according to tax and employment law. As a result, an effort was made to minimise questions that might be perceived as posing a political, legal or economic threat to the respondents or that could harm them (Foddy, 1993) and my independence from authorities was underlined, as recommended in Table 4.1. The next section explores the main steps taken before, during and after the fieldwork.

4.3 Stages of the research

The research initiated with a decision to investigate the experiences of Polish migrant entrepreneurs in the West Midlands, in order to understand the main dynamics for the establishment of Polish entrepreneurial ventures. It was established that the analysis would reveal:

- The characteristics of Polish entrepreneurs and their businesses.
- The motives for establishing enterprises.
- The role of networks and supporting institutions in supporting Polish businesses in the West Midlands.

Since the initial conception, the research has gone through numerous stages and several changes have been made to reflect unforeseen circumstances. This section explores these stages in detail, particularly any changes which have been made, and their consequences on subsequent actions taken.

Stage one: the research area

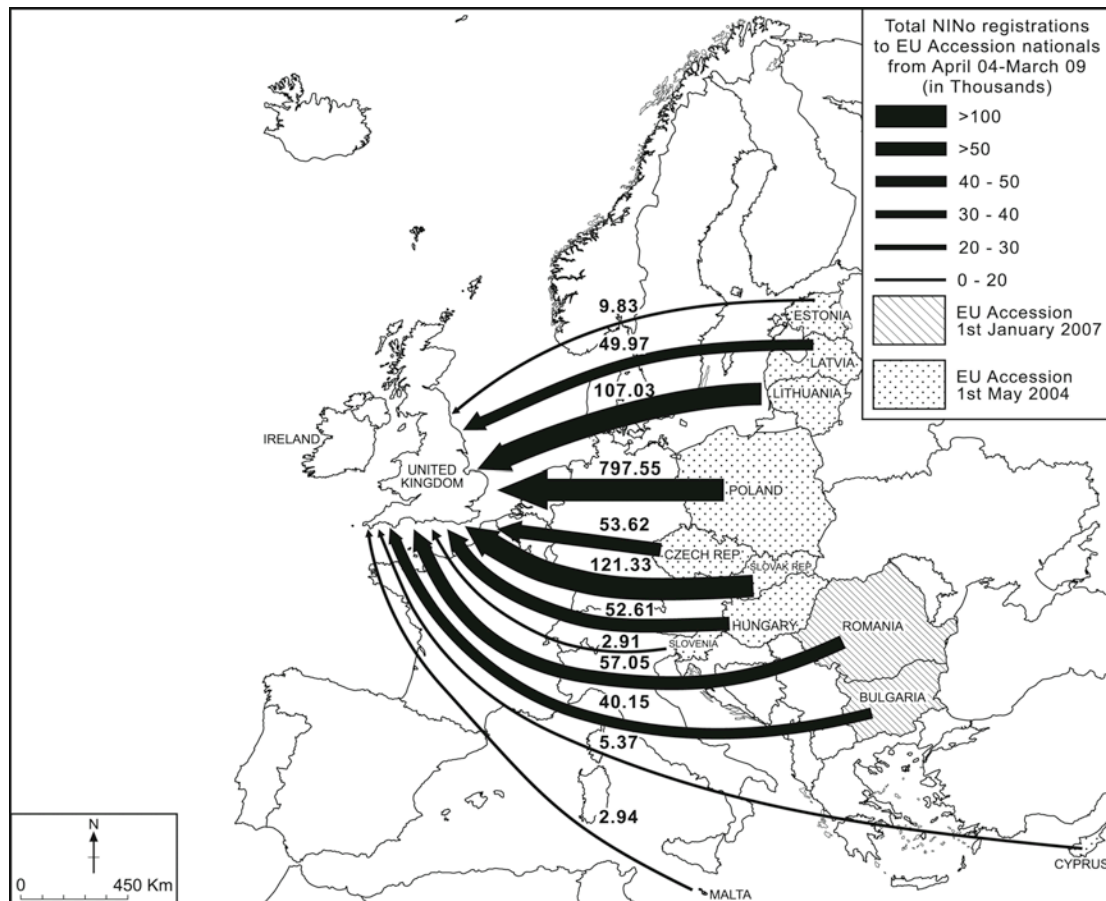
Ethnic entrepreneurship in the UK

The decision to study Polish entrepreneurs in the West Midlands was developed through my wider interest in ethnic entrepreneurship in the UK, in addition to an interest in EU accession migration. I was keen to combine these two topics into a research project. To facilitate analysis of the literature on both of these fields of

research and to identify gaps, which would allow the formulation of the project and research questions, two spreadsheets were constructed. One specified all of the major studies carried out on ethnic entrepreneurship in the UK, and another focused upon studies of migration surrounding EU accession. Both summarised the main points of analysis and identified the gaps. Having identified the gaps, it became clear that Polish migrants were the most predominant group to have migrated to the UK following EU accession in 2004. Perhaps due to the recent date of their arrival the literature on ethnic entrepreneurship failed to acknowledge the existence of Polish entrepreneurs in the UK. Instead, there is an abundance of literature on the entrepreneurial activities of more established ethnic minority groups such as the Chinese (Watson, 1977; Yeung and Olds, 2000; Gomez and Cheung, 2009) and South Asians (Werbner, 1984; Basu, 1998; Basu and Goswami, 1999; Ram et al., 2002). Furthermore, the literature specifically on EU accession labour migrants often only mentions a self-employed element to the migrant's employment. It does not explore this in detail.

In addition to the influence of the literature, the choice of country was based on the fact that the UK was one of only three countries (along with Ireland and Sweden) to allow migrants from the NMS to enter their labour markets more or less without restriction, therefore suggesting that there would be a more sizeable Polish population in the UK than in other European countries. The choice of country was also dependent on accessibility to the study population, the time-scale and the cost of undertaking the fieldwork.

Figure 4.1 NINo registrations to overseas nationals entering the UK from the EU accession states



Source: Harris et al. (2012)

In order to support both my choice of ethnic group and country, NINo allocations to overseas nationals entering the UK between 2004 and 2009 were analysed (Harris et al., 2012). Registrations for a NINo give an indication of the number of migrants working in the UK, since having a NINo indicates that an individual is highly likely to be employed, or seeking employment (DWP, 2007). Figure 4.1 demonstrates that Polish nationals received the majority of NINOs amongst NMS nationals. They also received the majority of NINOs amongst all overseas nationals applying for a NINo. Therefore they are the most significant recently arrived ethnic minority group currently working in the UK.

Having considered all of the above a decision was made to research Polish entrepreneurship in the UK. After identifying the research project it became clear that undertaking a comparative study of Polish entrepreneurship throughout the UK would require extensive fieldwork in order to gain a deep insight into the lives of the entrepreneurs and the businesses that they operate. Having considered the feasibility of the study, particularly the time scale and the gaps identified, it was realised that a study of the whole of the UK would be extensive in orientation and consequently would lack a depth of analysis. Consequently, a decision was made to focus on one region of the UK.

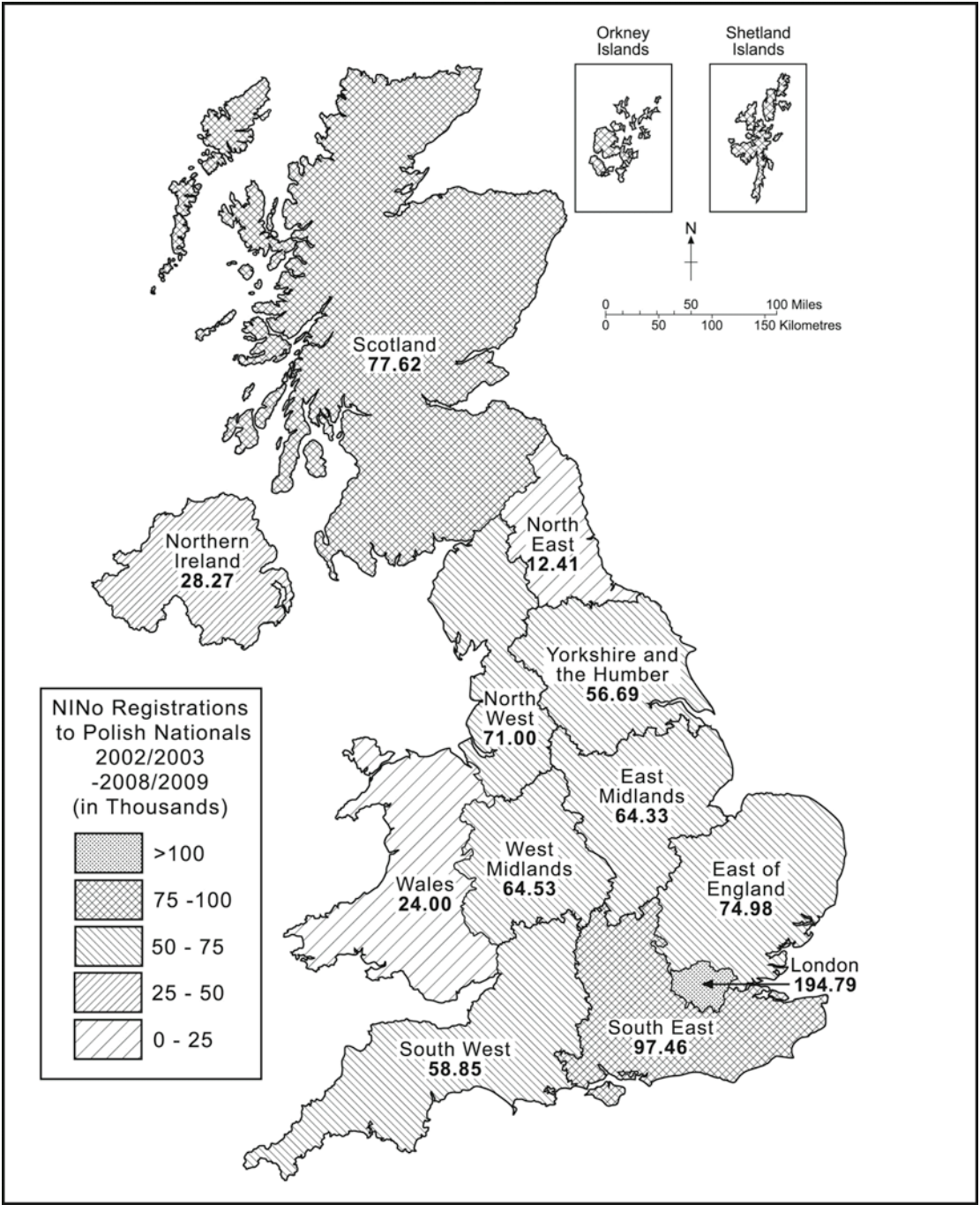
The West Midlands region

The decision to focus on the West Midlands region was based on a number of factors. Primarily, the West Midlands, and in particular the city of Birmingham, has been the focus of much of the literature on ethnic entrepreneurship (Ram et al., 2002; McEwan et al., 2005; Ram et al., 2008). However, none of which focus on Polish entrepreneurship. This highlights a gap in the research, particularly since the Midlands (East and West) region in 2006 had accumulated the largest number of new Polish migrants in the UK (17 per cent of the total), having overtaken London and the South East (Meardi, 2007: p.9).

In addition, the West Midlands is my region of birth and present place of residence. This made it an ideal choice in terms of the time-scale and ease of the research. If the interview process became slow I would continue working on other parts of my research, and I could easily return later in the research to tie-up any loose ends should

problems or new issues have arisen in the interviews. I also knew the area well leading to a shared sense of locality with the respondents.

Figure 4.2 NINo registrations to Polish nationals for the Government Office Regions of the UK



Source: Harris et al. (forthcoming)

In order to statistically support the choice of the West Midlands as a study area a detailed analysis of NINo and WRS data by GOR for Polish nationals entering the UK was conducted (Harris et al., 2012; Harris et al., forthcoming). Figure 4.2 shows that at the sub-national (GOR) level from 2002-09 there were high absolute numbers of Polish NINo allocations right across the UK, with significant figures in the West Midlands (Harris et al., 2012). Harris et al. (forthcoming) explain how the absolute numbers of NINo registrations made to Polish nationals, with WRS applications from the same group for the period May 2004 - March 2009, demonstrate that the NINo dataset has captured far more activity than the WRS. WRS only targets employees, those taking existing jobs in the UK, who must register when they obtain a job, and if they change job within twelve months of arrival in the UK. The self-employed, however, are not required to apply for registration through WRS at all. By contrast, the NINo dataset should comprise *all* those who work legally in the UK, whether employed or self-employed. It is therefore quite possible that an unspecified but potentially significant proportion of the discrepancy between WRS and NINo is caused by the numbers of Poles who are self-employed, acting entrepreneurially to establish businesses in the UK, and who are therefore beyond the reach of the WRS. The percentage difference between NINo and WRS figures by GOR demonstrates the West Midlands has a sizeable difference between NINo and WRS, which could be attributed to self-employed Poles. (Harris et al., forthcoming).

Following the identification of the West Midlands as a region with a significant working Polish population, WRS and NINo data was used to calculate Location Quotients (LQs)⁸ for each local authority in the West Midlands, to indicate the under-

⁸ The Location Quotient is a measure of the concentration of variable in a region compared to the national average.

or over- representation of Polish nationals. The purpose of this was to gain an idea of the significance of the Polish population in the region, and also an indication of their distribution, which would suggest which towns and cities of the region should be targeted when attempting to access respondents. Both urban and rural areas occupy positions throughout the ranking of local authorities by Polish NINo registrations as a proportion of the workforce (Table 4.2). In this GOR, the list is headed by the rural area of Herefordshire, where Polish allocations comprise almost 9 per cent of those for the entire working population, which is a significant representation according to the LQs. Herefordshire is closely followed by the town of Rugby with Polish allocation comprising 6.58 per cent of the entire working population. At the bottom of the list are the major 'urban' area of Dudley, very close to the city of Birmingham, and the more rural areas of Cannock Chase, Bromsgrove and Southern Staffordshire. Taking all of this into consideration, it was decided to focus on the West Midlands. The area has evidence of previous ethnic entrepreneurial activities and a significant Polish community, with their distribution appearing to vary throughout the region, and there is a sizeable difference between NINo and WRS, which could be attributed to self-employed Poles.

Table 4.2: NINo registrations to Polish nationals in the local authorities of the West Midlands region of the UK 2002/2003- 2010/2011

Local authority	NINo registrations to Polish nationals (000)	Total local authority employment (000)	Poles as a percentage of the working population	Standard deviation	Rank	Location Quotients (LQ)	DEFRA classification
Herefordshire, County of	7.05	82.20	8.58	2.49567	1	2.5206	50-80% Rural Significant
Rugby	2.75	41.80	6.58	1.59789	2	1.9335	Rural
Coventry	9.17	139.90	6.55	1.58443	3	1.9263	Large Urban
Sandwell	6.82	111.60	6.11	1.38692	4	1.7960	Major Urban
Redditch	2.32	39.50	5.87	1.27918	5	1.7261	Other Urban
Wychavon	3.01	58.70	5.13	0.94701	6	1.5070	80+% Rural Significant
East Staffordshire	2.65	53.50	4.95	0.86621	7	1.4557	Rural
Stratford on Avon	2.77	57.70	4.80	0.79887	8	1.4109	80+% Rural
Worcester	2.15	47.10	4.56	0.69114	9	1.3415	Other Urban
Telford and Wrekin	2.81	74.00	3.80	0.34998	10	1.1160	Other Urban
Birmingham	15.33	407.00	3.77	0.33652	11	1.1070	Major Urban
Wolverhampton	3.43	91.90	3.73	0.31856	12	1.0969	Major Urban
Tamworth	0.88	31.00	2.84	-0.08095	13	0.8343	Other Urban Significant
Stafford	1.47	57.90	2.54	-0.21562	14	0.7461	Rural
Stoke on Trent	2.37	101.90	2.33	-0.30988	15	0.6835	Large Urban Significant
Warwick	1.51	69.90	2.16	-0.38619	16	0.6349	Rural
Nuneaton and Bedworth	1.10	54.50	2.02	-0.44904	17	0.5932	Other Urban
Malvern Hills	0.66	33.50	1.97	-0.47148	18	0.5790	50-80% Rural
Walsall	1.83	100.90	1.81	-0.54331	19	0.5330	Major Urban Significant
Wyre Forest	0.79	45.60	1.73	-0.57922	20	0.5091	Rural
Lichfield	0.78	47.30	1.65	-0.61513	21	0.4846	50-80% Rural
North							
Warwickshire	0.44	29.30	1.50	-0.68246	22	0.4413	50-80% Rural
Shropshire	2.04	138.40	1.47	-0.69593	23	0.4332	50-80% Rural
Newcastle Under Lyme	0.57	55.70	1.02	-0.89793	24	0.3007	Large Urban
Solihull	0.61	88.50	0.69	-1.04606	25	0.2026	Major Urban
Staffordshire							
Moorlands	0.31	47.70	0.65	-1.06402	26	0.1910	50-80% Rural
Dudley	0.82	134.80	0.61	-1.08197	27	0.1788	Major Urban Significant
Cannock Chase	0.24	49.50	0.48	-1.14033	28	0.1425	Rural Significant
Bromsgrove	0.16	43.90	0.36	-1.19419	29	0.1071	Rural Significant
South							
Staffordshire	0.17	47.90	0.35	-1.19868	30	0.1043	Rural

Source: NINo Time Series- Financial Year of Registration Date= 2002/2003- 2010/2011. In employment Times Series- Jan 2010- Dec 2010. NINo registrations are 100 per cent extract from NIRS DWP (2011). In employment figures are from NOMIS (2011). Classification figures are from DEFRA (2009).

Figure 4.3 The West Midlands



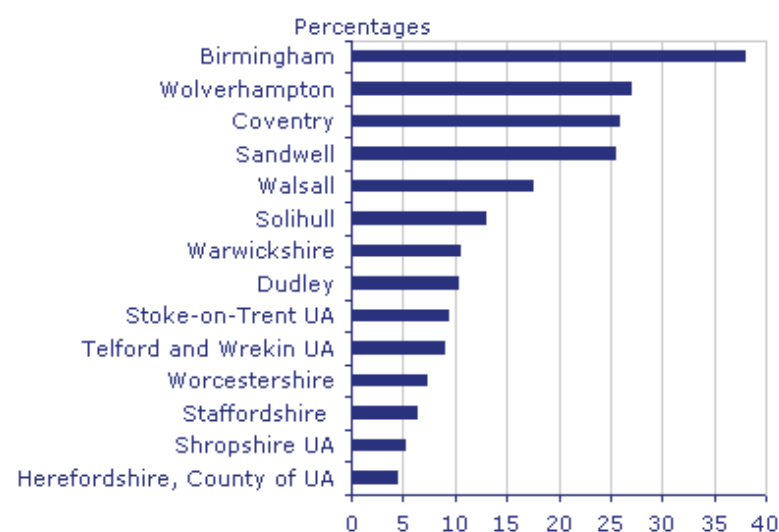
Source: Author (2011)

The West Midlands is an official region of England, covering the western half of the area traditionally known as the Midlands. The region is made up of the six counties of Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Warwickshire, Staffordshire, Shropshire and the West Midlands (Figure 4.3). The West Midlands county is part of the West Midlands

region and the two should not be confused⁹. The region has a varied urban and rural composition, dominated by the densely populated conurbation of Birmingham and the Black Country. In contrast, extensive tracts of the western reaches of Herefordshire and Shropshire are composed of sparsely populated areas of villages and hamlets.

With a population of 5.4 million in June 2009, the West Midlands accounts for almost 11 per cent of England's overall population (Medland, 2011). 49.36 per cent of the region's population resides in the West Midlands county, 20.17 percent in Staffordshire, 10.49 percent in Worcestershire, 9.91 per cent in Warwickshire, 8.56 per cent in Shropshire, and 3.37 per cent in Herefordshire (Medland, 2011).

Figure 4.4 West Midlands non-White British population as a proportion of total resident population, mid-2007



Source: Medland (2011)

⁹ Throughout this research any reference to the West Midlands refers to the West Midlands region, rather than the West Midlands conurbation, unless otherwise stated.

The West Midlands has the most ethnically diverse regional population outside London. Experimental statistics for 2007 estimate that 17 per cent of the region's population classified themselves as non-White British (Medland, 2011). Birmingham had the region's highest concentration, comprising 38 per cent of its population (Figure 4.4) (Medland, 2011). In sharp contrast, representation in certain satellite towns including Tamworth (6 per cent) and Redditch (10 per cent) was markedly below the England average of 16 per cent, and was lower still (below 5 per cent) in some more distant rural areas, such as Herefordshire unitary authority (UA) and Staffordshire Moorlands local authority (Medland, 2011). Supporting these figures, the region's main city Birmingham, attracts a significant amount of overseas investment.

In terms of its economic characteristics, the West Midlands recorded the highest unemployment rate in England during the latest recession, peaking at 10.6 per cent in the period May to July 2009 (Medland, 2011). The region contributes over 7 per cent of the UK's gross value added (GVA). The West Midlands, was dubbed "the powerhouse of the Fordist industrial boom" (Bryson et al., 1996: p.157), with 65 per cent of the region's labour force working in manufacturing in 1961 (Ram et al., 2002). The region has undergone major economic restructuring over the past three decades, with the relative share of employment and wealth generation transferring from the manufacturing sector to service sectors.

Stage two: pre-fieldwork preparation

A number of instruments were utilised to collect the various information and data needed for this research. The research methodology was chosen based on the information I was attempting to uncover, and the choice of tools was dependent on the research objectives and the types of questions to be administered. Before I set out to investigate the study area a literature review was carried out to provide a thorough understanding of the field of entrepreneurship as well as the area of study. In addition, several methodological tools were examined to select the most appropriate ones for the study of Polish entrepreneurs in the West Midlands.

Literature review

Sources of information for the literature review were based on previous research undertaken on entrepreneurship (Schumpeter, 1934; Bygrave, 2003), ethnic entrepreneurship (Aldrich and Waldinger, 1990; Ram, 1997), EU accession (Dustmann et al., 2003; Portes and French, 2005) and Polish migration to the UK (Burell, 2002; Düvell, 2004). It was also based on reports and documents collected by the *Office of National Statistics (ONS)* and the *Home Office*. The secondary data therefore reflected literature on entrepreneurship; literature and reports on EU accession and migration to the UK, with particular attention paid to Polish migration; studies carried out world-wide on ethnic entrepreneurship, with particular focus on ethnic entrepreneurship in the West Midlands; and reports and data orchestrated by the *ONS* and the *Home Office*.

Quantitative tools

There has been an over-reliance on quantitative methods (in entrepreneurship research), which have been criticised for being strict and unrealistic (Dana and Dana, 2005). In this research there was a reluctance to use standardised questionnaire based surveys, which focus on numerical results, as a tool for research on Polish enterprises to allow me to be open to whatever emerged from the field, allowing a better understanding of the entrepreneurs' interaction with the environment. Furthermore, questionnaires have a low response rate and may yield unrepresentative data. A mail or telephone survey would not have been effective in the Polish entrepreneurial context due to language issues.

However, statistical analysis was used in order to justify the choice of case study area. First, a detailed analysis of NINo and WRS data by GOR for Polish nationals entering the UK was conducted (Harris et al., 2012; Harris et al., forthcoming). The percentage difference between NINo and WRS figures by GOR demonstrates that the West Midlands has a sizeable difference between NINo and WRS, which could be attributed to self-employed Poles (Harris et al., forthcoming). Secondly, WRS and NINo data was used to calculate Location Quotients (LQs) for each local authority in the West Midlands, to indicate the under- or over- representation of Polish nationals. The purpose of this was to gain an idea of the significance of the Polish population in the region, and also an indication of their distribution which would suggest which towns and cities of the region should be targeted when attempting to access respondents.

The Location Quotient is “a well known and used analytical tool for identifying concentrations of economic activity by sector and place” (Bryson and Taylor, 2006: p.19). However, I have adapted it to identify concentrations of Polish migrant workers by place. This is similar to Stillwell (2009) who uses LQs to measure ethnic groups moving away from or towards areas of ethnic concentration in London. I have generated the LQs by calculating Polish NINo registrations in each LA as a percentage of total employment in each LA and the total Polish NINo registrations in the UK as a percentage of total employment in the UK. The former is then divided by the later (Figure 4.5). A location quotient of 1 indicates the local share of Polish NINo registrations is equal to the national share. A location quotient of less than 1 indicates the local area has less Polish NINo registrations than the nation; a value greater than 1 indicates the local area has a concentration of Polish NINo registrations, relative to the nation.

Figure 4.5 Formula to calculate Location Quotients

$$\text{Location Quotient} = \frac{\text{NINo registrations to Poles in LA/ total employment in LA}}{\text{NINo registrations to Poles in UK/ total employment in UK}}$$

Source: Author (2011)

Although the concept of the LQ is useful and simple, it is not error free. Just like any other tool, LQs need to be used with caution because some elemental assumptions can lead to errors if they are violated. The problems of using LQs in their usual form of measuring the concentration of an industry are well-documented (see Jensen, et al., 1979). Caution should be given to the aggregation of the data-location quotient values can vary because of the data used. The technique also requires you to assume local and non-local conditions are similar. When using LQs to measure the concentration of an ethnic group, comparing results based on percentage values for different groups can be difficult. Usually there are significant differences in the degree of concentration of groups across an area. Nevertheless, the LQ is a useful tool to measure the concentration of the working Polish population in a given area.

Qualitative tools

Whilst quantitative research is about the collection and analysis of numerical data, this study involves the collection of material that seeks to uncover “meanings, concepts, definitions, characteristics and the descriptions of things” (Berg, 1995: p.3). Furthermore, it is attempting to understand Polish entrepreneurs’ experiences and as a result, qualitative tools were most appropriate since they helped to capture the best representation of the entrepreneurs’ social reality (Berg, 1995: p.4). As Brayton argues, they provide “value subjective, personal meaning and definitions, commonalities to the oppressed” (1997: p.3). In addition, qualitative methods are often less structured and as a result are “more flexible”, allowing the researcher to modify the interview process and to explore in depth aspects deemed important for

the interviewee (Madge and O'Connor, 2004). In this particular study, this tool allowed the respondents to be an "expert" about their own experiences (Millen, 1997). The choice of qualitative tools for this research is supported by their use in a variety of other investigations into Polish migrants in the UK (Pollard et al., 2008; White and Ryan, 2008; Ryan et al., 2008; Sales et al., 2009; Lopez-Rodriguez et al., 2010; Rabikowska, 2010; Temple, 2010; White, 2010; Ryan and Sales 2011).

Stage three: selection of respondents

Selecting business associations, support institutions and key individuals

I set out to approach business associations, support institutions and key individuals¹⁰ relevant to either entrepreneurship or the Polish community, or relevant to both. This had two purposes. Firstly, this process involved identifying and interviewing gatekeepers who may lead to suitable entrepreneurs to interview. Berg highlights the "value of obtaining the support of community leaders when conducting research in minority communities" (1999: p.239). Seidman (1998) has commented that introductions from other community members can help to even out inherent power relations as a known person introduces the researcher to the participant. The researcher might be perceived as a "friend of a friend" (Harré and Secord, 1972). Accessing entrepreneurs through these gatekeepers allowed entrepreneurs to be

¹⁰ A key individual is considered to be an individual who is not necessarily Polish, working for a business organisation or an entrepreneur, but someone who is still knowledgeable about entrepreneurship, the Polish community in the West Midlands, or both. For instance, a Polish born lawyer working in the West Midlands, who is employed by a UK firm and deals with clients who are Polish entrepreneurs.

interviewed who otherwise would have been very difficult to access. Secondly, interviewing such organisations and individuals raised awareness of important issues in the experiences of Polish entrepreneurs which could be incorporated into their interviews. It also highlighted the support available to them. Since Poles are a relatively recently arrived ethnic group in the UK, it was assumed that there would be few specific organisations for Polish entrepreneurs. Therefore, the decision was made that general business associations may have experience and knowledge of dealing with Poles, and that Polish institutions may have experience of dealing with entrepreneurs.

Twenty-four associations, institutions and key individuals were identified and were contacted by telephone or email to request an interview. These associations were identified through the prior knowledge that I had, through visual observations when I was in the area of study and through internet searches. Eleven of those contacted were interviewed. Those who were not interviewed were unable to be reached because they were unavailable, unwilling to discuss the matter over the telephone or email, or they made it clear that they did not wish to participate in the research. Organisations who refused an interview were largely mainstream business organisations, rather than specifically Polish institutions. Those organisations interviewed included entrepreneurship forums, Polish Catholic Churches and Polish social clubs. The types of organisation and the number of those interviewed are shown in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3 The number and type of organisations interviewed

Type of Organisation	Number of organisations interviewed
Entrepreneurship and business associations	4
Polish community and support organisation	3
Organisations related to Polish entrepreneurship	2
Key individuals	2
Total	11

Source: Author (field survey May 2009- February 2010)

Selecting entrepreneurs

Sixty-two entrepreneurs were identified and contacted to enquire whether they would participate in the research (Table 4.4). I began by trying to identify suitable entrepreneurs using online business databases, including *Companies House* and *FAME*. However, using these databases was largely unsuccessful. *Companies House* is an executive agency of the United Kingdom government in the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills (BIS). The *Companies House* website allows users to search for businesses. However, this posed problems when I attempted to use it to identify Polish entrepreneurs. Firstly, a business is only required to register with *Companies House* if it is a limited company which is being formed. In the case of Polish businesses many are small and therefore are not limited companies that are registered with *Companies House*. Those businesses that are registered can be searched for by company name or company number. Once a business has been selected, information on the company can be viewed, such as location. Initially I did not know the name of any Polish businesses so I searched for 'Polish'. Only those

businesses with 'Polish' in their name were identified through a search for 'Polish'. There will be many businesses that cannot be found through the database using this method, as they do not have 'Polish' in their name.

FAME is a similar database which provides information on over 4 million UK public and private companies including detailed financial reports for over 1.5 million companies. Data available within *FAME* includes company contact details, business activities, up to 10 years of annual accounts and financial ratios, holdings, subsidiaries, director and shareholding data. As with the *Companies House* database *FAME* posed similar problems when searching for businesses established by Polish migrants.

Table 4.4 Methods used to contact potential respondents

Identification method	Number of firms
Snowballing methods	23
Internet searches	11
Business directories/ databases	9
Visible businesses	9
Networking events	7
Personal recommendations	3
Total	62

Source: Author (field survey May 2009- February 2010)

As a consequence of the limitations of identifying respondents using online business databases, entrepreneurs were largely identified using a cascade technique through the information provided by gatekeepers (Table 4.4), which is often used when the

precise number and the location of the group studied is unknown (Burgess, 1994: p.75) or if the target is “out of reach” to the researcher (McQueen and Knussen, 2002: p.74). Using this technique, the identified business associations, supporting institutions and key individuals were asked to recommend suitable entrepreneurs to contact.

Dealing with gatekeepers can have great benefits. They have local influence and power to add credibility and validity to the project by their acceptance of it (Seidman, 1998). Alternatively, they can erect barriers, preventing access and effectively shutting the project down before it has begun (Berg, 1999). Therefore, it is important to understand both the benefits and the disadvantages of using gatekeepers for accessing participants. Seidman (1998), commenting on gatekeepers, contended that they fall into two categories: “absolutely legitimate (to be respected) to self-declared (to be avoided)” (p. 37). In addition to this, gatekeepers could be working to their own agenda regardless of legitimacy. They could attempt to influence the research process with their own version of ‘reality’ by indicating only participants ‘approved of’ by themselves. To try to overcome this I sought to include as many views and narratives as possible. Consequently, all gatekeepers and their recommendations, although respected, were treated with some degree of caution.

Once gatekeepers had identified initial participants, the cascade technique (also known as snowballing technique) was used to enhance the variety of the sample. The advantages and disadvantages of this recruitment strategy are well documented

(see Gilbert, 1993; Robson, 1993). The snowballing technique can sometimes be one of the few ways of accessing a vulnerable or inaccessible sample because security features are intrinsically built into the sample framework (Lee, 1993).

The cascade technique does have several limitations. All suggested interviewees should be interviewed in order to avoid bias. The chain may be biased because of a particular network chosen, although this can be avoided by probing investigation. McQueen and Knussen (2002: p.72) argue that the cascade technique does not lead to a representative sample as it provides a restricted sample of participants drawn from similar backgrounds.

In addition to selecting entrepreneurs through the cascade technique, several other selection methods were used (Table 4.4). Internet searches were used as a means of locating suitable businesses. I posted messages on Polish community websites informing people about the research and requesting that they made contact if they were interested in participating. Online business directories, such as *Yell* and more specific Polish business directories, such as *Polish Firms*, were used to successfully identify businesses.

I also attended relevant events in order to make suitable contacts, and to gain interviews with entrepreneurs. Such events included West Midlands based entrepreneurship networking events, seminars for Polish entrepreneurs and Polish community events.

The entrepreneurs identified through these methods were initially contacted (where possible) by email. This correspondence informed them about the purpose of the study and asked them to contact me if they wished to participate, as well as to recommend other entrepreneurs or business associations to contact. The decision to use email was made as I believed that this was the method which would allow a clear explanation of the research to be given, particularly given that language could have been an issue when discussing the research initially, since I was unaware of the language skills of those entrepreneurs being contacted. When email addresses were not readily available, entrepreneurs were contacted by telephone.

James (2006) explains that there are several advantages to using email in order to contact potential research participants. First, email allows the researcher “to detail the purpose, nature and intent of our research succinctly, and unhindered by a bad line or confusing regional accent” (James, 2006: p.298). Second, email “offers arguably the least intrusive mode of contacting firms” (James, 2006: p.298); unlike phone calls there is never a 'wrong' time to call because an email will typically only be opened when the respondent is ready to open it. Third, email is a relatively cheaper, quicker and more hassle-free method of conducting surveys than conventional mail. Finally, email allows us to get our request for access directly into the inbox of potential research participants. Significantly, James (2006) explains how when attempting to access firms for a research project in Utah, USA, in contrast to an initial response rate of 15 per cent by phone, he was able to increase this to a figure of 50 per cent using email.

The sample size was not fixed due to the time restrictions on the research and the uncertainty of the number of individuals willing to participate in the research. Before the fieldwork was undertaken, I aimed to interview twenty-five to thirty entrepreneurs. Of the sixty-two entrepreneurs contacted, forty-eight semi-structured interviews were carried out with Polish entrepreneurs- a response rate 77 per cent (Table 4.5). Those entrepreneurs who refused to participate gave reasons including being too busy and not wishing to share personal information. Others were very suspicious of my intentions with one entrepreneur who was contacted by telephone commenting that:

“I am not going to discuss my life and my business with a stranger. How do I know you are who you say you are? You could be investigating me. You could be a spy for the government... checking on my tax and things like that” (Respondent, 2009).

Table 4.5 Response rate amongst Polish entrepreneurs

Number of entrepreneurs contacted	Number of entrepreneurs interviewed	Response rate (per cent)
62	48	77

Source: Author (field survey May 2009- February 2010)

Interviews were undertaken largely in entrepreneurs' business locations where possible, but sometimes in their homes. This was done in order to approach them in their natural environment. This technique also enabled the interviewer to follow up ideas, probe responses (Bell, 1993), investigate issues deemed important, and "convey a deeper feeling for a more emotional closeness to the persons studied" (Jayaratne, 1983: p.145).

All entrepreneurs included in the research operate legal businesses. Whilst it is likely that there is an illegal self-employed element of the Polish population this was not the focus of the research. All respondents had migrated to the West Midlands in the several years before or after EU accession. Before these migrants arrived there was already a Polish community in the region which was established in the period after the Second World War. Some of this generation are potentially self-employed. However, this older generation was not the focus of the research, nor were any self-employed Poles of the older generation discovered when selecting respondents for the research.

The majority (79 per cent) of entrepreneurs involved in this research are based in retail/service businesses such as delicatessens, hairdressers and construction companies. There are also nurseries, restaurants, nightclubs, and interpreters, amongst others. Professional Polish businesses are in existence, but these are less common. Those featured in this research included marketing and PR professionals, recruitment consultants, accountants and mortgage advisors.

Stage four: the interview process

Choosing appropriate research tools for this research required taking into account several important factors, such as the objectives of the research, the study population, in addition to my positionality as a researcher. When commencing the interview process a pilot interview was carried out with four entrepreneurs to test the question framework and harmonise the purpose and methods. After the pilot study, minor changes were made to the interview guidelines, including modifications to the types of questions asked. For instance, during the pilot interviews, the respondents were first asked about themselves before they were asked about their businesses. Because the pilot interviews showed that the respondents would prefer to discuss their businesses first, the order of the questions was changed to reflect this.

Interviews with Polish entrepreneurs

Polish entrepreneurs were asked a set of questions about their migration motivations, business background, educational background, the market and sectors they operated in, their enterprise, their products and services, the networks and associations they belong to, and the involvement of other individuals in the business.

Open-ended and semi-structured interview questions were used because they provide a rich account of the Polish entrepreneurs' business lives. As Reinharz (1992) points out, open-ended interview research makes it possible to explore people's

views of reality from which theory may be generated. The technique permits flexibility of questioning. In the discussions with Polish entrepreneurs, I ensured that questions were posed so that the respondents could become free to talk as fully, completely, and honestly as they wished (Anderson and Jack, 1991).

All interviews were conducted with a prepared list of questions, which were used as a guide only (see Appendix B). On five occasions the interviewees requested a list of questions in advance. In two cases interviewees declined to be recorded, with detailed notes taken during the interview and written up immediately afterward. The remainder were recorded and transcribed at a later time.

Interviews varied from forty-five minutes to three hours in length. Interviews were carried out in homes or business premises. For some entrepreneurs their businesses are based at home. In both locations I was treated as a guest as well as a researcher. The interviews undertaken in the business were the most detailed and informative, as entrepreneurs took time to give a tour of the business, explain their work processes and to discuss their personal characteristics, as well as their business. Polish entrepreneurs are extremely proud of their businesses and therefore took time and paid a lot of attention to detail when discussing their experiences. Four interviews were undertaken at the entrepreneurs' home (at their request) with two of these entrepreneurs' businesses being based at home. These interviews lasted for around three hours, as the entrepreneurs would often take a break to carry out some household chores, or attend to children, and then carry on with the interview.

Where the interviewee was amenable, a more conversational approach was adopted with the intention not only to extract the standard narrative, but also to prompt anecdotes and casual asides that could be followed up with further questions. This reflects the understanding in the social sciences of interviewing being an interactive process, leading to negotiated, contextually based results (Fontana and Frey, 2000). Interview questions were structured so that during the early stages of the interview, the respondents would be asked questions about their businesses. The rationale behind this decision was that it was established in the pilot study that they felt at ease talking about their business and how it functions, rather than issues related to their personal background, family and migration history. It was not until some trust and familiarity with me were achieved that they spoke about their educational background (particularly the less educated entrepreneurs), their personal life, their life in Poland, and their decision to migrate.

Polish entrepreneurs were asked questions which reflected:

- The motivation for migration to the UK.
- Their life in Poland (career and education).
- Experiences on arrival in the UK.
- The motivation to establish a business.
- The type of entrepreneur (wholesaler, retailer, professional services).
- The present activity of the entrepreneur (type of goods or services sold).
- The demographics of the customer base.
- Sources of finance.

- Links with Poland.
- The social and business networks used including role of kin group, other entrepreneurs, business associations, Polish organisations, and officials such as chambers of commerce.
- The source of information available to them.
- The desire to grow the business.
- The problems faced by the business.

This was followed by a set of common questions designed to access personal information about the respondents. The questions reflected:

- The demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the entrepreneur: age, sex, educational level, marital status, and family status (living with parents or head of household).
- The biographic characteristics and previous job experience of the entrepreneur: their migration itinerary and various activities undertaken before entering the present job; the comparative degree of satisfaction with their present situation, ease of entry or barriers and obstacles encountered.

During these interviews the main problem was that I found it very difficult to interrupt the respondents to stop them when they began to discuss other issues irrelevant for the study. In one particular case, I managed to change the flow of the conversation by refocusing their attention to the issue being discussed before the

conversation was diverted, whilst trying to avoid sounding rude or disrespectful, especially since the respondent had welcomed me into their business.

Interviews with representatives of associations and institutions

A number of business associations, support institutions and key individuals were interviewed before any entrepreneurs were interviewed in order to use the cascade technique to identify suitable entrepreneurs. The interviews with entrepreneurs were then conducted and finally, the remaining organisations were interviewed. In addition to their utility in the cascade technique, it was important to interview these organisations as it was valuable to interview “both sides” (Sayer and Morgan, 1985), in this case, the supporting organisations and the main actors (Polish entrepreneurs), to fully understand the experiences of Polish entrepreneurs. However, gaining access to them was sometimes problematic as they were often unavailable or unwilling to be interviewed since their time and schedule had to correspond with that of my own. Structured and semi-structured interviews were carried out with Polish Catholic Churches throughout the region, Polish social clubs, the Midlands’ Polish Business Club, the *British Polish Chamber of Commerce* (BPCC), and *Ideas2Business* (an organisation aiding individuals when entering entrepreneurship), amongst others. The purpose of the initial interviews was to identify suitable entrepreneurs to target for interviews and to gain information to inform my choice of interview questions for entrepreneurs. Questions asked during the later interviews also focused upon information related to the advice available to Polish entrepreneurs

and sought to obtain a response to the issues raised by the entrepreneurs during interviews (see Appendix B).

Positionality of the researcher

Within the geographical work on qualitative interviews key themes which have received significant attention include power, positionality and gender relation dynamics between the researcher and the researched that shape the outcome of the interview (Herod, 1993; Smith, 2006). Herod (1993) emphasises that geographers need to be critically aware about how social interactions shape the research process when using interviews to collect data.

- Insider/outsider dichotomy and power relations.

There are various ways that a researcher can gain access to privileged viewpoints (Mullings, 1999; Herod, 1999). Insiders (researchers who study a group to whom they belong) may have advantages (for instance, being perceived as neutral and being given privileged information) which an outsider may not have. Outsiders, who do not belong to the group researched, may benefit from greater objectivity and may observe behaviours without distortion of the meanings. However, they may fail to see things an insider would (such as culturally specific body language) or they may misinterpret things. It is suggested that every researcher involved in a qualitative project is aware of the insider/ outsider features of the research (Mohammed, 2001). Indeed, the decision to be an insider or and outsider during an interview can

influence the discourse that is constructed between the researcher and the researched (Maxwell, 1996) and can have an impact upon the multiple meanings and truth, the experiences and interpretation of the world of the participants. In this study, the positionality of the researcher has influenced the outcome of the interviews.

As 'outsiders' to a community, researchers need to address the psychosocial distance between themselves and the researched to gain valuable insights into the everyday lives of community residents. Here, the notion of outsiders and insiders is brought to the fore. Jewkes and Letherby (2001) have argued for an understanding of the complexities of the insider-outsider relationship. They suggest that this is a continually negotiated relationship where outsiders sometimes occupy social positions as insiders, and vice versa.

Little is known about the positionality of academics from one ethnic background carrying out research on entrepreneurs from a different ethnic group, and the consequences that it may bring. During research on second-generation male South Asian entrepreneurs within the Greater London area, McPherson (2011) argues that where the researcher does not share the same ethnicity as the informants under investigation, the ethnicity/cultural background and any assumed pre-conceived notions of both the researcher and interviewee espouse a certain type of behaviour, attitude, and response - the impact of personal and structural power relations on the selected methodology.

During this research my gender and identity had an impact on the way in which the data was collected. My ethnic background as White-British and my being heavily influenced by English education and culture had an impact on my positionality in the field. Therefore, I displayed a number of personal and cultural characteristics different to that of the interviewees. For instance, (i) I am UK born, from British parentage, (ii) I do not speak Polish, (iii) I had very little knowledge pertaining to the Polish community, and (iv) beyond a very small number of personal Polish friends, I was not associated with the community under investigation.

In essence, I was as an outsider looking in. I therefore needed a way to build a rapport, trust, confidence and a way of allaying any misgivings with those under investigation. I also had to ensure that the development, implementation and success of an outsider strategy did not compromise the overall integrity of the study.

One commonality I share with the interviewees is my Catholic background. I used this to become an insider and to gain approval within the Polish Catholic community. Through attending Polish masses at Catholic churches, I established contact with Polish priests who recommended suitable contacts and interviewees¹¹. Critically, these priests gave me the seal of approval within the Polish community, allowing Polish entrepreneurs to view me as less of an outsider.

¹¹ Respondents contacted through recommendations from Polish priests are categorised under 'Snowballing methods' in Table 4.3.

- The multiple self

McDowell argues that gender makes a difference when contemplating the creation of geographical knowledge (1992; 1997). She explains that “it is becoming recognised that it is impossible to disguise our gendered identities, to dissemble and become the disinterested and neutral observers of positivist methodologies. Instead, we need to take them into account” (McDowell, 1997: p.390-391). Other researchers (Cook and Fonow, 1990; Easterday et al., 1982, cited in Madge and O’Connor, 2004) confirm the importance of gender identity during the data collection process. For instance, when conducting interviews the gender of an interviewer can impact on the content of the completed interview (Herod, 1993; Madge and O’Connor, 2004), and there can be a danger of asymmetrical power relations between the participants and the researcher.

During the data collection I was aware of my gender and the impact that it may have on the interview process. Gender was not a restraining factor, rather an advantageous one; I believe that some privileged information obtained (such as female entrepreneurs’ relationships with their male competitors) would not have been provided to a male interviewer. In many cases, female entrepreneurs were particularly kind and saw me as a ‘friend’, which showed an acceptance of me. According to McDowell (1992: p.405) “as women interviewing women, commonalities of experience should be recognized and become part of a mutual exchange of views”.

The research also involved interactions with men, and often with men in authority. McDowell (1997: p.391) cautions that "in many societies a young, single, female researcher at the beginning of her academic career may lack the status and authority required to gain access to certain respondents". This could have been a factor in the circumstances where I failed to gain an interview. McDowell further advises that "she may also be perceived as a threat or as 'loose' or sexually available" (1997: p.391). Therefore, I took care in the field to conform to accepted ways of behaving, as well as conforming to conventional fieldwork practices. I always left a record of whom I was interviewing and the location of the interview with a friend or colleague. This was a requirement that I had recorded in my Hazard and Risk Assessment (HRA) form. On some occasions I requested a friend or colleague to make a telephone call to me several minutes into the interview to check that I felt safe and happy to proceed with the interview. The reason for this was that following the initial contact with some male respondents I had felt uneasy about interviewing them due to comments that they had made.

Schoenberger (1992) is not sure quite what effect the gender of the interviewer has on the interview process, but she acknowledges that it may be significant, particularly when interviewing men. She says:

"I suspect, for example, that I have an easier time getting in the door than a male colleague might because, as a woman, I am less threatening, more intriguing, or presumed to be a better audience for the recounting of exploits. On the other hand, once in, my male colleague probably does not have to deal with paternalism, flirting, or scepticism about his ability to grasp technical subjects" (p. 217).

Male entrepreneurs who were interviewed in this research demonstrated evidence of characteristics described by Schoenberger (1992). They were often keen to be helpful and friendly and provided a great deal of information with a view to 'impressing' the researcher. However, some were over familiar and flirtatious. Whilst conducting the interviews sexual objectification of women was highlighted in some business. In one business' office where I conducted the interview there were 'pin-ups' of glamour girls on the walls. In other businesses I was subjected to 'remarks' and 'wolf whistles' as I entered the business.

Tannen (1994) reported similar observations:

"a woman who is interviewing a man is irritated by the way the man keeps letting his eyes drift to her chest, a reminder that 'You're a woman, and I'm thinking about your sex rather than your brains, your authority, the words you are saying to me'" (p.261, cited in McDowell, 1997: p.143).

McDowell's (1997) intensive research in the city of London is similar to my experiences in some Polish businesses:

"women are made to feel out of place on the trading floors and in the dealing rooms by the development of a particular type of heterosexual machismo culture in which crude bodily humour, pin-ups, practical jokes and various forms of verbal and non-verbal behaviour verging on sexual harassment are the norm. The bodily imagery that is commonplace in the everyday language and social practices of the trading and dealing rooms relies on a particularly exaggerated version of masculinity and masculine performance... Power, sexuality, desire and masculinity combine to construct femininity as deficient" (p.178-179).

Related to the issue of gender is a consideration of dress code. During the interviews I was conscious of my female status and that I should dress in an appropriate manner for the interviews. Particularly when I was interviewing male respondents, I took care not to wear clothes that could be considered inappropriate. I ensured that my clothes were not tight fitting, tops were not low-cut, and skirts or dresses were knee length. I also wore make up in moderation. I took these measures to portray a professional image and also to avoid drawing attention to myself when interviewing male respondents. However, these efforts may not have been successful, as Tannen (1994) comments that:

“a man can choose a style that will not attract attention or subject him to any particular interpretation, but a woman can’t. Whatever she wears, she draws attention to herself; however she talks will be fodder for interpretation about her character and competence’ (p.112, cited in McDowell, 1997: p.145).

Bearing this in mind, in the early interviews I used a ‘professional’ dress code, wearing a smart trouser suit with a blouse. However, it became apparent that this choice of dress was too formal for some interviews, particularly when interviews were being conducted in delicatessens and hairdressers. One respondent commented: “You look very smart. I did not think I needed to change [clothes] for this. I’m sorry.... I am underdressed”. Based on comments such as this, I felt that my formal attire was making some respondents uneasy. After eight interviews I therefore made the decision to mirror the dress code that I thought respondents would be wearing, in order to make them feel comfortable and to create an equal relationship. Therefore, I adopted a ‘business casual’ image for interviews that I conducted in retail and service business. This dress code consisted of a top and skirt,

or a day dress. However, in more professional businesses, such as recruitment agencies, I used the 'professional' dress code since this is the way respondents in these businesses tended to dress themselves. The choice of dress code was in some cases difficult since it had to be made prior to the interview, and could not be modified on arrival at the interview venue if I had predicted the respondent's dress code incorrectly.

This modification of dress for different types of respondent is an example of 'betweenness' in which the researcher's positionality changes depending on the setting, context or positionality of the informant. 'Betweenness' implies that the researcher is never an insider or outsider, but someone who is always able to negotiate various degrees and kinds of differences based on race, religion, gender and so forth (Nast, 1994).

Another example of 'betweenness' is the title used by the interviewer. The interviewer's title can have an impact on the interview content and even arranging an interview. Early in the research I was introducing myself as a Doctoral Researcher from the University of Birmingham. The title of researcher led to suspicion and formality by interviewees. Some refused an interview due to fears over the content of the research, whilst those who were interviewed were quite withdrawn and fearful of the purpose of the research. Some also felt intimidated by my educational status and were worried about "saying something stupid". I therefore quickly adopted a new positionality when interviewing entrepreneurs. I labelled myself as a PhD student. The entrepreneurs suddenly became much more enthusiastic and

approachable, because of their belief that I was a student and that the standard of the research would be less high and not as intense. During some of these interviews, because the interviewees were aware of my positionality as a PhD student who was still familiarising myself with the topic researched, the outcome was positive as the respondent was willing to share information. However, care was taken to ensure that the entrepreneurs were fully briefed on the role and the intentions of the research before the interviews were carried out, as suggested in Table 4.1. To ensure that participants feel valued, it was important to explain fully the aims of the project and the participants' role in the research process. It is in this way that the foundations of trust and rapport can become established (Standing, 1998).

Whilst the new positionality provided some positive outcomes in the earlier stages of the fieldwork, it was soon realised that the initial positionality as a Doctoral Researcher needed to be adopted for some interviews, since some respondents were uncooperative with the student status and required a more formal approach. Although this sudden change in strategy may not have resulted in full cooperation of the respondents, it did however improve the situation for both the respondents and myself. Overall, it was difficult to perceive in advance the type of positionality to adopt, but a back up plan and new strategy seemed to have eased any tensions between the respondents and myself. As more interviews were conducted, it became quicker and easier to decipher which positionality would be best to adopt for each interview. I made the decision on which positionality to adopt through a number of features. For example, some interviewees were very professional in the way they greeted me, addressed me in a confident manner and were dressed in a

formal way. For these respondents I used the Doctoral researcher status. Other respondents were more informal on my arrival, often lacked confidence and were casually dressed. For these respondents I used the student status. I very much chose my positionality to mirror that of the respondent in order to put them at ease and to gain better results.

A different positional strategy was however adopted when interviewing individuals from business associations and support institutions. The title of Doctoral Researcher was used and a professional and formal interview technique adopted since these were generally formal institutions being interviewed. An outsider approach was again adopted in most situations as I felt that a clear balance of “distance and closeness” (Shaffir et al., 1991) had to be maintained at all times. In addition, I believed that it would facilitate access to certain information not given to an insider (Rose, 2003), and adopting this strategy also meant that I ensured that I had a sound knowledge of the topic under discussion, “thereby winning the respect of the elite being interviewed” (Mullings, 1999: p.340).

It is important to consider what impact portraying my dress and personality in multiple ways may have had on the research. Although I believed that this was the best technique to use to gain the best possible results, it may be viewed that changing this variable has affected the results. For example, portraying my personality in an informal and friendly manner may have resulted in more personal information being shared due to respondents viewing me in a more approachable way.

4.4 Data collection and treatment of information obtained

Secondary data

The material collected from secondary sources led to the construction of a literature review and a conceptual approach, which draws on the wide literature on entrepreneurship and EU migration to the UK to identify the main factors involved in the experiences of Polish migrant entrepreneurs in the West Midlands. This secondary data involved the topics covered and choice of questions included in the primary data collection.

Primary data

After the collection of the field data, I began the analysis. This began with transcribing all interviews. Much of the transcription was done during the same period as the interviews. I wanted to ensure that the interview content was fresh in my mind, and also that the recording was of good quality. One interview had not recorded in full and by listening back to the recording soon after the interview I was able to contact the respondent and arrange a follow up interview to cover the topics which had been missed from the original recording. Leaving transcription for a long period after the interviews would have made it harder to revisit this respondent.

When transcribing the transcripts were coded for emphasis using italics, while laughter, facial expressions, tone of voice and pauses were noted within the text.

Interviewees were subsequently sent the full transcript, with the exception of the two interviewees who refused to be recorded. These interviewees were sent the interview notes. All interviewees were invited to use this as an opportunity to comment on and clarify their remarks. Respondents were also informed that they would receive a summary report of the research when the project had been completed.

Using NVivo for qualitative analysis

There are many different approaches to qualitative data analysis and these have been widely debated in the social sciences literature (Strauss, 1987; Dey, 1993; Silverman, 1993; Bryman and Burgess, 1994; Miles and Huberman, 1994; Mason, 1996). To facilitate the use of the transcribed material and to achieve a detailed analysis, NVivo was used to analyse the interview transcripts. This process began by reading each transcript and identifying the main themes and key concepts (for instance migration, motives for establishing a new business, barriers, family, finance and business networks, to name a few) which were sorted into categories of similar or related phenomena through the process of coding. These codes were labelled and became the nodes in NVivo. Node is the term used by NVivo to represent a code, theme, or idea about the data in question. NVivo has several types of nodes available for users. Free nodes are freestanding and are not associated with a structured framework of themes or concepts. I began using only free nodes, as this was a good way to become familiar with the key concepts of the transcripts. As transcription continued this resulted in an excessive number of nodes. I then sub-

divided these into tree nodes. Tree nodes are codes that are organised in a hierarchical structure. For example, the node of 'family' was subdivided into tree nodes including parents, siblings, finance, and advice, which previously had formed free nodes. The analysis of the transcripts was then continued by coding using tree nodes. A large number of sections of the transcripts were coded for more than one node as many of the themes overlapped.

Using software in the data analysis process has been thought by some to add rigour to qualitative research (Richards and Richards, 1991). One way in which I found helpful and to achieve accuracy was using the search facility. The search facility in NVivo is seen by the product designers as one of its main assets facilitating interrogation of the data (Welsh, 2002: p.1). However, in terms of interrogating text in more detail it is a little more difficult, as Brown et al. (1990: p.136) suggest, "the existence of multiple synonyms would lead to partial retrieval of information", so that although it is possible to search for particular terms and derivations of that term, the way in which respondents express similar ideas in completely different ways makes it difficult to recover all responses. Thus, whilst the searching facilities in NVivo can add rigour to the analysis process by allowing the researcher to carry out quick and accurate searches of a particular type (the researcher may be reluctant to carry out these searches manually, especially if the data set is large), and can add to the validity of the results by ensuring that all instances of a particular usage are found (Welsh, 2002: p.1). I married this searching with manual scrutiny techniques so that the data was thoroughly interrogated. Taking this into consideration, the analysis of the interview transcripts using NVivo was very useful since, through

coding, it allowed the key themes of the transcripts to be highlighted. I used the nodes created as the framework for the detailed analysis of the information obtained. A more detailed account of the use of NVivo and its limitations are given in Appendix C, along with a coded extract of interview transcript.

Using case studies to strengthen results

Another approach used to analyse the interview data was through a narrative analysis, telling the stories of entrepreneurs, their relationships and emotions. Story telling when analysing interview data of entrepreneurs articulates “entrepreneurial experience and learning” (Johansson, 2004: p.274). Adopting this tool means that the Polish entrepreneurs’ life stories and experiences are described in their “purest and rawest form, providing the parts, motifs, plots and connections” (Atkinson, 1998: p.74) taking into account their social and family context. For this purpose two illustrative case studies were selected for analysis to allow a holistic and meaningful understanding of the life experiences of entrepreneurs (Tellis, 1997) and to “examine a contemporary phenomenon in its real-life context”, as suggested by Yin (1981, p.2). Multiple case studies were selected because they are more compelling, more robust and rigorous than single case studies (Yin, 1994). Furthermore, they provide opportunities to strengthen results and they can be used in conjunction with other forms of evidence such as documents, interviews and observations (Yin, 2003).

Case studies are normally qualitative in nature using observation and interviewing as methods of data generation. However, case studies can also be quantitative or use a

mix of both approaches. The approach in this thesis uses a set of individual case studies. It also has elements of community and social group studies since the case studies are based on entrepreneurs of local communities in the defined area of the West Midlands. Table 4.6 shows the different types of case study within the qualitative approach, including those used in this research.

Table 4.6 Types of case study

Type of case study	Characteristics
Individual case study	Detailed account of one person
Set of individual case studies	Several inter-related accounts of particular individuals
Community studies	Studies of one or more local communities (area defined)
Social group studies	Studies of people belonging to a particular social group (occupation, activity defined)
Organisation and institutional studies	Studies of people within particular working units
Studies of events, roles and relationships	Focuses upon specific events or encounters

Source: Adapted from Robson (1993)

Before undertaking an analysis of the case studies it is useful to consider a distinction between different types of case. Yin (2003) distinguishes five types.

- The *critical case*. Here the researcher has a well-developed theory, and a case is chosen on the grounds that it will allow a better understanding of the circumstances in which the hypothesis will and will not hold.
- The *extreme or unique case*. The unique or extreme case is, as Yin observes, a common focus in clinical studies (2003).

- The *representative* or *typical case*. “The objective is to capture the circumstances and conditions of an everyday or common place situation” (Yin, 2003: p.41).
- The *revelatory case*. The basis for the revelatory case exists “when an investigator has an opportunity to observe and analyse a phenomenon previously inaccessible to scientific investigation” (Yin, 2003: p.42).
- The *longitudinal case*. Yin suggests that a case may be chosen because it affords the opportunity to be investigated at two or more junctures. (Yin, 2003: p.42).

Any case study can involve a combination of these elements, which can best be viewed as rationales for choosing particular cases. It may only be at the very late stage that the singularity and significance of the cases becomes apparent (Radley and Chamberlain, 2001). This thesis develops the representative or typical case study approach.

At the same time that case studies are extensively used and have produced canonical works, one may observe that the case study is generally held in low regard, or is simply ignored (Gerring, 2001; 2004). In identifying this paradox of the case study, Gerring (2004: p.341) rightly remarks that the case study survives in a “curious methodological limbo,” and that the reason is that the method is poorly understood. Flyvbjerg (2006) argues that by clearing the misunderstandings about the case study, the case study paradox may be resolved. He identifies and corrects five prevalent misunderstandings about case study research:

1. General, theoretical knowledge is more valuable than concrete, practical knowledge.
2. One cannot generalise on the basis of an individual case and, therefore, the case study cannot contribute to scientific development.
3. The case study is most useful for generating hypotheses, whereas other methods are more suitable for hypotheses testing and theory building.
4. The case study contains a bias toward verification, i.e. a tendency to confirm the researcher's preconceived notions.
5. It is often difficult to summarise and develop general propositions and theories on the basis of specific case studies.

Despite the case study method being poorly understood, Flyvbjerg's (2006) attempt to rectify the misunderstanding of the case study also helps to highlight their significance and the benefits that they can provide to social science research.

The main purpose of the case studies was to maximise what can be learned about the Polish entrepreneurs and their businesses (Tellis, 1997: p.6). In doing so the case studies also add realism to the literature and help interpret empirical results discussed in subsequent chapters of the thesis. The evidence for the analysis of the case studies was gathered from interviews with the respondents. The two cases were selected from the sample of forty-eight entrepreneurs interviewed and provide detailed information on their personal lives, their business activities and their responses to their environment. The entrepreneurs were selected on the basis that they represent the types of business identified within the sectors and they fully

contributed to the interviews and answered all, or the majority of, the questions posed. The cases were analysed using the techniques of data triangulation, collecting evidence from different sources, and are reported in a descriptive manner to provide answers to the questions posed during the interviews. Through the case study technique new themes emerged in the research and this allowed the research questions to be redefined.

Interpreting the data and theorising the findings

The data are discussed in four empirical chapters (chapters five, six, seven and eight). In reporting the information obtained it was important to ensure that some standards of validity and trustworthiness were met, particularly with descriptive and interpretative data (Altheide and Johnson, 1994; Seale, 1999). In this respect, much attention was paid to the interpretation of the data and in theorising the information obtained according to the empirical evidence available. To ensure authenticity and credibility of the evidence collected, method triangulation or cross-reference was applied to this research. In other words, data was collected from secondary sources (desk based research), from interviews, case studies and field observations to evaluate the results from different angles. Where necessary, and where there were some misunderstandings of data collected, a feedback session with the entrepreneur in question was organised to allow the researcher to share and compare the information obtained from the fieldwork with the participant, and to add the entrepreneur's own opinions and perceptions.

Because of confidentiality and ethics, it was deemed important to change the names of the entrepreneurs within the sample to discard the respondents' identity (Table 4.7). However, respondents from business associations and supporting organisations stated that they were happy to be identified in the research. For those respondents their name was retained. For some entrepreneurs the exact location of their business is not given. This was done in cases where respondents expressed a desire to keep their business location confidential, again to maintain anonymity. Due to the specialised nature of some of the enterprises providing a business location would have allowed the business to be identified. This raises questions over the consistency of the analysis through using some names and locations and not others, with perhaps a better approach being to use anonymity throughout.

Table 4.7 Businesses in the study and coding

Coded name	Business type	Business sector	Migration date	Opening date
Adrian	Nightclub	Retail/service	2002	Jan- April 2004
Agata	Bakery	Retail/service	2001	2003
Alina	Nursery	Retail/service	2002	2003
Anna	Delicatessen	Retail/service	2002	2003
Arek	Construction	Retail/service	2002	2003
Aron	Delicatessen	Retail/Service	2003	2003
Artur	Car garage	Retail/service	2003	2003
Borys	Car garage	Retail/service	Jan- April 2004	Jan- April 2004
Beata	Graphic design	Professional	2007	2007
Casper	Delicatessen	Retail/service	2002	2002
Cyryl	Delicatessen	Retail/service	2005	2005
Dawid	Accountant	Professional	May- Dec 2004	May- Dec 2004
Felix	Delicatessen	Retail/service	Jan- April 2004	Jan- April 2004
Florian	Butcher	Retail/service	2002	2003
Henryk	Plumber	Retail/service	2001	2003
Iwona	Hair salon	Retail/service	2003	2003
Jacek	Plumber	Retail/service	2003	2003
Janek	Delicatessen	Retail/service	2003	2003
Jania	Travel agent	Retail/service	Jan- April 2004	Jan- April 2004
Jedrik	Recruitment agency	Professional	2005	2006
Kasia	Delicatessen	Retail/service	2002	2003
Katrine	Marketing and PR	Professional	2008	2008
Kolby	Restaurant	Retail/service	2003	2003
Krysta	Tanning salon	Retail/service	2002	2003
Kuba	Car garage	Retail/service	2005	2005
Lidia	Delicatessen	Retail/service	2003	2003
Lila	Communication services	Professional	2006	2006
Magdalena	Delicatessen	Retail/service	2003	Jan- April 2004
Marc	Mortgage advice	Professional	May- Dec 2004	May- Dec 2004
Marta	Beauty salon	Retail/service	Jan- April 2004	Jan- April 2004
Mela	Restaurant	Retail/service	2002	2003
Michal	Delicatessen	Retail/service	2003	2003
Milek	IT consultancy	Professional	May- Dec 2004	May- Dec 2004
Nelek	Delicatessen	Retail/service	2003	2003
Oles	Delicatessen	Retail/service	2003	2003
Piotr	Plumber	Retail/service	2002	2003
Rahel	Hair salon	Retail/service	2003	2003
Roza	Delicatessen	Retail/service	2003	2003
Sebastian	Restaurant	Retail/service	2003	2003
Selina	Recruitment agency	Professional	May- Dec 2004	May- Dec 2004
Slywia	Delicatessen	Retail/service	Jan- April 2004	Jan- April 2004
Stefan	Delicatessen	Retail/service	2003	2003
Tolek	Construction	Retail/service	2003	2003
Tomasz	Butcher	Retail/service	2002	2003
Truda	Delicatessen	Retail/service	2003	2003
Violet	Hair salon	Retail/service	2002	2003
Wicus	Business consultancy	Professional	2006	2006
Zyta	Marketing	Professional	2007	2007

Source: Author (field survey May 2009- February 2010)

4.5 Reflection on methodology and suggestion for further research

This section reflects on the robustness of the methodology adopted for this research with the aim of identifying ways that it can be improved to ensure rigour and consistency.

Qualitative methodology

In this research, a qualitative methodology was used with some elements of quantitative techniques. While this was useful and permitted the collection of the data required, an equal combination of quantitative and qualitative tools may have provided a more robust collection and treatment of data. However, because of the difficulties of accessing quantitative data on Polish businesses, it is believed that the qualitative methodology was the most appropriate.

Gatekeepers and the cascade technique

Despite the limitations of gatekeepers and the cascade technique, which were discussed earlier in the chapter, the technique was extremely useful and the most appropriate for researching the population sample required in the study. Furthermore, since the researcher was largely reliant on the assistance of the key informants, there was a risk that the sample would largely come from a restricted circle of relatives or acquaintances of the respondents. Because some entrepreneurs and business associations were reluctant to provide details of entrepreneurs, it may

be argued that some groups of entrepreneurs could be excluded from the sample, causing it to be unrepresentative of the Polish entrepreneurs in the West Midlands.

Positionality of the researcher

Throughout the course of the interviews, the positionality strategy was changed between insider and outsider to adapt to different circumstances. As the fieldwork has demonstrated, making the decision to be an insider or outsider prior to setting out into the field may not be the best strategy. In future an 'open strategy' should be adopted to allow the researcher to think about the possible strategies prior to the fieldwork and to choose the appropriate strategy once in the field. More consideration should also be placed upon the things I may have failed to see as an outsider to the Polish community. For instance, culturally specific body language may have been in use but unfortunately, I did not take this into account at the time of the interviews.

Time spent in the field

The time originally intended to be spent in the field was not adequate, and had to be extended, as I did not plan for some of the problems encountered. For instance, there were difficulties accessing some business associations and entrepreneurs, as they were unavailable (either because they changed the appointment times at short notice or because they cancelled the interviews). Because of these changes the interviews had to be rearranged and in some cases they had to be postponed for a

considerable amount of time. In some cases it took time to plan the interviews since some respondents were visiting family or conducting business in Poland. Due to the nature of entrepreneurship the time the respondents had to spend giving an interview was limited and they were available to do this at very specific times (i.e. on a day when the business was closed, after work, or a quiet day of the business). Some entrepreneurs refused to give interviews during busy periods. This made it difficult to find times when the researcher and the respondent were both available. These circumstances resulted in the time spent in the field being extended. Future fieldwork plans should make provisions for these circumstances, particularly the busy periods of businesses.

Lost in translation

In this research it was decided that the use of a translator was not required as Polish migrant entrepreneurs speak a good standard of English. It became apparent through the course of some of the interviews that language was actually going to be an issue. However, the majority of interviews did not pose a language problem. For some respondents the standard of English was quite poor. In other cases, the respondent and myself were using the same words, but sometimes with different meanings. For instance, in one of my early interviews confusion arose over the word 'network'. I asked the respondent about the 'network' of people involved in his business. The respondent stated that: "I have a really large network". I took this to mean the family network. However, later in the conversation about this it became evident that the respondent had misunderstood my meaning of 'network' and I had

initially misunderstood his. The respondent thought that I was referring to online social networking, and therefore proceeded to tell me that: “I have about 600 Facebook friends and 300 followers on Twitter”. Cases such as this were carefully taken into consideration when analysing the interview transcripts. It would have been possible to use a translator for some of the later interviews after this issue became apparent, but I decided against this as I felt that this would have made the results inconsistent.

In future research, interviews could be conducted in Polish and a translator used. This would eliminate any language confusion since this could be dealt with through the translator. A further benefit of using a translator would be their understanding of the cultural meanings, and realities of the participants (Bassnet, 1994, cited in Temple and Edwards, 2002), in addition to them providing an explanation of features of cultural body language. However, using a translator may take away from the personal touch present in the current interviews and less information may be shared by the respondents as a result. Perhaps the most effective solution to this is used by McDowell et al. (2009) in their investigation of foreign-born workers in Greater London’s service sector. In cases where an interviewee’s spoken English was poor a co-worker was sometimes present to assist. This would minimise issues of language confusion, whilst avoiding the formality of using a translator. However, the problem of less information being shared due to another individual being in attendance, as in the case of using a translator, would still be present.

Access to informants

Fostering contacts and developing relationships with relevant key institutions, such as the Polish Catholic Church, the *British Polish Chamber of Commerce* and the Polish Business Club was perhaps the most effective way of gaining access to some entrepreneurs (in addition to key members in the Polish business community) and facilitated access to other institutions. Future researchers should attempt to establish contact with Polish or entrepreneurial institutions as they may provide assistance in times when access to respondents becomes problematic. However, it is important to ensure that the researchers have full control of their relationship with these institutions, so that the institutions do not influence the types of informants to be interviewed or the types of questions to be administered.

Interview questions

Some of the themes discussed in the thesis were only touched upon during data collection. During the data analysis, new themes emerged which required further attention, but they had not been explored in detail during the interview. For some of these themes follow up interviews were arranged to gain the extra information necessary in order for these to be included in the thesis. However, due to time constraints and some themes being beyond the scope of the thesis, some of the more complex themes could not be included in the analysis. In future, care should be taken to ensure that there is more time for the researcher to return to the field to collect more evidence if required. For instance, because of the limited information

gathered in the field on the localities of origin in Poland, I was unable to provide a deep insight into its significance in the translocal relationships of Polish entrepreneurs in the West Midlands. However, this will be a highly appropriate topic for future research into the background of Polish entrepreneurs who have migrated to the UK.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter describes the main tools and techniques adopted in the study of Polish entrepreneurship in the West Midlands and provides an evidence base for the analysis. It uses an approach that focuses on each stage of the fieldwork, starting from the pre-fieldwork investigation to the analysis of the collected evidence. Having analysed the key tools and techniques adopted and the types of information available for analysis, it was concluded that the adoption of a qualitative method for the collection of data and the adoption of different positionalities as a student and a Doctoral Researcher, were the most appropriate in accessing the respondents. Despite some limitations with the use of the cascade technique¹² for selecting respondents, it is believed that it provided a suitable sample and was the most appropriate technique for this particular research. The triangulation approach (using quantitative analysis, interviews, case studies) allowed the generation of substantial data in this research.

¹² Whilst this technique can be effective in generating a sample of participants from different backgrounds, it may not necessarily be representative of the demographics and opinions of all Polish entrepreneurs and can be biased. In addition, there is the fear that participants may refer people who have similar characteristics and beliefs.

The next chapter explores the concept of timing in the migration of Polish entrepreneurs and their establishment of a business. The aim is to identify the driving factors in the timing decision of the migration and the entrepreneurial act.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE TIMING OF MIGRATION AND THE ENTREPRENEURIAL ACT

5.1 Introduction

The following four chapters explore the empirical evidence collected on the experiences of Polish migrant entrepreneurs in the West Midlands. They investigate 1) the timing of migration and the entrepreneurial act; 2) translocal entrepreneurship; 3) processes of adaptation, aspirations and future plans amongst Polish businesses; and 4) key themes in Polish entrepreneurship, through a case study approach. This chapter is the first of these empirical chapters. It investigates the drivers behind the migration of Polish entrepreneurs to the West Midlands, as well as their motivations in establishing a business. In doing so the concept of time is explored. The concept of time is clearly of great importance to human geographers and it is central to the processes of migration and entrepreneurship. Although works on time-space geographies are highly influential and critical to social theory, Hägerstrand (1970), Thrift (1983), Giddens (1979; 1981) and others, treat time and space as passive, noun-based, social creations. However, this chapter, through the example of Polish migrant entrepreneurship, suggests that the role of time is far from passive. Therefore, instead of time, the case of Polish migrant entrepreneurship uses the concept of timing to describe the moment of migration, the entrepreneurial act and its locational choice. Timing is a far more active concept than time. The concept of timing complements the existing discourses on time-space geographies

and is a useful way of developing the idea. As such timing is more suited to discussions of entrepreneurship than time.

After the introduction, the second section of the chapter explores the concept of time. It does so through a review of the literature, using the structure explained in Chapter Two. From that the section develops the notion that timing is a more appropriate concept to use for research into migrant entrepreneurship. The third section considers timing in relation to the moment at which an individual can be considered to be an entrepreneur. The fourth section adopts this idea of timing and explores the factors influencing the timing of the decision to migrate for entrepreneurship. These are classified as exogenous and endogenous factors. The fifth section explores the characteristics of the respondents featured in the research. The sixth section analyses the concepts of exogenous and endogenous factors, along with that of timing. This is illustrated with specific examples from the Polish entrepreneurial community in the West Midlands. Section seven concludes the chapter by summarising the main results reported.

5.2 Time and timing in migrant entrepreneurship

The time at which both migration and the entrepreneurial act occurs is based on a number of factors and decisions. Whilst these will be explored later in the chapter, it is first necessary to consider the theory behind time geographies. This will enable an extensive understanding of the importance of the role of time in migrant entrepreneurship.

Existing time geographies

Investigations into the timing of both migration and of the entrepreneurial act are rooted in discourses of behavioural geography. Behavioural geography is a sub-discipline that examines the use of space by individuals and the timing of this use (Meentemeyer, 1989: p.163). Time-space geography emerged as a sub-theme within behavioural geography (Carlstein and Thrift, 1978). Time-space geography or time geography can be traced back to the Swedish geographer Torsten Hägerstrand, who emphasised the temporal factor in spatial human activities.

Hägerstrand (1970) was convinced that the study of human beings as groups and aggregate populations masked the true nature of human patterns of movement. He believed that an understanding of disaggregate spatial behaviour was paramount. Along with using the individual human as the unit of study, Hägerstrand (1970) also emphasised the importance of time in human activity. Time has a critical importance when it comes to fitting people and things together for functioning in socio-economic systems. Hence, a given location may be near an individual, but if a person cannot allocate enough time to travel to it, spatial proximity alone will not be enough to allow the person to visit it. Hägerstrand developed the concept of a space-time path to illustrate how a person navigates his or her way through the spatial-temporal environment. For Hägerstrand, time and space are seen as inseparable. Each and every one of the actions and events which in sequence compose the individual's existence has both temporal and spatial attributes.

Forty years after it was first introduced, Hägerstrand's space-time model continues to provide new ways of understanding human activity in space and time. His work informed Nigel Thrift (1981) (and other colleagues in further works- Thrift, 1983; Crang and Thrift, 2000; Thrift and May, 2001), who took it to English speaking countries. Thrift (1983) argues that time and space are central to the construction of all social interaction and, therefore, to the constitution of social theory. According to Thrift (1983), such a viewpoint has a number of important consequences. Social structure, for example, cannot be divorced from spatial and temporal structure. Furthermore, human agency must be seen as a continuous flow of conduct in time and space constantly interpellating social structure. Giddens (1979) proposed the term time space distanciation to describe the 'stretching' of social systems across time and space. The term is used in structuration theory to describe what Giddens called system integration- interaction with people who are absent in time or space- which (historically) has entailed "the expansion of interaction over space and its contraction over time" (Giddens, 1981: p.1984). Giddens (1979: p.54) argues that "social theory must acknowledge, as it has not done previously, time-space intersections as essentially involved in all social existence". Such studies of time-space geography provide a valuable basis to develop future time related concepts.

The future of time geographies

The concept of time is clearly of great importance to human geographers and it is central to the processes of migration and entrepreneurship. When applied to migration theory time may relate to the migrant's age, life stage but also to the operation of a series of push and pull factors. These push and pull factors that operate are important drivers behind both the short- and long-term movement of people. When applied to entrepreneurship studies it can refer to when the business idea is conceived, when active steps are made to establish the business or when the business is opened.

Although such works on time-space geographies are highly influential and critical to social theory, it is not without its critics. Merriman (2012) acknowledges that space and time are important dimensions of the unfolding of many events. However, he questions "the logic of positioning them as the primordial, foundational, a priori measures for thinking about events, position, extension and context". Merriman's (2012) criticism is perhaps founded on Hägerstrand (1970), Thrift (1983), Giddens (1979; 1981) and others, treating time and space as passive, noun-based, social creations. Time implies a passive process consisting of separate, static moments. However, the role of time is far from passive. It is a complex process. Furthermore, when considering migration and entrepreneurship, the event of a business being established is active and the language used to describe it should be verb based. It involves a series of incremental decisions made over time, which have been influenced by particular factors.

Therefore, instead of time, the case of Polish migrant entrepreneurship should use the concept of timing to describe the moment of migration and the entrepreneurial act. Timing is a far more active concept than time. The notion of timing implies the sequence of a set of linked events or decisions; however, this sequence is not necessarily linear. The concept of timing complements the existing discourses on time-space geographies and is a useful way of developing the idea. As such timing is more suited to discussions of migration and entrepreneurship than time.

5.3 The moment of entrepreneurship

The timing of entrepreneurship is central to the understanding of the experience of any entrepreneur. However, it is unclear how this is defined. When actually is the moment of entrepreneurship for an entrepreneur? Is it when they have the idea of a business, when they decide to leave their homeland, when they left, when they open the business, or is it some other event? The moment of entrepreneurship is a complex process and the culmination of a number of actions and decisions. It should therefore be included in discussions on the timing of the migration of entrepreneurs as it is an active process. By considering current research on this topic and using it to assist in the analysis of my results, the timing of the moment of entrepreneurship of Polish migrants can be more clearly understood.

The notion of nascent entrepreneurs is linked to the disorderly founding processes of new businesses and is central to the issue of the moment of entrepreneurship. A nascent entrepreneur is defined as “someone who initiates serious activities that are

intended to culminate in a viable businesses start up” (Aldrich, 1999: p.77). Although Reynolds (1994) defined nascent entrepreneurs strictly for a business context, Aldrich uses evolutionary terms, and views nascent entrepreneurs as a major source of organisational variations, beginning with their intentions and continuing through their actions toward a realised founding (Aldrich, 1999: p.77).

Figure 5.1 Organisational emergence



Source: Adapted from Reynolds (1994)

Table 5.1 Entrepreneurial activities to become a nascent entrepreneur

Activity
Serious thoughts about a business
Looked for facilities/ equipment
Initiated savings to invest
Invested own money in the new firm
Organised start-up team
Wrote up business plan
Bought facilities/ equipment
Sought financial support
License, patent, permit applied for
Developed first model/ prototype
Received money from sales
Achieved positive monthly cash flow
Devoted full time to new business
Received financial support
Other start-up behaviours initiated
Rented/ leased facilities/ equipment
Created new legal entity
Hired employees to work for wages

Source: Adapted from Reynolds (1994)

The stages of nascent entrepreneurship are shown in Figure 5.1. It involves three transitions and four periods (Reynolds, 1994). Transition one is triggered when someone begins thinking about starting a new business- alone or with others- and actually engages in activities to further that objective. Someone is called a nascent entrepreneur if they not only say they are currently giving “serious thought to a new business” but are also engaged in at least one of seventeen other possible entrepreneurial activities (Reynolds, 1994), listed in Table 5.1. It is the point of becoming a nascent entrepreneur that I shall use to determine the timing of the entrepreneurial act, or the moment an individual becomes an entrepreneur.

In Reynolds and White's research (1997) which involved surveys conducted with entrepreneurs in Wisconsin and the entire United States, the median number of activities reported was 7.0. In a follow-up study of Wisconsin, it was found that about fifteen months elapsed between the time when someone began to give 'serious thought' to a business and their attempt to actually construct a business (Reynolds and White, 1997). The range was considerable- some actually engaged in behaviours before giving serious thought to the business, and some waited years before acting.

Outcomes of attempting to become an entrepreneur are highly uncertain. In many cases, nascent entrepreneurs' initial ideas are not realised, because their intentions are misguided or they cannot mobilise the needed resources. Thus, many organising attempts fail. Businesses that survive tend to adopt the existing routines and competencies of the population they join, but some contribute new ones. At any given time, then, we observe only a surviving fraction of a much larger pool of start-ups begun but abandoned by nascent entrepreneurs (Katz and Gartner, 1988).

Those businesses involved in this research are part of the surviving fraction of start-ups who became 'Fledging Firms' and 'Established New Firms'. Although the concept of nascent entrepreneurs is important in the research in terms of determining the moment of entrepreneurship, the experiences of those entrepreneurs who are still in this stage are not considered. The entrepreneurs available for this research had all passed this point.

5.4 Prompts to the timing of migrant entrepreneurship

In addition to considering the timing of the entrepreneurial act, in the case of migrant entrepreneurs it is also important to understand the timing of migration and the drivers behind the choice of timing. The timing of the decision to migrate for the purpose of establishing a business can be explained by two types of factor-exogenous (external) factors and endogenous (internal) factors.

Exogenous factors

Exogenous factors are those drivers which are beyond the control of the individual and they are set in time. When assessing the experiences and migration timing of recent Polish migrant entrepreneurs to the UK one exogenous factor could be the economic climate in Poland at the time of migration. However, the most influential exogenous factor is the event of the 2004 accession. Its importance is reflected in its significant presence in the wider literature on Polish migrants (see Dustmann et al., 2003; Düvell, 2004; Sinn, 2004; Portes and French, 2005; Drinkwater et. al, 2006; Drinkwater, 2008). The timing of Polish migrant entrepreneurship is centred around the timing of EU enlargement.

Accession can affect the timing of migration in a number of ways. Prior to accession migration would have been influenced by speculation regarding accession and people being aware that it was going to occur. This dates back to April 1994 when Poland first applied to join the EU. Accession negotiations began on 31st March 1998, indicating that accession was inevitable. The UK government announced in

December 2002 that it would allow immediate free movement of A8 country workers following accession and Poland signed their Accession Treaty on 16th April 2003 in Athens. Such activity would have acted as an exogenous factor in the timing of the migration to the UK of many Polish entrepreneurs, by making them aware of opportunities elsewhere. Following accession, the exogenous influence continued with Poles witnessing and hearing success stories of others who had migrated as a result of accession and therefore wanting to follow. In spite of the significance of the external event of EU accession there are an abundance of endogenous factors operating in response to EU enlargement which have a bearing on the timing of the migration of Polish entrepreneurs.

Endogenous factors

There are many other drivers operating around the exogenous factors in the decision to migrate for entrepreneurship. These endogenous factors revolve around and combine with the timing of EU enlargement but are controlled by individual, internal, and incremental decisions. They are centred on an understanding of how individuals respond to external events. When considering migrant entrepreneurship endogenous factors operate over space and time and result in firm formation. This is shown in Figure 5.1.

The following section explores some of the internal prompts that may be acting for self-employed Poles migrating to the UK which have an influence upon the timing of the migration. As with the exogenous factor of EU change, endogenous factors can be seen to be operating pre-accession and post-accession, with the particular factors

involved differing according to the time at which they have an influence on the migration process. This will be developed later in the chapter when the key points of the research are discussed.

Entrepreneurial learning

In order to reach the moment of entrepreneurship, a process of learning, particularly in terms of acquiring knowledge and skills regarding organisation creation, is involved. Indeed, one of the endogenous factors which has a bearing upon the timing of migration for Polish entrepreneurship is learning. According to Hudson (1999) there has been a growing recognition of the importance of knowledge in the contemporary organisation of production in what many commentators see as an era of globalisation (for example, see Giddens, 1990; Strange, 1988). This takes a variety of forms, but the central point is that the production, distribution and exchange of knowledge is claimed to have attained an unprecedented significance in the operations of the economy. Much of the discussion about the significance of knowledge takes place around the theme, of 'learning'. There are, however, several strands to the learning literature, which highlight different aspects of, and ways of, learning: learning - by - doing (Arrow, 1962); learning - by - using (Rosenberg, 1982); learning - by - interacting (Lundvall, 1992); and learning - by - searching (Boulding, 1985; Johnson, 1992).

Regions are becoming focal points for knowledge-creation and learning in the new age of capitalism, as they take on the characteristics of 'learning regions'. According to Florida (1995: p.527) these learning regions function as "collectors and

repositories of knowledge and ideas, and provide the underlying environment or infrastructure which facilitates the flow of knowledge, ideas and learning". Learning regions are increasingly important sources of innovation and economic growth, and are vehicles for globalisation. An example of a learning region is Silicon Valley in the United States where a global centre for new technology has emerged. Here, entrepreneurs and technologists from around the world, backed by global venture capital, invent the new technologies of software, personalised information and biotechnology (Florida, 1995: p.527).

It is apparent that learning is gaining acceptance as an integral element of entrepreneurial practice and study. As Minniti and Bygrave (2001: p.7) state: "entrepreneurship is a process of learning, and a theory of entrepreneurship requires a theory of learning". Indeed, Gartner (1985: p.700) asserts: "entrepreneurs do not operate in vacuums - they respond to their environments". As well as being considered in this chapter in relation to the timing of migration and the entrepreneurial act, this is a topic which will be revisited in Chapter Seven when discussing how entrepreneurs and their businesses adapt to the stresses of their external environments.

The concept of entrepreneurial learning can be applied to Polish entrepreneurs to ascertain how they adapt to current circumstances when establishing a business and how the business evolves through adaptive learning. As Cope (2003) demonstrates, entrepreneurial learning has a highly temporal element. This is likely to be all the more significant for Polish entrepreneurship since the timing of the migration for entrepreneurship is one of the critical characteristics of the topic.

In addition, learning regions, which are associated with the notion of localised learning, have implications for Polish entrepreneurs. The research will show how localised learning is a critical factor in the process of migrant entrepreneurship. The timing of the migration is also linked to localised learning. Early migration prior to setting up a business is a common occurrence in order to make use of time to carry out localised learning.

Entrepreneurial motivation

Entrepreneurial learning, at whatever stage in the process of firm formation and development, is prompted by individual motivation. Human motivations influence the decision to become an entrepreneur and are a further internal prompt which have an influence on the timing of migration. The variance across people in these motivations will influence who pursues entrepreneurial opportunities, who assembles resources, how people undertake the entrepreneurial process, and critically, when they do this. In recent years, entrepreneurship research has focused largely on the environmental characteristics influencing firm foundings (1999) and the characteristics of entrepreneurial opportunities (Christiansen, 1997). Although this focus has greatly enhanced our understanding of the entrepreneurial phenomenon, it ignores the role of human agency. Entrepreneurship depends on the decisions that people make about how to undertake that process. The attributes of people making decisions about the entrepreneurial process influence the decisions that they make. Even sociologists who have argued strongly against the usefulness of trait-based research in entrepreneurship implicitly acknowledge that motivation

must matter to this process. Aldrich and Zimmer (1986: p.3), for example, write, entrepreneurial activity “can be conceptualized as a function of opportunity structures and motivated entrepreneurs with access to resources”, illustrating the importance of human agency in entrepreneurship.

Shane et al. (2003) argue that to isolate the effects of entrepreneurial motivation, other factors that could have a causal effect on the process and outcome of entrepreneurship need to be controlled. One category of control variables is the external environment. These would include such things as political factors, market factors and available resources.

Most researchers agree that these categories of factors influence the entrepreneurial process and need to be controlled to measure the effect of motivations on the entrepreneurial process. These external prompts to migration are beyond the control of the individual. However, they may still play a significant role in the timing of Polish migrant entrepreneurship.

Previous research has explored several internal prompts or motivations for migration and their effects on entrepreneurship. Shane et al. (2003) propose six motivations for entrepreneurship; however, this is not an exhaustive account. Other internal prompts may be operating, such as the influence of family and friends or localised learning.

1) Need for achievement

Within the research domain of personality traits and entrepreneurship, the concept of need for achievement (nAch) has received much attention. McClelland (1961) argued that individuals who are high in nAch are more likely than those who are low in nAch to engage in activities or tasks that have a high degree of individual responsibility for outcomes, require individual skill and effort, have a moderate degree of risk, and include clear feedback on performance. Further, McClelland argued that entrepreneurial roles are characterised as having a greater degree of these task attributes than other careers; thus, it is likely that people high in nAch will be more likely to pursue entrepreneurial jobs than other types of roles.

2) Risk taking

Risk-taking propensity is another motivation of interest, which emerged from McClelland's (1961) original research on entrepreneurs. McClelland claimed that individuals with high achievement needs would have moderate propensities to take risk. This claim by McClelland is especially interesting for entrepreneurship research because the entrepreneurial process involves acting in the face of uncertainty. Liles (1974) argued that entrepreneurs often must accept uncertainty with respect to financial well-being, psychic well-being, career security, and family relations. Moreover, several theories of entrepreneurship view the entrepreneur as bearing residual uncertainty (Venkataraman, 1997).

3) Tolerance for ambiguity

Schere (1982) argued that tolerance for ambiguity is an important trait for entrepreneurs because the challenges and potential for success associated with business start-ups are by nature unpredictable. Budner (1982) defined tolerance for ambiguity as the propensity to view situations without clear outcomes as attractive rather than threatening. Because entrepreneurs continually face more uncertainty in their everyday environment than do managers of established organisations, entrepreneurs who remain in their jobs are likely to score higher on tests for this trait than would managers.

4) Locus of control

Another motivational trait that has received attention is locus of control: the belief in the extent to which individuals believe that their actions or personal characteristics affect outcomes. Individuals who have an external locus of control believe that the outcome of an event is out of their control, whereas individuals with an internal locus of control believe that their personal actions directly affect the outcome of an event (Rotter, 1966).

5) Self-efficacy

Self-efficacy is the belief in one's ability to muster and implement the necessary personal resources, skills, and competencies to attain a certain level of achievement on a given task (Bandura, 1997). In other words, self-efficacy can be seen as task-specific self-confidence. Self-efficacy for a specific task has been shown to be a

robust predictor of an individual's performance in that task and helps to explain why people of equal ability can perform differently. An individual with high self-efficacy for a given task will exert more effort for a greater length of time, persist through setbacks, set and accept higher goals, and develop better plans and strategies for the task. A person with high self-efficacy will also take negative feedback in a more positive manner and use that feedback to improve their performance. These attributes of self-efficacy may be important to the entrepreneurial process because these situations are often ambiguous ones in which effort, persistence, and planning are important.

6) Goal setting

Goal setting is the final motivation for entrepreneurship proposed by Shane et al. (2003). Tracy et al. (1998) conducted a study of the owners of small printing firms. Both concurrent and longitudinal measures of four aspects of performance were obtained: financial performance, growth, and innovation. The quantitative goals the entrepreneurs had for each outcome were significantly related to their corresponding outcomes, both concurrently and longitudinally (achievement in this study was unrelated to performance). Baum et al. (2001) also found that growth goals were significantly related to the subsequent growth of architectural woodworking firms. Although there have been other studies of entrepreneurial goals, only these two have related quantitative measures of goal difficulty to performance.

Pathways to entrepreneurship

Linked to entrepreneurial motivation are the pathways that are taken to entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurs choose to carry out their motivations in different ways, at different times. Furthermore, pathways to entrepreneurship are influenced by those capabilities learnt by entrepreneurs. Significant to the thinking of the pathways to entrepreneurship is the work of Knight (1921). Knight argued that an individual could exercise choice in terms of being in one of three states: unemployment, paid employment, or self-employment. Furthermore, he argued that changes in the relative prices of these three states would induce some individuals to move from one state to another. Thus an individual who loses a job has to consider income levels associated with seeking new paid employment, becoming self-employed, or remaining unemployed.

Two illustrations can be used to demonstrate this. First, if the individual loses a job when unemployment is high, that person will be more likely to be pessimistic about obtaining alternative paid employment. This means they would be more likely to consider either self-employment or unemployment. Second, a reduction in the income associated with being unemployed would encourage movements into both self-employment and paid employment. Along the lines of this framework, Evans and Leighton (1990) and Blanchflower and Oswald (1990) both conclude that unemployment appears to be positively associated with a transition into self-employment.

Whilst the Knight framework is useful, it does not explicitly take into account the fact that some groups of individuals may be more likely to choose one of the three states than others. In this sense, the choice of a self-employed occupation can be considered to be little different from the choice of any other occupation. This is a factor which will be explored further in relation to Polish migrant entrepreneurs. There are different pathways available to entrepreneurship for Polish entrepreneurs. Some may have entered self-employment immediately on arrival in the UK, from being involved in any of the three states in Poland. Others may have entered into employment on arrival with a view to making a transition into self-employment at a later date. Consequently, the pathway to entrepreneurship taken will have an influence on the timing of the migration.

Family

Decisions to migrate and the time at which this occurs can be a result of the ideas of other family members, their encouragement and financial support. This particularly appears to be the case in families where a parent was/is an entrepreneur. Indeed, Stanworth et al. (1989) placed particular emphasis on the intergenerational entrepreneur. In a survey of more than six hundred respondents, they showed that between 30 per cent and 47 per cent of individuals either considering, about to start, or in business, had a father who had also been in business. They argue that the cultural inheritance of entrepreneurs does move within families. The role of the

family in Polish migrant entrepreneurship will be the focus of Chapter Six, so is only touched upon here in relation to its influence on the timing of migration.

Other endogenous factors

There are a number of other endogenous factors which have an impact upon the decision to make a transition from either unemployment or employment, into self-employment, and consequently the timing of the migration. Storey (1994: p.63) gives three main influences upon this decision:

- Personality;
- Human capital;
- Ethnic origin;

Personality characteristics are examined by economic psychologists such as Chell, et al. (1991). They argue that entrepreneurs are alert to business opportunities, are proactive rather than reactive and are easily bored. There are also factors which economists would normally include within the category of 'human capital'. For example, Pickles and O'Farrell (1987) argue that the educational attainment of entrepreneurs in the Republic of Ireland is higher than that of the Irish population in general. Evans and Leighton (1990) show that for both unemployed and employed workers, the probability of entry into self-employment increases with education.

The other human capital characteristics which a person offers to entrepreneurship relate to work experience. Here it has been shown by several studies of manufacturing firm founders, such as those by Cross (1981) or Gudgin, et al. (1979), that an individual formerly employed in a small firm with less than ten workers was between seven and twelve times more likely to become an entrepreneur than an individual employed in a firm with five hundred or more employees.

Research by Keeble, et al. (1992) of founders of business service firms, however, indicates the opposite results. They show that individuals previously working in large firms are significantly more likely to establish their own firms in the same sector than individuals previously working in a small firm. This emphasises that a distinction has to be made between the service and the manufacturing sectors (Storey, 1994: p.64). In addition, amongst the human capital variables, individuals' managerial experience is usually thought to provide positive motivation to encouraging the individual to become an entrepreneur (Bates, 1990).

The third factor which has been argued to influence the choice between self-employment and paid employment is that of ethnic origin. Ethnic origin itself cannot be classed as an internal prompt. However, the peculiar social organisation and institutional contexts which cause certain ethnic groups to more entrepreneurial across borders can be seen to be internal prompts to migrant entrepreneurship. Jones, et al. (1993) show that 22 per cent of the economically active population in the South Asian group are self-employed, compared with only 12 per cent of the

white population. However, it is not uniformly the case that in-migrants have a higher proclivity to become self-employed. Jones and Rose (1993) demonstrate that only 7 per cent of the West Indian/Guyanese population in the United Kingdom were self-employed in 1987-1989, at a time when 12 per cent of the white population was self-employed. Nevertheless, there does seem to be evidence that some in-migrants are much more likely than the resident population to be self-employed.

Ethnic entrepreneurs in the UK initially establish their businesses to service their local ethnic population. Some of these firms service a distinctive ethnic cohort and then 'break-out' to provide services (goods, etc) to the wider population. While market break-out may in practice embrace a variety of entrepreneurial strategies, Ram and Hillin (1994) are mainly concerned with inter-sectoral shift, where ethnic minority firms seek to penetrate into higher-order mainstream markets unconstrained by a local or a co-ethnic customer base (Jones et al., 2000). Though this may sometimes take the form of existing firms branching out and diversifying, the bulk of sectoral break-out is more likely to be accomplished by new entrants rejecting tried and trusted areas and instead seeking opportunities in fresh fields away from the lower end of the retail spectrum or from low technology labour-intensive manufacturing (Ram et al., 2003: p.666). For Polish entrepreneurs, the timing of their migration has an important role in their 'break-out' strategy. This will be touched upon in this chapter in relation to timing, and then revisited in the following chapters in order to develop other aspects of Polish migrant entrepreneurship.

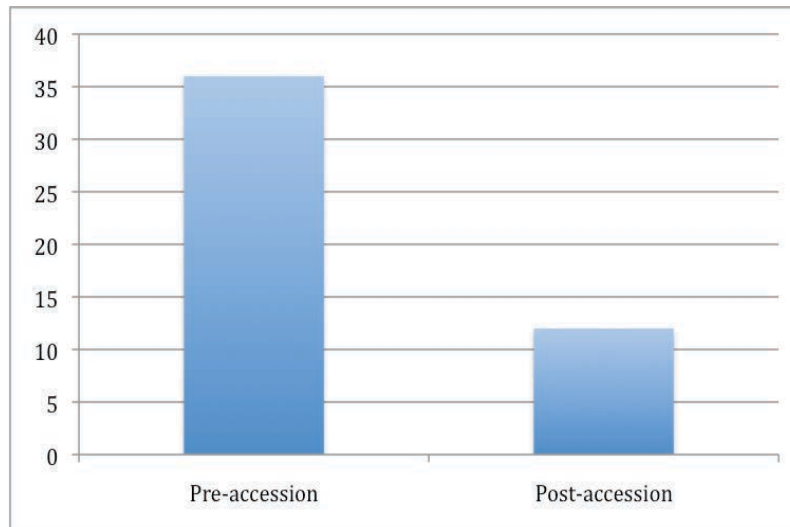
5.5 The characteristics of Polish migrant entrepreneurs

Before this theory can be applied to the case of Polish entrepreneurs in the West Midlands, it is necessary to explore their personal characteristics, and features of their migration and establishing a business. Such characteristics and features include the date of arrival in the UK, age, gender, and business size. This will allow a more detailed understanding of the respondents. For detailed figures on the characteristics of the entrepreneurs and their businesses refer to Appendix A.

The majority of research into Polish migrants in the UK focuses on the movement that occurred following the EU enlargement of 2004. Therefore, it was assumed when embarking on the research project that Polish entrepreneurs would have migrated to the UK after 1st May 2004, as result of the enlargement. It was expected that freer movement would encourage the migration of Polish entrepreneurs and also that the movement of Polish migrants in general would create a demand for Polish businesses in the UK.

However, what appears to be coming out of the research regarding the timing of the migration of entrepreneurs is quite different. Of the forty-eight Polish entrepreneurs interviewed for this study, thirty-six (75 per cent) migrated prior to accession (before 1st May 2004) (Table 4.7, Figure 5.2 and Appendix A). Of the forty-eight entrepreneurs interviewed in the West Midlands, only twelve (25 per cent) chose to migrate after accession (after 1st May 2004) (Table 4., Figure 5.2 and Appendix A).

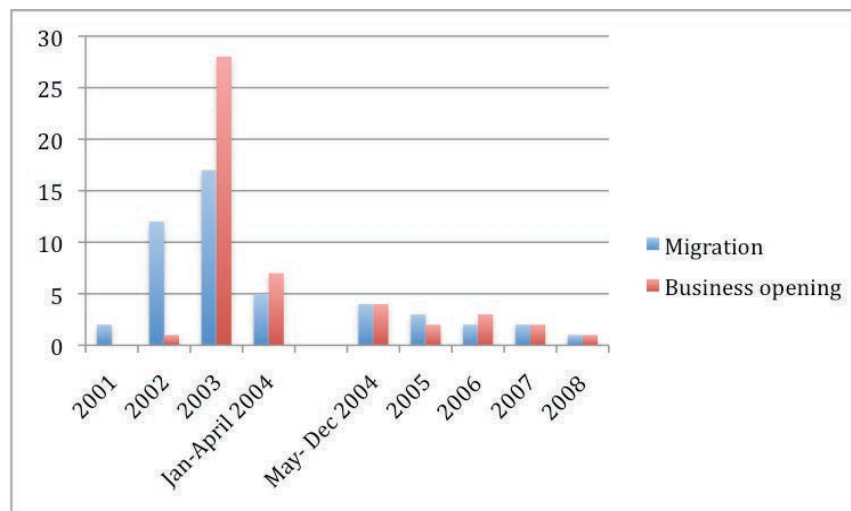
Figure 5.2 Number of respondents who migrated pre-accession and post-accession



Source: Author (field survey May 2009- February 2010)

Interestingly, of the forty-eight entrepreneurs interviewed, none migrated after 2008. The migration of the Polish entrepreneurs in my research project is limited to between 2001 and 2008. This may be due to exogenous factors including the market becoming saturated with Polish businesses, the reported return migration of Poles could be deterring Polish nationals from entering into entrepreneurship in the UK, opportunities at home could be considered to be better, or stories of the UK economy and business hardship may be being communicated back to Poland.

Figure 5.3 Dates of migration and opening the business



Source: Author (field survey May 2009- February 2010)

Figure 5.3 illustrates the dates at which the migration of Polish entrepreneurs occurred and when they opened their businesses. Migration starts to increase in 2002 but the levels of business openings are low. In 2003 migration of Polish entrepreneurs is at its highest, as is the level of newly opened businesses, demonstrating the lag between migrating in 2002 and opening the business in 2003. The lag between migration and business opening in those migrations which took place before 1st May 2004 can be explained by migrants entering employment before making a transition some months, or even years, later to self-employment. It also demonstrates the transition between being a nascent entrepreneur and constructing a fledging firm often taking less than a year (Reynolds and White, 1997). Post-accession entrepreneurs display little or no time lag between migration and opening the business, perhaps explained by immediate entry into self-employment on arrival in the UK. This will be explored in the next section.

Slightly more men than women are featured in the study. 56 per cent of Polish entrepreneurs were men, and 44 per cent were women. These figures are similar for the gender of pre-accession entrepreneurs. Male entrepreneurs account for 58 per cent of pos- accession entrepreneurs. Focusing on the gender of owners of different types of businesses shows that the gender of the owners of delicatessens was fairly mixed. However, male entrepreneurs were more likely to be plumbers or work in construction, and female entrepreneurs were more likely to run beauty salons and hair salons. Looking at gender by business sector reveals that in the retail/ service sector 58 per cent of businesses are owned by men. In the professional sector there is an even split of men and women in the professional sector businesses (5 individuals of each gender run professional businesses). The significant presence of female Polish entrepreneurs, particularly in professional businesses, supports Ram's (1994) assertion that the experiences of female ethnic entrepreneurs are little documented and require further attention.

Table 5.2 The age of entrepreneurs

Age of entrepreneur	Pre-accession		Post-accession		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
<24	9	25	2	17	11	23
24-34	21	58	5	42	26	54
35-44	6	17	4	33	10	21
>44	0	0	1	8	1	2
Total	36	100	12	100	48	100

Source: Author (field survey May 2009- February 2010)

The age range of the entrepreneurs interviewed was quite narrow. The majority (54 per cent) of entrepreneurs were aged between 25-34. Showing that Polish migrant entrepreneurs are fairly young and at a stage in their lives where they are able to take the opportunity to migrate and take on the responsibility of establishing a business. This young age of Polish entrepreneurs is supported by only one respondent being over the age of 44. It is likely that there is an older generation of self-employed Poles operating in the West Midlands, due to the established Polish community which developed in the region following the Second World War. However, this was not the focus of the research. When selecting respondents for the research no older generations of Polish entrepreneurs were discovered.

The respondents included in the research come from a variety of businesses. There are twenty one different types of business included in the study (Table 4.7, Table 5.2 and Appendix A). 38 (79 per cent) of these are classed as retail/ service sector businesses. The remaining ten (21 per cent) businesses are classed as professional sector businesses. The most predominant type of business featured in the research is delicatessens, followed by hair salons, construction companies, restaurants, car garages, and plumbing services (Table 5.3). These fall under the retail/ services category. Businesses amongst pre-accession entrepreneurs are 100 per cent retail/ service sector businesses. Conversely, businesses amongst post-accession entrepreneurs are mainly professional sector (83 per cent). The reasons for this will be explored in the following section.

Table 5.3 Number of each type of business

Business type	Number included in research
Delicatessen	15
Hair salon	3
Restaurant	3
Construction	3
Car garage	3
Plumber	3
Recruitment	2
Marketing	2
Butcher	2
Accountant	1
Travel agent	1
Bakery	1
Graphic designers	1
Nightclub	1
Nursery	1
IT Consultancy	1
Business Consultancy	1
Communication services	1
Mortgage advice service	1
Beauty Salon	1
Tanning Salon	1

Source: Author (field survey May 2009- February 2010)

Table 5.4 Location of Polish businesses by county

County	Pre-accession		Post-accession		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
West Midlands	17	47	5	42	22	46
Herefordshire	5	14	1	8	6	13
Shropshire	2	6	1	8	3	6
Staffordshire	6	17	3	25	9	19
Warwickshire	5	14	1	8	6	13
Worcestershire	3	8	1	8	4	8
Total	36	100	12	100	48	100

Source: Author (field survey May 2009- February 2010)

Polish businesses are situated in a variety of locations throughout the West Midlands. The West Midlands (county of) has the greatest concentration (46 per cent). Staffordshire also has a notable Polish entrepreneurial community (19 per cent). Pre-accession and post-accession figures for county of location repeat this pattern with 44 per cent of pre-accession and 50 per cent of post-accession businesses located in the West Midlands county. Focusing on the towns and cities within these counties shows that of the thirty-six Polish entrepreneurs that migrated pre-accession, twenty-two are located in Birmingham. Nine are located in large towns on the outskirts of Birmingham such as West Bromwich, Coventry and Walsall. The remaining five are found in more rural locations in the counties of Herefordshire and Worcestershire, for example. Of the twelve entrepreneurs that migrated post-accession, six are located in towns in rural areas of the West Midlands region. Three are located in Birmingham and the remaining three entrepreneurs are to be found in larger towns on the outskirts of Birmingham. There is a clear locational divide between pre-accession and post-accession entrepreneurs. The reason for the high number of pre-accession entrepreneurs being based in Birmingham appears to be that the city was the first choice location in which Polish entrepreneurs established their businesses. Those self-employed Poles who arrived later chose to settle in smaller towns and cities such as Stafford, Stoke-On-Trent and Redditch, in order to create new business opportunities and avoid the already established businesses of Birmingham.

Table 5.5 Size of Polish businesses

Number of employees	Pre-accession		Post-accession		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
<5	25	69	2	17	27	56
5-15	6	17	7	58	13	27
16-25	4	11	3	25	7	15
26-35	0	0	0	0	0	0
36-45	0	0	0	0	0	0
>45	1	3	0	0	1	2
Total	36	100	12	100	48	100

Source: Author (field survey May 2009- February 2010)

Polish businesses range in size, however they are all classed as SMEs. The majority of businesses (56 per cent) employ less than five members of staff. The high number of delicatessens and hair salons which do not require large numbers of staff to run can perhaps explain this. Post-accession businesses are slightly larger than those established pre-accession with 58 per cent employing five to fifteen members of staff, as opposed to 17 per cent for the corresponding number amongst pre-accession businesses. Only one business from the whole sample employs more than forty-five members of staff.

5.6 The timing of Polish migrant entrepreneurship

The literature surrounding the motivation of the timing of migration and entry into entrepreneurship highlights several concepts which can be applied to the study of Polish migrant entrepreneurship. Firstly, is the use of the concept of timing, rather than time. Since migration for the purpose of entrepreneurship is an active process which involves a series of decisions it is appropriate to use in this case. The second concept is the involvement of exogenous and endogenous factors in the timing of the migration decision. Within this, the role of accession, family and entrepreneurial learning are of prime importance. Thirdly, the pathways that are undertaken to entrepreneurship and how these impact on the timing of the migration are important to consider.

Consequently, this section of the chapter investigates the timing of the migration of Polish entrepreneurs in the West Midlands, taking these concepts into account. Particular attention is paid to whether this migration is pre-accession or post-accession and the motivating factors in this timing decision.

Pre-accession prompts to migration and pathways into entrepreneurship

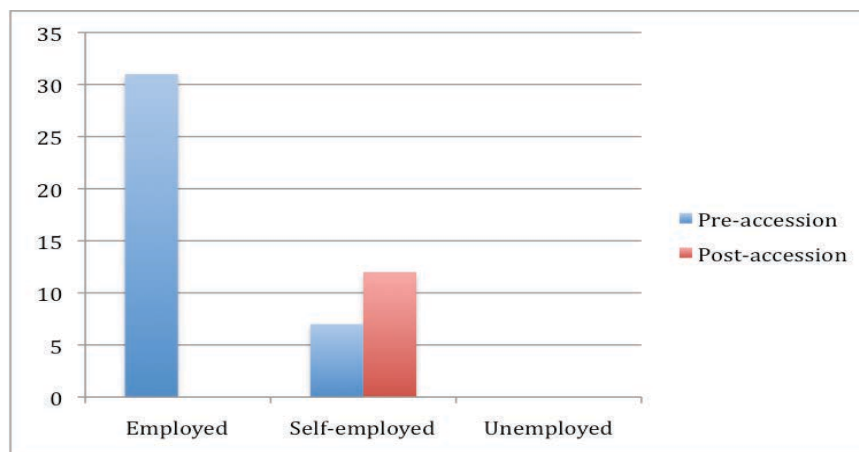
Of the thirty-six pre-accession entrepreneurs, all had a view to establishing a business by 1st May 2004. Consequently, EU enlargement was an important external prompt in the migration of Polish entrepreneurs. In addition, there are also a number of internal prompts operating. For instance, these entrepreneurs used their pre-accession migration to enter into employment, before making a transition to

self-employment, in order to build funds to establish their business, to get to know the UK economy and to take their time in developing a potentially successful business. In doing so this allowed them to capitalise on the increased flows of migrants which were anticipated with accession.

Pathways to pre-accession entrepreneurship

In existing studies of pathways to entrepreneurship, unemployment appears to be positively associated with higher levels of self-employment (Evans and Leighton, 1990; Blanchflower and Oswald, 1990). However, Polish migrant entrepreneurs display quite different results. Of the forty-eight Polish migrant entrepreneurs interviewed in this study none were unemployed in either Poland or the UK prior to entering self-employment. Before leaving Poland, 29 of the respondents were employed, and the remaining 19 were already self-employed.

Figure 5.4 Pathways to entrepreneurship on arrival in the UK



Source: Author (field survey May 2009- February 2010)

Critically, all of those interviewed had the idea to establish a business in the UK prior to migrating. Focusing on the thirty-six pre-accession respondents shows that twenty-one were employed in Poland and fifteen were self-employed. Despite a desire to be self-employed when entering the UK, many of these migrants reported that they chose not to come to the UK on the ECAA self-employment visa. Only nine of the pre-accession migrants chose to make use of the ECAA visa immediately and entered into self-employment when arriving in the UK (Figure 5.4). In these cases the ECAA acted as an exogenous factor, and combined with the other exogenous factor of EU accession to influence the timing choice of migration. The remaining twenty-five chose to be employed (Figure 5.4) in occupations such as agriculture and hospitality, despite being well educated and generally having professional occupations in Poland. However, this work was largely done illegally in the grey economy¹³, with some respondents later obtaining a self-employment visa in order to legalise their migrant status, but in fact they remained employed for some time before making a transition to self-employment. Others acquired the ECAA self-employment visa when they actually made a transition from employment to self-employment. New Polish arrivals accepted these unskilled jobs as the pay was better than in their occupations in Poland and it also allowed them to settle financially and socially in the UK. It also gave enough time for a significant enough Polish community to develop to support their businesses, before entering into self-employment.

¹³ Prior to making a transition to self-employment, some respondents made reference to working illegally on arrival in the UK, and obtaining an ECAA self-employment visa whilst remaining employed. However, this is not something that they wished to elaborate on and is consequently not dealt with during this research.

Therefore, some Poles who were self-employed in Poland actually made a transition to employment in order to become more successful in their entrepreneurial careers in the UK. This was the case for eleven of the fifteen entrepreneurs who were self-employed in Poland. Their decision to move to the UK and enter into employment was well constructed and was a critical factor in leading to their entrepreneurial moment. Those Poles who were self-employed in Poland mainly sold their businesses in order to save money to put towards opening a business in the UK. However, some left their businesses in the hands of family, particularly in situations when a family member had provided financial backing for the new business opening.

One of the businesses included in the research is a Polish bakery. It clearly illustrates the choice of many Polish entrepreneurs to migrate prior to accession and to enter into employment, before engaging in self-employment, whilst having the vision to establish their business. The owner and her husband arrived in the West Midlands from Poland in 2001 but did not open the business until 2003 when they obtained an ECAA self-employment visa. On arrival they both entered employment in order to get used to life in the UK and to save money to contribute to their business venture.

On this the owner comments that:

“When we arrived in England I worked as a waitress and my husband did building work. Life was quite tough... But we had the business idea at the back of our minds all the time which kept us going” (Agata, Polish bakery, 2009).

The decision of so many Polish entrepreneurs to enter into employment before making a transition to self-employment is closely linked to the timing of their

migration. This is illustrated by a Polish construction company, whose owner Arek, migrated in 2002 and opened his business in 2003. He explains that:

“I came to here [the UK] knowing I wanted to set up a business. I had my own accountancy firm in Poland, but I sold it and worked on a farm here because the money was better. I got promoted to farm manager after a few months. I saved all my earnings and put it together with the money I had from selling my business in Poland” (Arek, Polish construction company, 2009).

Interestingly, Arek was self-employed in Poland, but chose to sell his business and move to the UK. He made a transition to employment and carried this out for almost two years whilst undertaking localised learning and saving finances in order to achieve his entrepreneurial status.

Not all entrepreneurs arriving before EU enlargement worked in other occupations initially. Four did enter straight into self-employment by making use of the exogenous factor of the ECAA self-employment visa to enter the country. For instance, Jacek is a plumber based in Birmingham, who came to the UK in 2003. He comments that:

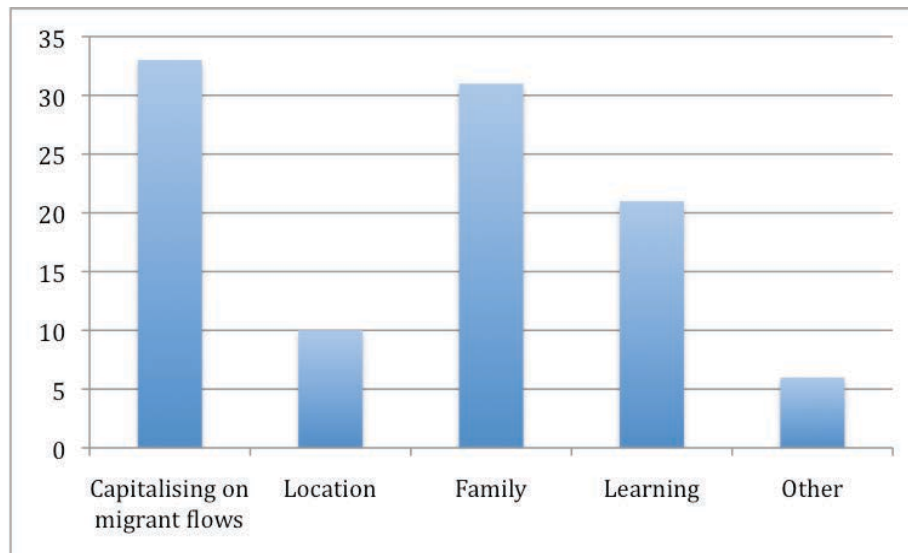
“I came [to the UK] in 2003 on a self-employment visa. I set up my own business straight away. It was fairly easy, as I didn’t need a premises. I just slowly promoted myself and developed a good reputation. To me [EU] enlargement didn’t really matter as I wasn’t dependent on Polish customers. I just wanted to leave Poland as life there was tough, so I left as soon as I could” (Jacek, Polish plumber, 2009).

Those entrepreneurs who entered self-employment immediately on arrival in the UK, are employed in more informal occupations, such as plumber and builders. They did not necessarily need premises and consequently, their required budget and time

for establishing a business was much less than those with premises. As a result, they needed less time and capital to begin trading. This is perhaps why they entered self-employment immediately, rather than those entrepreneurs who went down the route of employment when arriving in the UK, in order to give themselves time and money to work towards their establishment of a business. In addition, unlike Polish delicatessens, and other retail and service sector businesses, they did not rely on the Polish community as customers. Polish builders, and plumbers who entered self-employment on arrival in the UK served the wider community, which allowed their businesses to be successful before EU accession.

The pathways to entrepreneurship are strongly linked to the timing of migration. Largely pre-accession migration resulted in entry into employment before a transition to self-employment could be made. This was done due to the endogenous factors of acclimatising to life in the West Midlands, localised learning, and saving finances to contribute towards the business. However, it was centred around the exogenous factor of EU accession, and to a lesser extent the ECAA. This suggests the active nature of timing in the event of migration and establishing a business through a careful series of decisions and actions in order to make migration and entrepreneurship possible.

Figure 5.5 Mentions of endogenous factors in the timing decision to migrate and establish a business amongst pre-accession migrant entrepreneurs



Source: Author (field survey May 2009- February 2010)

Those businesses which were established by entrepreneurs who arrived in the UK prior to accession tend to be retail based such as delicatessens, hairdressers and car garages. Entrepreneurs associated with these businesses often have the motivation characteristics described by Shane et al. (2003). For instance, they often show a need for achievement, risk-taking, and setting goals. This is typified by pre-accession migration in order to establish a business prior to EU enlargement in order to capture the custom of the flows of migrants expected from accession in May 2004. Thirty-three of the thirty-six entrepreneurs who migrated prior to accession made reference to migrating to do this (Figure 5.5). Agata of the Polish bakery, who migrated in 2001 and established the business in 2003, stated that:

“In Poland we [her and her husband] had the idea, the determination, the skill and the passion... but we wanted to get here [the UK] and see what was going on. We thought 2003 was the right time to start the bakery... especially because we knew so many Poles were expected the year after. We thought the UK market would be ideal at this time” (Agata, Polish bakery, 2009).

The owner believes that the business is successful because her and her husband’s migration occurred prior to accession so they could take their time to establish a solid business and exploit the opportunities of wealth creation brought about by the flows of Polish migrants following accession. Arek, the owner of a Polish construction company arrived in Lichfield, Staffordshire in 2002 and gives similar reasons for migrating at this time. He says that:

“I established my company in 2003 so that I could capitalise on the 2004 arrivals from my home country [Poland]. If I had come in 2004, by the time I had got my business off the ground someone else would have beaten me to it. I’d have missed the boat” (Arek, Polish construction company, 2009).

As with the Polish bakery, Arek attributes much of his success to the fact that he pre-empted the need for Polish businesses in the UK that would follow the 2004 enlargement. He made a move to establish a business in the UK in the years before to maximise his income when accession occurred, rather than waiting until after and missing an opportunity.

The exogenous factor of EU accession is the driving force behind the timing of the migration. However, it is the endogenous factors of motivation and the desire to capitalise on the business brought about by the flows of migrants from EU enlargement which has heavily influenced many entrepreneurs’ decisions to migrate at this time. This also illustrates Hägerstrand’s (1970) assertion of the importance of

time in human activity, and that each and every one of the actions and events which in sequence compose the individual's existence has both temporal and spatial attributes. However, the factors involved in the decision to migrate at this particular point in time are dynamic, and far more active than Hägerstrand (1970) acknowledges. The decision to migrate and establish a business involves a series of incremental decisions made over time, which have been influenced by particular factors- in this case the desire to capitalise of accession migrant flows. Therefore, this supports the use of the concept of timing when discussing Polish migrant entrepreneurship.

Locational choice of the business

The issue of timing also ties in with locational choices. Of the thirty-six respondents who migrated prior to accession, ten made some reference to migrating at this time in order to gain premises in their first choice location (Figure 5.5). The following quote illustrates the importance of the timing of the migration of Polish entrepreneurs and also its link to the locational choice of the business. Tomasz who owns a Polish butcher shop, located in Handsworth, Birmingham, migrated to the West Midlands in 2002. He comments that:

“I came [to the UK] in 2002. By doing that I had my pick of where I wanted to live and set up the business. I knew there was already a small Polish community here [in Handsworth]... so I wanted to set up here to serve them, but I also thought that Poles migrating after me would go here too. To me it is was the best place to be and I wanted to be here before another Polish butcher set up here” (Tomasz, Polish butchers, 2009).

The owner of the Polish butcher shop demonstrates the exogenous influence of accession in the decision to migrate at a particular moment in time, related to locational choice of a business. The imminent event of EU enlargement prompted the owner to time his migration in order to gain his first choice of business premises. This supports Giddens (1979: p.54) who argues that time-space intersections are "essentially involved in all social existence". It also demonstrates the active nature of this migration decision and therefore supports suggestions earlier in the chapter that the concept of timing should be used when discussing migration for the purpose of entrepreneurship, rather than that of time.

Family: finance and advice

The role of family appears to be a strong endogenous prompt to the timing of the migration of Polish entrepreneurs to the UK before 2004. Family and friends and the influence that they have on a business will be considered in detail in Chapter Six. However, it is briefly discussed here in relation to its impact on the timing of the migration. Of the thirty-six entrepreneurs who migrated prior to accession, thirty-one mentioned their family in some capacity when discussing their motivation behind their timing decision when migrating (Figure 5.5). Many of those interviewed described how their parents encouraged them to establish a business in the UK in order to capitalise on enlargement. In doing so they provided the financial backing for the business. The UK was probably selected as the country in which to settle and establish a business since, upon accession, it was one of only three countries (along with Ireland and Sweden) to allow migrants from the NMS to enter their labour markets more or less without restriction.

Sebastian is the owner of a Polish restaurant and arrived in the West Midlands from Poland in 2003. When asked why he migrated to the UK to set up his business he commented that:

“To be honest it was my parents’ idea. My father has his own restaurant in Poland so it was always a logical option for me. He didn’t want to leave [Poland] so he asked if I would. It was planned for a few months that this is what I should do. He thought that arriving in 2003 would mean that we would beat the competition. He provided some of the money so that I could come then rather than waiting and saving. We did all the research before I came to England and then did the paperwork and applications when I got here. But we had a couple of trips beforehand to choose the premises and things like that” (Sebastian, Polish restaurant, 2009).

This demonstrates that Sebastian became a nascent entrepreneur before he left Poland, with the transition to ‘fledgling firm status’ (Reynolds, 1994) made several months later in the UK. This comment also raises the question of why Sebastian’s father wanted his son to relocate to the UK. Primarily, whilst Sebastian’s father’s influence was endogenous, his driving factors to migration for the purpose of entrepreneurship at this time were exogenous. One factor was economic and related to the downturn in economic conditions in Poland, combined with better life opportunities in the UK. Another was that of EU accession providing the opportunity to migrate and establish a business. Sebastian’s father did not want to leave Poland, but had money to invest. It therefore seemed a rational option for his son to migrate and set up the business. Sebastian comments further that:

“The economy in Poland was not good at this time. England was a better option... more money to be made. My father had money to invest, but investing in Poland was not sensible. By me coming here [the UK] with his money it has spread the risk for him. It means he can continue to run his restaurant in Poland, and I can run mine here. We split the profit so we are both happy” (Sebastian, Polish restaurant, 2009).

The Polish restaurant illustrates that although the exogenous factors of EU accession and the economic climate are operating, it is the endogenous factor of family influence that in many cases is driving the decision to migrate at a particular time. This also emphasises that the concept of timing is appropriate for use here, since the active nature of the role time and the incremental decisions made over time, which have been influenced by exogenous factors, combined with the endogenous factor of family, are highly visible.

Localised learning

In many cases entrepreneurial and localised learning acted as an internal prompt to the timing of the migration. As Cope (2003) demonstrates, entrepreneurial learning has a highly temporal element and this is the case for the Polish bakery and the Polish construction company, amongst others. The timing of the migration was such that time could be taken to learn and acquire new skills in the region of the business before actually establishing it. The owners of both the Polish bakery and the Polish construction company were employed in other businesses when they arrived in the UK, before making a transition to self-employment. In cases such as this, employment was used as a stage for localised learning. Such entrepreneurs viewed it as virtually impossible to set up a firm without localised learning. This allowed them

a period to understand before setting up the business. Having the time to carry out localised learning is a crucial factor in the timing of Polish migrant entrepreneurs.

Localised learning through developing language and educational skills for entrepreneurs themselves and their families are other popular reasons given by Polish entrepreneurs for migrating to the UK before 1st May 2004. Twenty-one of the thirty-six pre-accession entrepreneurs cited learning the English language or education in the UK as reasons for migrating at this time (Figure 5.5). Many business owners wanted to arrive in the UK prior to establishing their enterprise in order to learn English to facilitate their life in the UK and running their business in the country. This emphasises the presence of entrepreneurial learning and particularly localised learning as an internal prompt or motivation to migration amongst Polish entrepreneurs. The timing of their migration was viewed as a key tactic in their learning process in order to acquire the capabilities to succeed in business in the UK.

Anna runs a Polish delicatessen with her husband in West Bromwich, similar to that in Figure 5.6. When they migrated in 2002 education and learning English were strong factors in their decision to do so. She comments that:

“We [her and her husband] knew we wanted to start our business in England and so we came in 2002 for education and to learn the language. To us... to be able to speak English is so important for life. It is a valuable skill to have. Of course, we wanted to set up our business straight away but our English was not good enough for that to be possible. We worked in restaurants for a couple of years until our English was better. We saved the money and planned our business during this time” (Anna, Polish delicatessen, 2009).

Figure 5.6 A Polish delicatessen in Birmingham, UK



Source: Author (2011)

As well as demonstrating a transition from employment to self-employment, Anna illustrates how migrating prior to accession was critical in order to carry out localised learning to acquire the necessary skills so that she could establish a business in time for accession in May 2004. The owner of a Polish hair salon, Violet, was also motivated by similar reasons, and followed a similar pathway to entrepreneurship.

She explains that:

“My English was poor but I wanted to move to England to start my business. So I came in 2002 and worked as a hairdresser for someone else’s business. This kept my interest and skill in hairdressing going but I could also work on my English so that it was good enough to set up my business. Now I talk to most of my clients in Polish but I need English to get by in day to day life in England. And, it is good for my business when dealing with suppliers and things like that. It looks more professional” (Violet, Polish hair salon, 2009).

Violet of the Polish hair salon also saw the role of education and learning English as important for her family. She comments that:

“When I came to England my children were three and one. I wanted to move with them at this time so they could grow up in England. By doing this they have learnt English from a very young age. It’s come naturally to them. They go to English schools and to me, them having a good education here was a very important reason for coming to England” (Violet, Polish hair salon, 2009).

Violet’s case echoes the research of Ryan and Sales (2011), who focus on the influence of children in the migration decision of Poles relocating to London. Their study revealed that the age of children was usually a factor in family migration decision-making. There was a common expectation that younger children could easily adapt to a new school and learn English quickly.

The importance of language and education to entrepreneurs, not just for their children, but also for themselves, supports the work of Evans and Leighton (1990) who show that for both unemployed and employed workers, the probability of entry into self-employment increases with education. It demonstrates motivational characteristics of entrepreneurs through a need for achievement (McClelland, 1961) and self-efficacy (Shane et al, 2003). These endogenous factors are operating, combined with the exogenous factors of accession, and to a lesser extent, the ECAA, operating in the background, to influence the timing decision of migration for Polish entrepreneurs.

The moment of pre-accession entrepreneurship

Given that the story of pre-accession entrepreneurs is complex, it is important to consider the point at which these individuals actually became entrepreneurs i.e.- the moment of entrepreneurship. We can consider an individual to be an entrepreneur when they meet the definition of a nascent entrepreneur- someone who initiates serious activities that are intended to culminate in a viable business start-up (Aldrich, 1999: p.77). If we follow Reynolds' (1994) criteria then the act of migration is not acknowledged. It can however be seen as a background condition.

By doing this, pre-accession Polish entrepreneurs who were initially employed in the UK would have a moment of entrepreneurship, or when they became nascent entrepreneurs, on leaving Poland. By this point they had given "serious thought to a new business" (Reynolds, 1994) but were also engaged in migration for the purpose of setting up a business. Generally, migrating was the first piece of action taken by pre-accession migrants towards entrepreneurship after giving "serious thought to a new business" (Reynolds, 1994). Despite these Polish entrepreneurs largely being employed when arriving in the UK, they should still be considered to be nascent entrepreneurs at this point.

However, for some, such as the Polish restaurant owner Sebastian, or the few pre-accession migrants who entered immediately into self-employment, the moment of entrepreneurship may have been slightly earlier in the development of the business if they had made specific business plans whilst still living in Poland. This evidence is supported by Reynolds and White (1997) whose research found that the time when

someone began to give 'serious thought' to a business and their attempt to actually construct a business ranged considerably. Some actually engaged in behaviours before giving serious thought to the business, and some waited years before acting.

Post-accession prompts to migration and pathways into entrepreneurship

The decision of post-accession entrepreneurs to migrate at this time developed through the idea that enlargement would create the need for Polish services in the UK, but they decided not to act on this until the flows of migrants from Poland to the UK could be seen. This illustrates the active nature of the decision to migrate at this time and therefore the utility in the use of the concept of timing when discussing migrant entrepreneurship. The development of a strong Polish community in the West Midlands as a result of enlargement attracted post-accession entrepreneurs, as it provided reassurance that there would be a customer base for their businesses. The post-accession businesses are less retail based than those which were established pre-accession. They include an accountant and a recruitment consultant, which were initially all tailored towards Polish clients. They were therefore highly dependent on a large Polish population at the time of establishing their businesses, hence their desire to see this in evidence before migrating.

Pathways to post- accession entrepreneurship

All twelve of the post-accession entrepreneurs entered straight into self-employment (Figure 5.4), rather than becoming employed whilst getting accustomed to life in the UK, as in the case of many pre-accession entrepreneurs. They became

self-employed as soon as possible on arrival in the UK. As there was a large, developing Polish community on their arrival they wanted to establish their businesses straight away. They did not see a need assess the Polish community or the economic climate on arrival. This could be done in Poland before leaving for the UK and many had family and friends who were already in the UK who could advise and support them. Figure 5.3 illustrates this immediate entry into self-employment. This displays the migration and business opening dates of Polish entrepreneurs. Unlike the results for pre-accession entrepreneurs, post-accession entrepreneurs have little delay between their migration date and business opening date, which is explained by their quick entry into self-employment, rather than migration followed by employment before entering into self-employment.

Marc owns a mortgage advice service in Lichfield, Staffordshire, and illustrates the quick entry into self-employment by post-accession migrant entrepreneurs. The company offers mortgage advice to Poles wishing to buy a property in the UK. The company employs English mortgage advisors who can speak Polish, and their services are largely tailored towards Polish clients. Marc arrived in the UK in July 2004. On the timing of establishing his business he comments that:

“Whilst I was still in Poland I did a lot of research- how to set up a business here [the UK] and many other practical things. I did a lot of the ground work before I arrived [in the UK]. That helped speed things up a lot. I set up my business within a few weeks of arriving in England. I worked around the clock because I didn’t want to waste time getting it [the business] started. Everyday that went by without opening the business I was losing money and possible customers would be going elsewhere” (Marc, Polish mortgage advice business, 2009).

The decision to migrate after EU accession is therefore also due to taking the time to save money, and putting the initial plans of the business together before leaving Poland. Therefore, if the business idea was to fail in these early stages there would have been minimal disruption and the decision to migrate could be aborted.

This demonstrates that post-accession entrepreneurs were more cautious than pre-accession entrepreneurs about their decision to migrate, and as a result waited until after accession to assess the exogenous factors involved, such as the number of Poles migrating and the economic climate in the UK. Selina owns a Polish recruitment business in Stoke-on-Trent. She arrived in the UK in September 2004. On her decision to migrate at this time she states that:

“I thought about it [migrating] probably in 2003 but I wasn’t sure. I mean what if not as many Poles had come as actually have and I’d moved and set up my business? It wouldn’t have been so successful. But when I saw how many Poles were leaving [Poland] I thought I would do the same. By this time [2004] I was confident that there was a growing Polish community in England and that this would support my business. To run a Polish recruitment company I obviously needed there to be many Poles here. I needed to wait and see where they were so I could decide where to establish my business and get it up and running as soon as I arrived in England” (Selina, Polish recruitment agency, 2009).

The Polish recruitment agency illustrates that different types of business activity are characterised by a different timing of migration, and have different factors which drive the migration and the pathways taken into entrepreneurship.

The influence on migration of risk-taking propensity is relevant to the pathways to entrepreneurship. Pre-accession migrant entrepreneurs, such as Agata, the owner of the Polish bakery, can be seen to be risk-takers. They are entrepreneurs who entered

into an unknown and maximum risk territory at the time. In order to do this their pathway to entrepreneurship involved a period of employment before making a transition self-employment. Conversely, in comparison, post-accession migrant entrepreneurs, such as Selina may be classed as followers. These entrepreneurs waited to see the success of others before making a decision to migrate. They also had family and friends in England who could support them on arrival. By doing this it meant that their pathway to entrepreneurship could involve immediate entry into self-employment. However, this idea can be viewed in an alternative way. Early cases of migrant entrepreneurs had large amounts of financial backing and family support. If this is the case it could be seen to be a lower risk movement. Whilst post-accession migrants, previously labelled followers, may have been taking more risk depending on their assets and moving to a market becoming saturated with Polish businesses. This risk-taking propensity is intrinsically linked to the timing of the migration since different levels risks will be taken at different times.

Following family and friends

The endogenous influence of family and friends was seen to be important in the timing decision of pre-accession migrant entrepreneurs. This was largely in terms of business aspiration and financial advice. Whilst the influence of family and friends are still critical in the timing decision of the migration of post-accession entrepreneurs, it takes a different form. Post-accession entrepreneurs explain their family reasons mostly in terms of maintaining their family and friendship ties with individuals who had already left Poland for the UK. This will be discussed further in

Chapter Six, but will be touched upon here to illustrate the influence of family on the timing of migration.

Dawid is the owner of an accountancy firm in Redditch. He arrived in July 2004 largely due to the influence of his family's migration decisions. He states that:

“We [Dawid and his wife] hadn't really thought about migrating to the UK. I was happy with my life in Poland. But, then with enlargement a lot of my friends came to the UK so that got me thinking. Then both my brother and sister told me that they, and their families, would be leaving for England. I am close to them and so is my wife. My children play with their children. Our parents passed away a few years ago so I knew if they [his brother and sister] went [to England] then we would have no family left in Poland. So... that's why we made the choice to migrate at this time. I guess we were very much influenced by the decisions of my family and friends, and when they chose to leave Poland” (Dawid, Polish accountancy firm, 2009).

Dawid explains his decision to migrate purely through the endogenous factor of maintaining his relationship with his brother and sister who had both already migrated to the UK. Although they are likely to have given him advice in the migration decision and process he did not feel it significant enough to mention this during his interview. Dawid illustrates Hägerstrand's (1970) idea that each and every one of the actions and events, which in sequence compose the individual's existence, has both temporal and spatial attributes. The temporal attribute is the influence of Dawid's siblings migrating, prompting the timing of his decision to migrate. The spatial attribute is the actual migration itself.

Success stories

The timing choice of Polish entrepreneurs to migrate and establish a business is also driven by the endogenous factor of the success stories of Polish entrepreneurs who had already created flourishing enterprises at this time. These success stories are communicated with Poland by the media, but also through family and friends. By having the knowledge that others had been successful, some entrepreneurs were inspired to follow their pattern.

Kuba is the manager of a car garage in Stafford. He attributes the reason for the timing of his migration in 2005 to being told of thriving Polish enterprises in the West Midlands.

“I had friends in London, Birmingham, and Stafford who came to England before me. I wasn’t sure though if it was for me. I didn’t want to leave my home, my friends and family. After a while though, I kept hearing their stories of success, money and a good life. Much better than mine in Poland. So, I made the choice to leave [Poland] in 2005. If my friends here [the UK] hadn’t convinced me to go for it I probably never would have, but I’m glad I did. I like my life here now and my business is doing very well” (Kuba, Polish car garage, 2009).

Through the endogenous influence of success stories, Kuba is a further example of how post-accession migrant entrepreneurs can be seen as followers and minimal risk-takers.

The moment of post-accession entrepreneurship

The moment of entrepreneurship for post-accession entrepreneurs is generally earlier in the business development process than that of those who migrated pre-accession, as their business development process is shorter. Since their migration was later, much of their business planning and acquiring of funds was done prior to migration. This is viewed as acting towards entrepreneurship. Therefore their moment of entrepreneurship can be seen to be when they had given “serious thought to a new business” but were also engaged in an action that would contribute towards establishing a business (Reynolds, 1994). Consequently, post-accession entrepreneurs can be viewed as having become nascent entrepreneurs before they even left Poland. This reiterates Reynolds and White’s (1997) point that the time when someone begins to give ‘serious thought’ to a business and their attempt to actually construct a business ranges considerably from one enterprise to another.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the timing of the migration of Polish entrepreneurs to the West Midlands and the subsequent establishment of a business. Most of the entrepreneurs interviewed chose to migrate prior to accession in order to capitalise on the opportunities that would be created by enlargement. For these entrepreneurs EU enlargement was a critical exogenous driver to migration. Without EU enlargement it is likely that this migration would not have taken place since these

migrants had not chosen to come to the UK in the 1990s on the ECAA self-employment visa for immediate self-employment. When they became informed about proposals of accession they then chose to migrate, sometimes using the self-employment visa, and sometimes working illegally in the grey economy. However, there are also endogenous drivers operating which played a crucial role. Pre-accession businesses are largely concentrated in the retail and service sector including delicatessens, hairdressers and car garages. Entrepreneurs in these businesses pre-empted the need for Polish businesses in the UK and by doing so maximised their profit and likelihood of success.

A key internal driver in the timing of their migration was to have the time before accession to carry out localised learning. Such entrepreneurs possess motivational characteristics such as a need for achievement, self-efficacy, and goal setting. The moment of entrepreneurship for these individuals was generally when they migrated from Poland, as they maintained a constant desire to establish a business once in the UK. In spite of this, they were initially employed on arrival in the UK, using employment as a tactic to make a successful transition to self-employment. This explains the time lag between the date of arrival and the date of opening a business for pre-accession entrepreneurs.

The timing of the migration of entrepreneurs who arrived in the UK and established a business after 1st May 2004 was again influenced by the exogenous factor of EU enlargement, but with endogenous factors also having an effect. These entrepreneurs were more cautious in their plans and therefore waited to see the

initial response to accession before committing to a decision to migrate and develop their enterprise. For this reason they may be viewed as followers to the more risk-taking pre-accession entrepreneurs. These businesses are mostly professional services such as recruitment agencies and mortgages advisors, suggesting that different business types require different migration timing and strategies. Their moment of entrepreneurship generally came before migration since they spent time in Poland saving money, and putting the initial plans of the business together. Unlike pre-accession entrepreneurs, all post-accession entrepreneurs entered immediately into self-employment on arrival in the UK.

What is common amongst both groups is that the external prompt of accession is the key factor in the decision to migrate. Without accession these Poles probably would not have migrated or set up a business in the UK at this time. EU enlargement relaxed migration rules and gave them the opportunity to come to the UK for the purpose of immediate self-employment, or legal employment before making a transition to self-employment. Critically, it also allowed other Polish migrants to migrate with ease, creating the customer base that these enterprises required. The internal prompts to migration then operate with the influence of the timing of EU enlargement operating in the background.

The concept of the timing of the migration and the entrepreneurial act, and particularly using employment as a tactic to achieve self-employed status, highlights that time should not be treated as a passive, noun-based, social creation, as it has been done previously (Hägerstrand, 1970; Thrift, 1983; Giddens, 1979; Giddens,

1981). Instead, by using the notion of timing, which implies the sequence of a set of linked events or decisions, the chapter illustrates that a series of these dynamic decisions come together to create Polish migrant entrepreneurship.

The investigation of the prompts to the timing of the decision to migrate and open a business lead to the conclusion that support from family and friends is critical in this process. For this reason, the following chapter will explore in detail the relationships between the individuals in the UK and Poland that are involved in migration, and establishing and running a business in the West Midlands.

CHAPTER SIX

TRANSLOCAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP: FAMILY, CO-ETHNICS, AND SUPPORT NETWORKS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter is the second of four empirical chapters. It explores the role of family and friends in Polish entrepreneurs' decisions to migrate to the West Midlands, and the subsequent establishment and running of a business, which was identified in the previous chapter. Whilst in Chapter Five this was considered in relation to the influence of family and friends in the timing decision of migration and the entrepreneurial act, here the actual nature of these relationships will be explored.

The literature on family involvement in firms (Leach, 1991; Tucker, 2011; Zachary, 2011) and ethnic entrepreneurship (Light, 1972; Bonacich, 1973; Borjas, 1986; Aldrich and Waldinger, 1990; Ram, 1997) has focused primarily on domestic conditions, that is of the immigrant communities themselves and on their relations with the host society. Although references have been made to connections with the home country for such groups as the Koreans (Light and Bonacich, 1988) and Chinese (Wong and Ng, 2002), the main focus has remained the contextual and individual variables that allow enclave entrepreneurs to succeed in their local environment. Instead, like Flusty (2004), this chapter argues that ties across national borders are the product of relationships between specific persons, in specific locales. Accordingly, the concept of transnationalism opens up a new dimension in the study of immigrant economic adaptation because it focuses explicitly on the significance of

resilient cross-border ties. Too much emphasis can be placed on the role of ethnicity and national belonging in the lives of migrants, and 'translocal' is sometimes a more helpful label than 'transnational' (White, 2011: p.1), since 'transnational' overlooks the relationships occurring between localities in favour of relationships on a national level. However, translocalism is neglected in current research, particularly when considering ethnic entrepreneurship.

Taking these gaps in the literature into consideration and combining them with the processes identified in the previous chapter, this chapter considers the translocal nature of the business activities of Polish entrepreneurs in the UK, particularly in relation to their involvement with family, friends and other supporting institutions. In response, the second section of the chapter explores the concept of translocalism. It considers translocalism in relation to family firms, particularly ethnic family businesses, and ethnic business associations. Also, the case of the translocal Chinese family business is explored, as the Chinese are an established and substantially researched ethnic group with translocal business links. In the third section of the chapter the responses of Polish migrant entrepreneurs in the West Midlands are explained and analysed in relation to the concepts of ethnic entrepreneurship, family firms, and translocalism. The roles of family, co-ethnics and supporting networks in Polish entrepreneurship in the West Midlands are explored, particularly any translocal linkages involved. Three types of translocal linkages are identified as operating in Polish businesses: 1) finance; 2) products, services and trading relationships; and 3) labour and people. The conclusion draws together the main arguments discussed in the chapter.

6.2 Translocal entrepreneurship: family, friends and support networks

A variety of individuals are involved in the process of establishing a running a business. Other than the entrepreneurs themselves, these can be family members, friends, or more formal support networks, such as business associations. These individuals can offer their assistance to a business through a variety of resources, including business advice, financial assistance, and labour. In the case of businesses owned by migrant entrepreneurs these resources provided by family, friends and support networks are often located over two or more countries, including the country of origin and the recipient country. This section of the chapter explores these relationships through the concept of translocalism, rather than that of transnationalism.

Translocal Poles

As transnational ethnic entrepreneurship demonstrates, the relationship between globalisation and locality exists on different levels, many of which are beyond the scope of the chapter. In particular, the theme of the chapter is not the impact of globalisation on specific places. Instead, like Flusty (2004: p. 8), the starting point for this chapter is that ties across national borders are “the product of specific persons in specific locales”. In common, for example, with researchers who have analysed connections forged by migrants from particular locations in Latin America to cities in the USA (Smith, 2001: p.170), the chapter focuses on how Polish entrepreneurs create links between places in different countries. In particular, the extent to which

they view their migration as being from locality-to-locality rather than nation-to-nation. Despite a focus on these locality-to-locality interactions, details of the localities of origin of entrepreneurs in Poland were beyond the scope of the study and therefore are not developed in the chapter. This could be the focus of further research into translocality amongst migrant entrepreneurs.

With reference to UK Poles, Meardi (2007) suggests that although it is impossible to generalise to a clearly heterogeneous population, the majority of new Polish migrants into the UK correspond more to the idea of 'transnational migrants' than to that of 'classical migrants', as their lives are organised across borders. There has been a tendency to identify contrasting migrants with narrower agendas to those with more cosmopolitan attitudes.

Ryan et al. (2009) explore the varied dynamics of family relationships, including caring, support and obligation, in a study of recent Polish migrants in London. They examine how families may be reconfigured in different ways through migration, demonstrated by the presence of transnational networks and splits within families. They suggest that in exploring Polish family migration, it is necessary to go beyond a household perspective to appreciate the diversity of transnational and inter-generational relationships.

Fomina (2009) emphasises that well-educated Polish migrants in Bradford want to integrate into British society, and that – in their eyes – this is a key difference between them and less-educated Poles, as well as British Pakistani Bradfordians.

Clearly, less well-educated and confident Polish migrants, who do not speak much English and work in sections of the labour market dominated by migrant workers, with weaker ties to the receiving community, are likely to socialise more with fellow Poles (White, and Ryan, 2008; White, 2010). White (2011: p.5) suggests that, if 'transnationalism' is used in the sense of "doing Polish things in the UK" – watching Polish television, eating Polish food, etc. – then working-class labour migrants may possibly be more transnational as well as more translocal, more ethnically oriented as well as more oriented towards their particular dual places of residence, than highly educated Polish migrants.

A more helpful approach to translocalism, for the purposes of this research, is to remember that Poles in the UK since 2004, unlike earlier generations of migrants, have retained easy access to Poland, and to Polish goods and services, that "they do not particularly need to worry about maintaining their Polishness" (Fomina, 2009: p.28). If Polish identity can be taken for granted, then local preoccupations may have space to take precedence over national ones.

A further reason why the national may seem less salient than the local to Polish migrants in the UK is simply to do with travel patterns. In the days of visas and limited air routes, the journey from Poland to the UK required a Polish passport, a UK visa, and usually also travel between Warsaw and London, the capital cities and symbols of the nation-state. Today, it is simply necessary to take one's identity card and drive from Pszczyna to Manchester, or fly from Kraków to Birmingham, i.e. from regional centre to regional centre, avoiding capital cities. These translocal exchanges

can have important implications when such migrants choose to set up a business in the recipient country.

The use of the translocal approach has clear advantages over the transnational approach, particularly in the case of migrant entrepreneurship, since ties across national borders are the product of relationships between specific persons, in specific locales. The 'transnational' overlooks the relationships occurring between localities in favour of relationships on a national level. Translocalism, on the other hand, pays attention to these local-to-local relationships and it is these local relationships that are critical to the establishment and running of migrant enterprises.

Translocal family firms

There is a preoccupation in the family ethnic entrepreneurship literature with already established groups such as the South Asians and Chinese. Consequently, there is a knowledge gap when discussing Polish entrepreneurship and particularly their families' involvement. There is also a lack of attention paid to the translocal relationships used by families in ethnic enterprises. Through adopting a translocal approach to ethnic family businesses the importance of local-local interactions can be explored allowing for a more detailed understanding of the processes and relationships involved in ethnic entrepreneurship.

Family firms have been described as having a unique working environment that fosters a family-oriented workplace and inspires greater employee care and loyalty (Ward, 1988). They have been said to pay higher wages to employees (Donckels and Frohlich, 1991) and to have the ability to bring out the best in their workers (Moscatello, 1990). They have more flexible work practices for their employees (Goffee and Scase, 1985), have lower recruitment costs, lower human resource costs, and are said to be more effective than other companies in labour intensive businesses (Levering and Moskowitz, 1993). They can also utilise translocal family relationships but at the same time they must face up to and battle with a range of serious problems and drawbacks. Table 6.1 illustrates the beneficial factors that a family business possesses, but also the disadvantages that are inherent with them. It should be noted that what may be perceived as advantages and disadvantages for the business owner can often be seen to be the opposite for employees who are family members.

Table 6.1 The advantages and disadvantages of family businesses

Advantages	Disadvantages
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commitment • Knowledge • Flexibility in time, work and money • Long-range thinking • A stable culture • Speedy decision making • Reliability and pride • Translocal relationships 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rigidity • Business challenges <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Modernising skills ○ Managing transitions ○ Raising capital • Succession • Emotional issues • Leadership and legitimacy

Source: Adapted from Leach (1991)

These family and friendship business networks are seen as being instrumental in the growth of ethnic enterprise. There is agreement in the literature that friendship and family networks support the growth of ethnic enterprise. Ram (1993) notes that it is the family and the community that lie at the heart of ethnic firms' social networks. The family support in ethnic enterprises comes in a variety of forms. Family and community resources provide the ethnic minority entrepreneur not only with information and access to important physical and financial resources, but also with access to human and social capital (Johannisson, 2000; Rath, 2002). These networks enable ethnic minority entrepreneurs to draw on unique cultural resources or social capital not generally available to the mainstream. Many of these resources often involve a translocal interaction with family and friends who remain in the homeland or who have migrated elsewhere. There are a number of translocal and family resources utilised by ethnic entrepreneurs. Prospective business people, for example, receive business advice from relatives and other co-ethnics; sometimes they buy existing firms from these relations. These relations can be located in their place of origin or in a new locality in the UK. Entrepreneurs can enhance their capital through loans obtained from family and friends. Their spouses and children usually contribute free labour to the business. Business people can also recruit workers from among their friends who will be prepared to work for a modest wage. In brief, family and friends represent a translocal resource that prospective or actual entrepreneurs can tap into (Ostgaard and Birley, 1996).

Translocal family resources

Through the literature it is evident that ethnic enterprises make substantial use of family resources (Light, 1984; Leach, 1991; Bagwell, 2008). In response, this section of the chapter explores the use of family resources in three ways: 1) finance; 2) products, services and trading relationships; and 3) labour and people. However, the literature on family resources does not directly highlight the translocal element involved in these resources since it is a relatively recent concept. The chapter therefore explores how these three types of family resources display translocal elements and how, by exploiting these translocal relationships within their family resources, ethnic entrepreneurs can gain a competitive advantage and create successful businesses. Many of the issues discussed reflect a blend of activity situated in the locality of origin and the locality in the recipient country.

1) Finance

Ethnic family firms experience a multitude of benefits through translocalism. Although this is not clearly defined in the literature, by exploring the resources that family businesses use, the importance of translocalism in ethnic enterprises becomes apparent. One of the ways in which ethnic entrepreneurs benefit through the use of family and translocal relationships is finance. Regarding financial performance, family companies have been described as having patient capital (De Visscher et al., 1995) with the capacity to invest in long-run return opportunities rather than quarterly return requirements (Dreux, 1990). Patient capital involves an investor

who is willing to make a financial investment in a business with no expectation of turning a quick profit. Instead, the investor is willing to forgo an immediate return in anticipation of more substantial returns in the future. Often this patient capital comes from family members with much of it being rooted in translocal exchanges of both capital and financial advice. Because of this long-run view, family firms are said to be less reactive to economic cycles (Ward, 1997).

2) Products, service and trading relationships

The role of family members and their translocal relationships is also important in terms of the products of the business, the service it provides and the trading relationships that it maintains. Internationally, family companies that share common family values across cultures can bridge cultural barriers more effectively (Swinth and Vinton, 1993). This is done through maintaining translocal relationships. The family's reputation and relationships with suppliers, customers, and other external stakeholders are reportedly stronger and more value laden than standard businesses (Lyman, 1991). Again, when an ethnic enterprise is involved these relationships are often translocal through maintaining local-to-local connections in order to facilitate the business.

Close translocal ties in an owner's network may help get businesses started within communities and may help keep businesses solvent through the products and services it provides. For instance, based on Light's (1984) research on the Los Angeles liquor store industry, there is reason to believe that network ties and translocal

relationships affect intra-communal transfers of business. He found that Korean sellers sold to Korean buyers 80 per cent of the time, even though Koreans were only 18 per cent of all buyers. Hispanic sellers sold to other Hispanics 25 per cent of the time, even though they represented only 3 per cent of all buyers. Light proposed two relational explanations of his research. First, if ethnic business owners spend most of their time in social circles of co-ethnics, they will more easily learn of business opportunities within, rather than outside the group. Second, mutual trust is very important in the business world, and such trust is more likely between co-ethnics than in contacts across ethnic boundaries. Both of these explanations relate to translocal exchanges within families in ethnic business.

In terms of trading relationships it is claimed that dependence on family members and translocal interactions may limit the network from which the entrepreneur seeks a wide range of resources when planning or establishing a business (Greve and Salaff, 2003). In a study of a number of different ethnic minority business (EMB) groups in North London, Bieler (2000) found that while social capital provided some advantages, such as resource leverage and strong levels of support and trust, it could also be limiting as the lack of diversity of the co-ethnic group limits access to information and advice, and the social constraints of the community could inhibit break-out.

The future viability, sustainability and expansion of ethnic minority enterprise depend critically upon diversification or as Ram and Hillin (1994) term it, 'break-out'. A break-out strategy in ethnic entrepreneurship can be defined as a strategy to get

away from the situation in which ethnic groups dominate such factors as capital, clients and employees (Baycan-Levent et al., 2004). In other words, a break-out strategy is a strategy to escape from internal orientation or from being an 'ethnic enclave' at some stage in order to orient to external markets.

The importance of break-out for ethnic minority firms has been a recurring theme in studies on the development of such businesses (Curran and Blackburn, 1993; Jones et al., 1992; Ram et al., 1997). Co-ethnic trading continues to be a feature of minority businesses. Although the own ethnic group offers the entrepreneurs certain advantages in terms of customer loyalty and providing ethnic products, it seems that this makes them vulnerable and withholds opportunities for expansion. Groups with the strongest co-ethnic and translocal ties tend to be weakly connected with outside agencies, consequently missing out on the information and support such agencies could provide. The continued viability of such an 'ethnic niche' strategy is therefore open to question. Wider socio-economic trends such as the end of large-scale immigration, the increasing fluidity of ethnic identity, greater geographic mobility among some ethnic groups, point to the diminishing potential of co-ethnic community markets. Often, the result is "a mass of ethnic small business owners trapped in a hostile trading milieu" (Ram, 1997: p.151).

These factors reinforce the need for more diverse and innovative market strategies in ethnic minority firms; hence the importance of break-out. Rather than simply acquiring a white clientele, effective break-out requires attention to market position, appropriate niches, new product development and the management of human

resources (Curran and Blackburn, 1993). These factors, which have been identified as key characteristics of 'growth' firms in the general small firms literature (Smallbone et al., 1992; Storey, 1994), are difficult and long-term processes.

This suggests that there are two types of break-out, which can be applied to research into Polish migrant entrepreneurs. The first type is break-out from the ethnic product and ethnic client base. This is the well-established idea of the concept. The other could be break-out from the family as the firm expands and can no longer completely rely on family members.

3) Labour and People

The influence of family members in becoming an entrepreneur and then running the business is also critical in terms of the source of labour and the relationships with the people involved in the business. This often displays translocal elements as sources of labour, support and ideas which are exchanged between localities with attention paid to local contexts. The significance of family networks being used initially for staffing the business is highlighted by Bagwell (2008) through her investigation into Vietnamese nail shops in the UK. She found that a number of nail-shops had sponsored various members of their family to come over from Vietnam to work for them. A reciprocal arrangement operated within the family network in which businesses could obtain cheap loyal labour, and employees obtain work that they might have found difficult to secure elsewhere. However, the strength of these network ties and translocal exchanges between localities, sometimes prevented the

family members involved in the business from entering more profitable business or employment areas. It was often easier and less risky to stay employed in the family business than start up on your own. Where family members were not available or had moved on to establish other nail-shops, local community networks provided a source of employees. As one nail-shop owner explained:

“It's all Vietnamese people, they get together in one place and they know each other. There is one famous pub in Mare St, full of Vietnamese people ... and you get employees from that” (Bagwell, 2008: p.387).

In addition to acting as a source of labour, family relationships generate unusual motivation, cement loyalties, and increase trust (Tagiuri and Davis, 1996). Werbner's (1984) account of Pakistani entrepreneurship in the Manchester garment trade demonstrates that the success of Pakistani entrepreneurs depended to a high degree on 'trust' which is needed to facilitate the extension of credit, expedite transactions and serve as a form of guarantee. Studies like Werbner's, and others in the tradition of ethnic relations school, provide a useful service in highlighting the fact that migrants/immigrants are neither passive nor victims and can actively deploy their particular cultural resources to their advantage.

When further considering the translocal role of family in the business Stanworth et al. (1989) place particular emphasis on the intergenerational entrepreneur. In a survey of more than six hundred respondents, they showed that between 30 per cent and 47 per cent of individuals either considering, about to start, or in business, had a father who had also been in business. They argue that the cultural inheritance

of entrepreneurs does move within families. In the case of ethnic entrepreneurs it also moves across borders since the father often remains in the homeland and encourages their children in the country to which they have migrated. This local-to-local exchange of support assists the running of ethnic enterprises.

Support for a business is not only provided by family and friends, but also by business associations. Like family and friends, business associations can also have translocal dimensions. The main focus of a business association is collaboration between companies. Associations may offer other services, such as producing conferences, business advice and support, networking or charitable events or offering classes or educational materials. Many associations are non-profit organisations governed by by-laws and directed by officers who are also members.

Foreign-born entrepreneurs organise business networks in a similar way to non-ethnic entrepreneurs in order to support the often risky process of starting a new business. For instance, Silicon Valley's immigrant entrepreneurs, like their mainstream counterparts, rely on a diverse range of informal social structures and institutions to support their entrepreneurial activities (Saxenian, 2003: p.78). Silicon Valley's new Chinese and Indian immigrant entrepreneurs are professionals who are active in dynamic and technologically sophisticated industries. Seeing themselves as outsiders to the mainstream technology community, Silicon Valley's immigrant engineers have created translocal "social professional networks to mobilise the information, know-how, skill and capital needed to start technology firms"

(Saxenian, 2003: p.78) through interactions with their localities of origin and their new locality.

Established translocal ethnic enterprises

Much research into ethnic entrepreneurship in the UK focuses on South Asian and Chinese businesses, since they are well established ethnic groups and have had time to develop a strong business culture spanning generations. Although it does not explicitly stress this, such research demonstrates the importance of family and translocality in such businesses. For instance, McEwan et al. (2005) provide examples of the successful utilisation of translocal links with countries of origin by UK Chinese and Asian businesses in the ethnic food market and Asians in the Bhangra music industry. They claim that in multi-cultural cities such as Birmingham, the use of such networks should not be seen as exceptional but increasingly 'business as usual'.

The Chinese are probably the most commonly cited example of ethnic family firms. Their family firms exist in China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, as well as translocally in the numerous overseas Chinese communities. Many studies have demonstrated that Chinese family firms are grounded in traditional Chinese kinship systems (Hsu, 1971; Wong et al., 1992). In Chinese family firms, family structure is translated into the firm's structure. Family values and kinship ideology are intertwined with the ideology of the family business (Wong et al., 1992: p.358).

The Chinese are frequently given as an example of an ethnic group with strong global networks in which shared ethnic, linguistic and cultural ties underpin the development of translocal economic links (Douw and Huang, 2000; Tseng, 2002). For example, Wong and Ng (2002) describe the transnational actors of small Chinese firms in Canada who rely on the extended family networks of Chinese families straddling different societies. Sometimes one member of the family runs the operation of the business in Canada while another spends several months of the year overseeing operations in China. Through exchanges between different localities businesses are run successfully with attention paid to the lives of each of the individual family members involved.

This discussion of the aspects of translocal entrepreneurship highlights several important issues which require exploring further. Firstly, the role of family in running a firm and the resources that they provide. These resources are often offered through a number of translocal interactions which involve exchanges between different localities. Another important issue is that much of the literature on UK based ethnic enterprises and their translocal elements focus upon South Asian and particularly Chinese businesses. Therefore, ethnic entrepreneurs who have arrived more recently in the UK are often neglected from such studies.

6.3 Polish translocal entrepreneurship

Table 6.2 Localities and translocalism amongst Polish migrant entrepreneurs

Concept	Locale: West Midlands	Locale: Poland	Translocalism
Social space	Interactions take place within localities in the West Midlands	Interactions take place within localities in Poland	Interactions take place between the West Midlands and localities in Poland
Sense of belonging	Migrants have a sense of belonging to localities in the West Midlands	Migrants have a sense of belonging to localities in Poland	Migrants are defined by their connections to both the West Midlands and localities in Poland
Behaviour	Networks and economic exchanges are situated in the West Midlands	Networks and economic exchanges are situated in Poland	Focused on social networks and economic exchanges between the West Midlands and localities in Poland
Individual	Migrants feel a connection to localities in the West Midlands	Migrants feel a connection to localities in Poland	Migrants feel a connection to both the West Midlands and localities in Poland
Dynamism	Change and movement over time occurs in localities in the West Midlands	Change and movement over time occurs in localities Poland	Change and movement over time occurs between the West Midlands and localities in Poland

Source: Author (2012)

In response to the literature and to build upon current debates surrounding translocal entrepreneurship my research demonstrates the translocal relationships involved in Polish entrepreneurship in the West Midlands. Building on the concepts developed in Table 2.1, Table 6.2 highlights these concepts and how they manifest amongst Polish entrepreneurs in the localities in question in this research- the West Midlands and various localities throughout Poland from which the respondents

originate. The final column demonstrates how these characteristics in the two localities blend together to become translocal.

In addition to the importance of translocal relationships involved in Polish entrepreneurship, a further dominant theme throughout the research is that of family. When conducting research into the experiences of Polish entrepreneurship in the West Midlands this theme was particularly evident. In support of the literature explored previously, my research found that families play a critical role in the migration of Polish entrepreneurs to the West Midlands and the running of their businesses. Of the forty-eight entrepreneurs interviewed, all made some reference to their family when discussing their experience of entrepreneurship in the UK. The respondents described the role of the family through three key themes: 1) finance; 2) products, service and trading relationships; and 3) labour and people. Critically each of these family influences is linked to the theme of translocality and how this is used in order to create a successful business. Each family influence is explored using the responses given by those entrepreneurs that were interviewed.

Finance

The financial background of an enterprise plays a critical role in the way in which it functions. Any business requires capital in order to be established and for the running of the business. Entrepreneurs may also welcome advice on where to obtain this capital and how best to invest it in the business. Where this capital comes from is an important consideration, and is particularly interesting in the case of ethnic

entrepreneurs. The source of capital for ethnic entrepreneurs has an influence on debates in economic geography as it opens up the number of actors involved in the running of the business. It also raises the concept of translocality as many of the financial relationships involved are operating across borders, whilst maintaining local-local ties. Financial advice and backing is also strongly linked to discussions of family firms. The analysis of this research supports De Visscher et al. (1995) who describe family companies as having patient capital with the capacity to invest in long-run return opportunities rather than quarterly return requirements (Dreux, 1990). Following on from this, Leach's (1991) claim that family firms can be at a disadvantage when raising capital is conflicted by the case of Polish entrepreneurs in the West Midlands, illustrating that family and finance are of critical importance to the businesses. However, it should be noted that this research does not include 'firms' which were not established, as they could not obtain funding.

Long- range financial thinking

There are those entrepreneurs whose parents encouraged them to establish a business in the UK prior to 1st May 2004 in order to capitalise on enlargement. In doing so they provided the financial backing for the business. Of the thirty-six respondents who migrated prior to accession, twenty-nine made reference to their family providing them with financial advice, incentive or backing to migrate to the UK and establish a business before accession.

Sebastian, a Polish restaurant owner, arrived in the UK in 2003. When asked why he migrated to the UK to set up his business he detailed how the inspiration came from his parents, as his father owned a restaurant in Poland. Following in his father's entrepreneurial career was "always a logical option". As mentioned in Chapter Five, Sebastian told how his father did not want to leave Poland and asked him to run the business in the UK on his behalf. Sebastian placed great focus on forward thinking and planning for migration and establishing the business. He commented: "It was planned for a few years that this is what I should do. He [his father] thought that arriving in 2003 would mean that we would beat the competition". This long-term attitude represents the hard-working and serious nature of Polish entrepreneurs. They are keen to be successful in their business ventures.

Sebastian spoke not only of his father's input in terms of inspiration, but also with financial advice. His father provided all of the finance required to establish the business. Sebastian explained his father's desire to finance the venture so that he could establish the business prior to accession "rather than waiting and saving". He also discussed his parents' financial backing in reference to their views on loans and credit cards. For his family it is important not to enter into a venture which they cannot afford outright through their own money. Therefore, establishing a business using a loan or credit cards is not something that they wanted for their son.

A trade-off between capitalising by early planning, and saving money were also important in the financing of the restaurant. Whilst Sebastian came to the UK prior to accession to establish the business ready for accession in 2004, he and his family

were conscious that the migration did not take place too early for financial reasons. The time spent in the UK following migration was busy and pressured in order to open the business without delay and to earn money as quickly as possible. Therefore, Sebastian spoke of conducting as much planning as possible in Poland, without compromising the possible success of the business. He commented that:

“We [him and his parents] did all the research, paperwork and applications that we could possibly do before I came to England to keep the cost down. But we had a couple of trips [to England] beforehand to choose the premises... and... things like that. Things I couldn't do in Poland” (Sebastian, Polish restaurant, 2009).

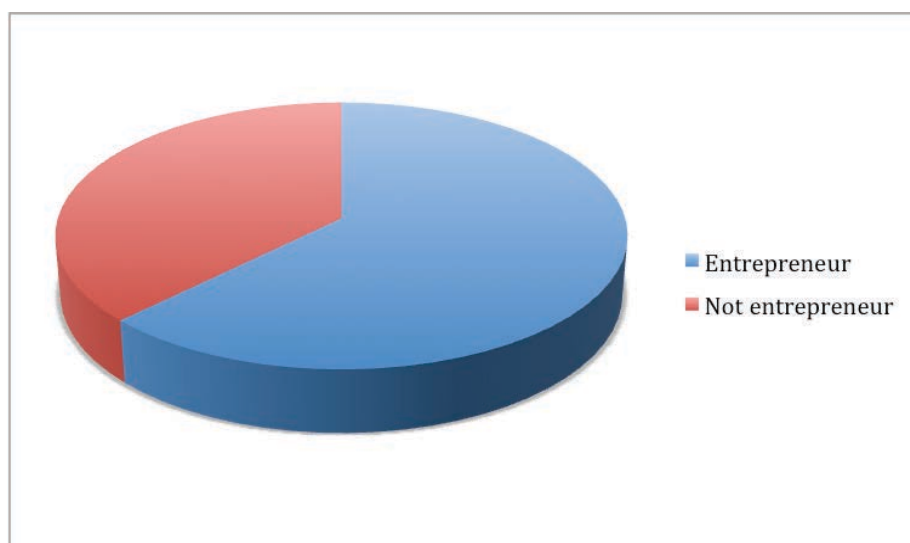
This supports assertions that an advantage of a family involvement in a business is thinking over a long-range time scale (Leach, 1991), something which many family businesses tend to be better at than other enterprises (Donckels and Frohlich, 1991). This long-range thinking also has a translocal element, as demonstrated by Sebastian's restaurant and by many translocal Chinese family firms who carefully planned and executed their business ideas over time and across multiple localities (Ind, 1998; Wong et al., 1992; Wong and Ng, 2002).

The inter-generational entrepreneur

Polish respondents spoke of their family's influence, particularly their fathers', in strategic and financial planning for the business, to reduce risk and to enable their businesses to cope more effectively with unforeseen events. They believe that strategic planning within the family is the hallmark of a many successful new ventures and of quite long-term survivors. Entrepreneurs usually had a clear view of

their commercial objectives over the next five to ten years. This view was heavily influenced by family members, again, particularly by the father, supporting Stanworth et al.'s (1989) emphasis on the intergenerational entrepreneur. The role of the father often involves multiple translocal exchanges between the father who remains in Poland and the child who has migrated to the UK. These exchanges can be both actual capital but also financial/ business advice. Figure 6.1 highlights the significance of the intergenerational entrepreneur by illustrating the high proportion of Polish entrepreneurs interviewed who classed at least one of their parents as an entrepreneur. These parents are largely still living in Poland demonstrating the translocal exchanges between the two sets of entrepreneurs, the two generations, and the localities.

Figure 6.1 The background of the parents of Polish entrepreneurs



Source: Author (field survey May 2009- February 2010)

Parents and the Polish pound

It is not only financial advice and business advice that is provided by the parents of Polish entrepreneurs; the loan of or giving of capital in order to establish a business was common amongst respondents. Sebastian's comments highlight the financial motivation behind his father's strategic planning and his desire for his son to relocate to the UK. Primarily, the driving factors were exogenous, such as the downturn in economic conditions in Poland, combined with better life opportunities in the UK. Sebastian's father himself did not want to leave Poland, but had money to invest. It therefore, seemed a logical option for his son to migrate and set up the business, whilst utilising their translocal relationship. Sebastian discussed the poor state of the Polish economy at the time he made the decision to migrate, and the prospect of making more money by establishing a business in England. His father had money to invest in a business venture, but "investing in Poland was not sensible". He therefore offered Sebastian an informal loan so that he could establish a business in the West Midlands. In a further family finance and translocal dimension, Sebastian explained how he sends some of his profits to his father in Poland to repay him for the money that he invested in the business.

In a similar way Iwona, the owner of a hair salon in Erdington, Birmingham, detailed how her parents, based in Poland, provided financial support in order to establish her business in 2003. Her parents owned businesses in Poland. Her mother owned and managed a hair salon and her father owned a butcher shop. They were keen business people and wanted her to take over the hair salon in Poland. However,

“times in Poland became very tough and they knew it was not the best option”. They retired, sold their businesses and gave Iwona the money to set up a hair salon in the UK. Iwona stated that:

“They [her parents] heard of the better life here [in Erdington] and thought I could do well here. They want the best for me so gave me the money I needed so long as it went into the business” (Iwona, Polish hair salon, 2009).

Linking the concept of translocality to that of timing, developed in the previous chapter, Iwona stresses the importance of her parents’ influence on the timing of her migration prior to accession, in order to capitalise on the flows of migrants in 2004:

“My father was desperate for me to get set up here [Erdington] as soon as possible. He wanted the maximum customers and money so he said I needed to be ahead of everyone else to get the business. I guess he did this so I would be successful and make more money for myself, but I give my parents 15 per cent of my profit... so I’m sure he was so eager for his own pocket too. I mean he is my father but he’s also a good businessman” (Iwona, Polish hair salon, 2009).

Iwona clearly illustrates the concept of translocality, with capital and ideas coming from her parents in Poland. These flows are two-way, with some profits being sent home to her father in Poland, who she sees as having a dual identity of father and businessman. Interestingly this raises the issue of the motivation of entrepreneurs’ parents when they provide financial backing to their offspring. Whilst some can be seen as providing a loan as a gesture in order to help their son or daughter establish themselves as an entrepreneur, others, such as the parents of Sebastian and Iwona, also see this as a business move. Being entrepreneurs themselves, such parents identified a possible gap in the UK market on the run up to EU accession, and

invested in their children's businesses in order to take a cut of their profits. Consequently, the parents of Polish entrepreneurs in the UK who have a share in these business are involved in the translocal exchanges of the business, not only through financing and inspiring the business but also in terms of profit. Profits flow from the West Midlands based business to the entrepreneur's parents in their locality in Poland.

Sebastian and Iwona exemplify the tactics of many Polish entrepreneurs in the West Midlands. Interestingly, the prevalence and ease of parents providing capital to their entrepreneurial children actually conflicts Leach's (1991) argument that raising capital is a pitfall of running a family business. Leach claims that family businesses have limited options when it comes to raising capital. He continues to assert, "if funding from the family's own resources means skimping on important projects or inefficiently struggling on through short-term crises then the healthy development and even the survival of the business can be threatened" (Leach, 1991: p.11). However, in the case of Polish entrepreneurs, funding from the family is a positive asset. In support of De Visscher, et al. (1995) Polish entrepreneurs generally have a significant amount of patient capital leading to a range of business opportunities. This capital is often transferred through two-way translocal exchanges between the parents and child.

Amongst the respondents, the influence of family members in becoming an entrepreneur is highly significant, particularly in terms of their encouragement and

financial support. In most cases the entrepreneurial idea was developed by parents, who then provided the funds to their children to migrate and establish a business.

This echoes relationships in many Chinese enterprises. Wong et al. (1992) explains how in Chinese family firms, family structure is translated into the firm's structure. This can clearly be seen in many Polish businesses in the UK. Wong and Ng (2002) describe the transnational actors of small Chinese firms in Canada with often one member of the family running the operation of the business in Canada, while another spends several months of the year overseeing operations in China. This can be seen to be the case for Sebastian and Iwona, who both run businesses similar to their parents in Poland. Their UK businesses are funded by their parents' business operations in Poland. Their parents remain in Poland, whilst the children oversee their businesses in the UK. This translocal network of finance and business operations revolving around the family is typical of many Polish entrepreneurs in the West Midlands.

In both of these cases the exchange of finance, knowledge and advice between family members in Poland and the UK demonstrate the translocal nature of Polish entrepreneurship in the West Midlands. They are pro-translocal firms who have their roots in Poland and maintain ties there. However, they have strong strategies to go beyond the home nation through foreign direct investment (FDI) facilitated by family members. Flows of funds and ideas are passed between the two locations. These flows draw attention to the multiplying forms of mobility, but the quotations from the respondents stress the importance of localities in peoples' lives, in line with

Oakes and Schein (2006: p.1). The examples illustrate that family in two localities are involved in financing these businesses. The Polish locality where the idea and finance originated remains involved, but a new locality in the West Midlands is added in order to create the business.

Products, service and trading relationships

Polish entrepreneurs place a strong emphasis on their products, the service they provide and the trading relationships that exist in their businesses. All of these are influenced by family and have a translocal element.

An important issue in ethnic entrepreneurship that relates to each of these factors is whether ethnic entrepreneurs recruit staff and produce from their own ethnic niches or whether they try to cover a wider market of customers and recruit from beyond their ethnic group. A break-out strategy in ethnic entrepreneurship can be defined as a strategy to get away from the situation in which own ethnic groups dominate such factors as capital, clients and employees (Baycan-Levent et al., 2004). Absence of break-out can be linked to an overdependence on translocal relationships, as suggested by Greve and Salaff (2003). Alternatively, businesses may not wish to break-out as this could endanger the business, it may require additional resources or because the business cannot be grown any further.

Break-out will be explored in greater depth in Chapter Seven; however, it is considered here in relation to family and translocality. In this research there is

evidence of two types of break-out inhibition. Firstly, family and friends can inhibit break-out through extensive use of translocal relationships, such as those businesses that only recruit staff from within the family. However, there are other factors in some businesses which are much more complex when discussing break-out and appear to be beyond the role of family and friends. For instance, reluctance to break-out can be seen in retail-based enterprises, such as delicatessens and hair salons, where the customers are mainly Polish. This supports Light's (1984) work on Liquor stores run by ethnic entrepreneurs in Los Angeles; where ethnic sellers show a tendency to sell to ethnic buyers in order to keep the business solvent. In a similar manner, Poles express their identity through translocal exchanges by purchasing Polish products or services from Polish businesses, highlighting Fomina's assertion that it is fairly easy for Polish migrants in the UK to maintain their 'Polishness' (2009: p.28) through abundant translocal relationships.

Customers, products and services in retail businesses

Magdalena, who runs a Polish delicatessen in Birmingham, detailed how the majority of the shop's customers are Poles. The business does increasingly have some English customers and some from other parts of Eastern Europe, but their client base is mainly Polish. All of the shop's products are Polish so by shopping there "Poles know they can have a taste of home". They can purchase familiar products and the staff in the delicatessen speak Polish. Magdalena comments that:

“We would like more customers from England but we’re not aiming at them. We want a successful business and if that means selling Polish products to Polish customers then that’s what we’ll keep doing. It’s not about not getting involved in English life, it’s about doing what’s best for our business” (Magdalena, Polish delicatessen, 2009).

The origin of the stock provided by the businesses is very much dependent on the type of business in question. Polish delicatessens tend to stock largely Polish produce, which is imported from Poland. However, due to the development of a range of Polish businesses in the UK some produce comes from UK-based Polish businesses. For example, Magdalena’s delicatessen stocks bread from Agata’s Polish bakery mentioned in the previous chapter. Once it arrives in the UK, the stock she imports from Poland is transported by a UK-based, but Polish-run, transportation company. This is a translocal dimension to the business since the products are transported between various localities in Poland and the West Midlands. Local business interactions are blended with translocal movements and decisions. In support of Swinth and Vinton’s (1993) arguments such Polish family businesses share common family values across cultures and bridge cultural barriers effectively.

Not all services used by such businesses are Polish-based, and this contradicts claims of a failure to achieve break-out. Both Magdalena’s delicatessen and Agata’s bakery use UK-based business services, such as tax advisors and lawyers. Agata explained how there are many Polish lawyers and tax advisors, but they work within English firms. Few are self-employed since they can earn an excellent salary working for an English firm, without the responsibility of running their own business. Agata uses an English law firm, but specifically deals with a Polish lawyer who is employed by that

firm. This avoids any language confusion over complex terminology. “English law firms will do exactly the same as Polish lawyers, so it comes down to cost and work quality.... not nationality,” Agata comments.

Customers, products and services in professional businesses

Whilst this example indicates some break-out in the retail sector, other types of Polish business show greater signs of break-out and demonstrate that the family plays no part in inhibiting this. Some of the professional businesses investigated, such as accountants and graphic designers, expressed a desire for their businesses to integrate into the local economy and to provide goods or services to customers from both Polish and British origin. Whilst these activities were initially supported by ideas or finance from Poland they now show signs of break-out from the Polish community and less dependence on translocal links with their homeland.

These businesses are less reliant on providing a solely Polish service than retail based ventures. The reason for this is that in these businesses it is the skills provided that are Polish, not the actual physical product. Consequently, any products or materials required by the business do not need to be of Polish origin. Marc who owns a mortgage advice business was mentioned in the previous chapter. His company employs English mortgage advisors who can speak Polish, and the business’ services are tailored towards Polish clients, although they do have some English clients. Marc only uses the services of English businesses to support his business. For instance, he uses office supplies from an English company and uses a solicitor from an English law

firm. He does not believe that there are any similar UK-based Polish businesses that he could use. Moreover, he is concerned with using the cheapest, and most reliable services. All that Marc needs to be Polish about his businesses is the language and expertise to deal with Polish clients if necessary. He runs an “English-based company with a Polish slant”. Marc comments that:

“ I am a mortgage advisor in England who just happens to be Polish. I may be better suited to Polish clients [than other mortgage advisors] because of the language, and my culture, that is a key to my business, but other than that I am the same as any other mortgage advisor. This means I have something for English clients and Polish clients. It makes my business more successful... and makes me more money” (Marc, Polish mortgage advice business, 2009).

This highlights a further important point. It is these professional, post-accession businesses that tend to show less dependence on translocal linkages and greater signs of break-out through providing a service to both Polish and English individuals, thus broadening the scope and customer base of their business. These businesses are very much Polish-owned and run and they are tailored towards Polish customers. However, they are keen not to alienate English customers and want them to use their services.

Selina who runs a recruitment agency established her business for Polish migrants looking for work in the West Midlands because she saw a gap in the market. However, more Polish migrants obtained work causing her business to become quieter. She came to realise that her business did not have to be aimed solely at Polish job seekers. Consequently, her business now specialises in helping Poles to find work but it also helps any English clients who want to use the business. “This

means that we're busier and less reliant on the Polish community which is important, especially now some (Poles) have gone home (to Poland)," Selina explains.

Selina highlights the importance of break-out to businesses, such as hers, in order to evolve and survive. She also stresses her desire for integration into the local economy and community. She explains how opening up the business to English clients also helped her to feel a part of England and her local community. By placing English workers in English companies she has come to know a lot of English people in her local area. For Selina this is important for promoting and expanding her business but also for feeling that she "belongs to the community".

The professional sector and post-accession businesses demonstrate a greater propensity for break-out. This also ties in with their inclination not to employ family members (this will be discussed in the next sub-section), and not to offer services that are limited to the Polish community. However, they do not wish to forget their Polish roots. The analysis strongly supports Fomina (2009) who emphasises that well-educated Polish migrants in Bradford want to integrate into British society, and this is a key difference between them and less-educated Poles. In this research, owners of professional businesses show similarities with well-educated migrants, and those owners of more retail-based businesses show similarities with less-educated Poles. Applying this to White's (2011: p.5) research, less-educated labour migrants or retail-based entrepreneurs may possibly be more transnational as well as more translocal, more ethnically oriented as well as more oriented towards their

particular dual places of residence, than highly educated Polish migrants or those who own professional enterprises.

Labour and people

Staffing the business

A key factor in running a successful business is recruiting appropriate staff and being surrounded by the right people. As noted by Bagwell (2008), staff in ethnic enterprises often come from within the family, or from co-ethnics. In employing family and friends, many ethnic entrepreneurs gain a competitive advantage by accessing cheap, flexible and reliable labour, often through translocal connections. However, for some businesses family involvement in staffing can be considered as inhibiting break-out.

Polish entrepreneurs in the West Midlands have little trouble recruiting staff. Their spouses and children usually contribute free or cheap labour to the business. They also recruit workers from among their friends who are prepared to work for a modest wage. Of the forty-eight respondents, thirty-four (71 per cent) described the employment of their family in their business. The involvement of a spouse/ partner was most common with 52 per cent of businesses employing them. Equally prevalent was the employment of children, which occurred in 44 per cent of businesses.

Table 6.3 Family members employed in business

Family	Employed in the business	
	Number	%
Parents	2	4
Siblings	7	15
Spouse/ partner	25	52
Children	21	44
Extended family	16	33
No members	14	29

Source: Author (field survey May 2009- February 2010)

Stefan owns a Polish delicatessen in Birmingham. He discussed how his friends, and particularly his family, work in his business, and the benefits that this has to the business. He ran a similar business in Poland and then chose to migrate to the UK when trade became slow in Poland. In this business he did not employ family and he reported problems with staff including lateness, lack of productivity and theft. When establishing his business in Birmingham he made the decision to use his family and friends as a source of labour where possible. Stefan discussed the financial implications that this has for his business:

“It’s great for my shop. My wife and I have our wages from the shop’s profits. I pay my son, but less than I would pay someone else. He’s glad to be helping me out. When the shop is quiet I don’t have to worry about paying staff or letting them go because I don’t need them. Keeping it within family and friends makes it cheaper and flexible... It means we are a happier family with more money” (Stefan, Polish delicatessen, 2009).

Stefan’s use of family as a source of labour is common amongst the service-based, more informal Polish businesses. This supports both Levering and Moskowitz’s (1993) and Goffee and Scase’s (1985) argument that an advantage of family

involvement in business is flexibility in work, time and money. If work needs to be done and time spent in developing the business, then the family puts in the time and does the work. There is no negotiating overtime rates or special bonuses for a rushed job. Furthermore, for families in business, income is not a fixed element in the domestic equation: they must decide how much money they can safely take from the business for their own needs, while at the same time preserving the firm's financial flexibility and its scope for investment. However, such an example raises significant negative issues present amongst Polish businesses. The use of family, particularly children demonstrates wage exploitation, and can prevent children from developing other careers. This is perhaps why many of the entrepreneurs interviewed were themselves children of entrepreneurs. Since this is a sensitive matter, respondents were not questioned in detail on the issue of wage exploitation.

Polish entrepreneurs also demonstrate how flexibility in time, work and money lead to competitive advantage for their family businesses, as suggested by Leach (1991). Stefan suggests that they can adapt quickly and easily to changing circumstances. Other respondents also discussed how, if their business needs to switch into a new product to capitalise on a developing trend in a market place, the decision will rarely involve lengthy discussion by a hierarchy of committees and its implementation will be equally speedy.

The use of family members as a source of employment also supports Bagwell's (2008) investigation into Vietnamese nail bars in the UK who used family to obtain cheap loyal labour, and employees obtain work that they might have found difficult

to secure elsewhere. However, unlike the case of Vietnamese nail bars, Polish entrepreneurs have a less translocal outlook and employ family members who are already living in the UK. They do not sponsor family members to work for them. This is perhaps because Polish entrepreneurs largely rely on immediate family members, such as their spouse and children, as a source of employment. Therefore, they are usually already in the UK and ready to work.

Entrepreneurs who employ their family members stress that their passion for their business was developed within the family. They discuss their dedication and commitment, which extends to all family members who have come to have a stake in the success of the business. They feel that they have a responsibility to pull together and usually everyone is happy to put in far more time and energy working for the company's success than they would devote to a normal job. Polish entrepreneurs who employ family members discuss family enthusiasm that develops added commitment and loyalty from their work forces. Supporting Moscatello's (1990) claims that Polish entrepreneurs use their family relationships to bring out the best in their workers.

Similar to Tagiuri and Davis' (1996) argument, the idea of trust is also instrumental in the decision of Polish entrepreneurs to employ family members. In a similar manner to Werbner's (1984) account of Pakistani entrepreneurship in the Manchester garment trade, Polish entrepreneurs cite a dependence on trust of family members working in the business, which could not be gained by 'outsiders'. Members of many Polish entrepreneurial families are expected to provide labour for the business and

hard work in order to ensure success.

Although, there is a strong involvement of family and friends in the running of Polish enterprises, this tends to be in retail and service based, perhaps more informal businesses. These include hair salons and delicatessens. In relation to such businesses and the employment of family members Greve and Salaff (2003) claim that dependence on family members, friends and translocal networks may limit the network from which the entrepreneur seeks a wide range of resources when establishing and running a business. They assert that it could be limiting as the lack of diversity of the co-ethnic group limits access to information and advice, and the social constraints of the community could inhibit break-out.

Professional businesses such as accountants and mortgage advisors recruit from a wider base, outside of the family. This is probably a result of such businesses requiring more specific educational qualifications and professional skills. For instance, Selina from the recruitment agency does not employ any family or friends for these reasons. She explains that her staff are “recruited very carefully”. The business employs a mixture of Polish and English staff, who generally have degrees or a good educational background. Her “family and friends don’t meet these skills” since she runs “a serious and professional business”. Selina states that:

“I don’t want to mix my business with my home and social life. It would cause problems at home and problems at work. It would be very bad for my business” (Selina, Polish recruitment agency, 2009).

Professional Polish entrepreneurs, like Selina, rarely employ family or friends, nor do they rely on translocal linkages for labour, as they do not see cheap and flexible labour as the key to a successful business. They stress the need of having the most qualified and most suitable candidates for the job. However, such entrepreneurs do indicate that they discuss work issues with family members. This pattern for professional entrepreneurs to seek break-out in terms of labour is similar to those businesses that seek break-out from offering a Polish service or Polish products to largely Polish clientele.

Maintaining family and friendship ties

The family are not only an important source of labour in Polish enterprises. Migration can lead to family and friends being dispersed in different countries throughout the world, and further migration occurring to reunite these family and friends. As such some ethnic entrepreneurs, although relocating for business, do migrate in order to maintain ties with family and friends who have already left their homeland. In addition to contributing to discussions in migration studies, this also has implications for translocal entrepreneurship since flows of individuals are occurring across borders with attention paid to local-local connections.

Maintaining relationships with family and friends is important to most Polish entrepreneurs who were interviewed. However, unlike those who migrated prior to accession whose families' main influence in their migration was giving them the business idea and finance to relocate, post-accession entrepreneurs explain their

family reasons largely in terms of maintaining their family ties. All twelve of those entrepreneurs who migrated post-accession cited relocating to maintain family and friendship ties with people who had already migrated to the UK as one of their key reasons for migration. The flows of people from Poland to England in order to maintain family and friendship ties are another way in which Polish entrepreneurship in the West Midlands demonstrates translocal characteristics.

Milek runs an IT consultancy business. He arrived in August 2004 largely due to the influence of his family's migration decisions. His brother migrated to England for employment in May 2004. He has a particularly close relationship with his brother and their children spend a lot of time together. Once his brother left Poland he had no extended family remaining in the country, as his parents had passed away. Many of his friends were also planning to relocate to the UK. This caused Milek and his wife to decide to migrate and set up a business in the West Midlands. He explains that they "were very much influenced by the decisions of family and friends, and when they chose to leave Poland".

Milek demonstrates the importance of translocal connections for Polish entrepreneurs living in the UK. Once his family decided to migrate he maintained contact with them across borders with attention given to the localities in which they were situated. He then based his migration decision on these translocal interactions with his family. Returning to Selina of the recruitment agency, also demonstrates the importance of family and friendship ties to Polish entrepreneurs. Many of her friends moved to England after EU accession in 2004 along with her husband's

brother and sister, who both have children. Selina's only family left in Poland are her parents. Selina commented that:

"I do miss them [her parents] but they are only a quick flight away. We [her and her husband] have a strong group of family and Polish friends here [Stoke- On-Trent] and that is important to us. Although I don't want my family or friends to work in my business, I want to be around them and they are important to me" (Selina, Polish recruitment agency, 2009).

This demonstrates that one of Selina's motivations to migrate to the UK was to maintain ties with her extended family. However, she stresses that her parents remain in Poland and that she can easily visit them. This highlights an earlier point when discussing translocalism and why the national may seem less significant than the local to Polish migrants in the UK. Today, it is possible to travel easily from regional centre to regional centre, avoiding capital cities. Translocal exchanges are therefore facilitated, in this case between parent and child.

Maintaining ties with family and friends is very important to Polish entrepreneurs, particularly those who migrated post-accession. However, it is a topic that is not touched upon in the current literature on family businesses, or ethnic entrepreneurship. It is also another example of the translocal nature of Polish entrepreneurs, with individuals' decisions to migrate based on local-local exchanges of thoughts, and the actual act of relocating. These flows transcend national borders.

Support and advice from family and friends

In order to enhance the running of their businesses many entrepreneurs seek ideas and support from a range of sources. Evidence suggests that supporting ethnic minority entrepreneurs to realise their ambitions for growth can promote economic success and community regeneration (Vershina et al., 2009). Sharing ideas and support can lead to increased profit through improved business knowledge, inter-trading between companies in the network and raised self-esteem.

Family and friends often provide support for Polish entrepreneurs. This acts as a means of sharing ideas and discussing business issues. For instance, family and friends who migrated prior to accession played an important role in actively encouraging and reassuring entrepreneurs who migrated post-accession.

Zyta owns a PR and Marketing business and arrived in the West Midlands from Poland in July 2004. Zyta set up her business within a few weeks of arriving in the region. On establishing her business and the support of family and friends she comments that:

“I worked around the clock because I didn’t want to waste time getting it [the business] started. Every day that went by without opening the business I was losing money and possible customers would be going elsewhere. My family and friends here [the West Midlands] really helped me. They knew the area and some knew how to set up a business. They helped speed things up a lot” (Zyta, PR and Marketing business, 2009).

Zyta's experiences demonstrate the importance of translocal encouragement and advice for Polish entrepreneurs when making a decision to migrate and establish a business.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the decisions of Polish entrepreneurs to migrate and establish a business are also driven by the success stories of Polish entrepreneurs who had already created flourishing enterprises at this time. These success stories are communicated with Poland by the media, but also through family and friends. By having the knowledge that others had been successful, some entrepreneurs were inspired to follow their pattern. This demonstrates a further translocal dimension to the running of Polish businesses. Flows of ideas and news of success transcend national boundaries.

Once businesses are established, friends and family continue to be critical in the way they function by offering support and ideas. This support often comes from family members who are also entrepreneurs. The influence of parents of respondents who were also entrepreneurs themselves has already been explored. It is also common for Polish entrepreneurs to have brothers, sisters or cousins who are self-employed as well. Of the forty-eight entrepreneurs interviewed twenty-five had siblings or cousins who were also entrepreneurs. Fourteen of those were based in the UK. This support amongst entrepreneurs who have family who are also entrepreneurs in the UK includes email exchanges and telephone conversations about business ideas and problems, informal chats in person whilst meeting socially, specifically planned meetings with the purpose of discussing the business, and favours to promote each

others' businesses.

Adrian owns a Polish nightclub in West Bromwich. His sister runs a children's nursery, and their cousin owns a hair and tanning salon, both in the West Midlands. They came to the area "because of each other." Adrian was the first of the family to migrate to the West Midlands and set up a business. He was followed by his sister and their cousin shortly after. When they were setting up their businesses he advised them from his experiences. On the way in which the family support each other Adrian comments:

"Now all the businesses are open and running we [him, his sister and his cousin] help each other. We talk about ideas to get new customers and problems we are having. I advertised in my cousin's salon, and she does in my club. It's just nice having them to talk to and to listen as they know how I feel when I've had a good or bad day" (Adrian, Polish nightclub, 2009).

These examples serve to highlight the important role played by family and friends of Polish entrepreneurs in offering business advice and support. They also highlight the translocal nature of this advice. For example, Poles such as Milek who were encouraged to come to England by friends already in the country, conducted translocal exchanges of ideas and support in order to do so. Their exchanges were focused on the localities in which they were situated and were of a local-to-local nature. Now in the UK they maintain contact with family and friends who remain in Poland, and in doing so they are reinforcing any translocal relationships. Adrian and his encouragement of his sister and cousin to follow him to the UK, also

demonstrates the ease of succession present amongst Polish entrepreneurs and its translocal nature.

Supporting institutions

In addition to family and friends there are institutions and networks that are utilised by Polish entrepreneurs for support that are similar to the migrant entrepreneurs in Silicon Valley (Saxenian, 2003). Polish entrepreneurs rely on a diverse range of informal and translocal social structures and institutions to support their entrepreneurial activities. These institutions include the Polish Business Club and Entrepreneur networks, and these provide a link to the business community. Roman Catholic Churches and Polish Catholic clubs throughout the region offer a way for entrepreneurs to meet members of the community in order to promote their businesses and to gain support in both their professional and personal lives. Such churches and clubs are located in Wolverhampton, Stafford, Coventry and Birmingham, amongst other locations in the West Midlands, with many being established for older generations of Polish migrants who arrived in the region following the Second World War. In the Polish churches and clubs the older generations interact with the accession migrants to form one Polish community.

Figure 6.2 Polish and English mass times at St Michael's Church, Birmingham



Source: BBC (2008)

Beata owns a graphic design company, which is based in Birmingham. She uses the Polish Catholic Church in Birmingham (Figure 6.2) for both her personal and business needs. Beata explains how St Michael's Church in Birmingham, which offers masses in Polish with a Polish priest several times a week, has been a benefit to her as both a migrant and an entrepreneur. Through it she has met new people, including many from the older generations of Poles who migrated to England after the Second World War. On this Beata states:

"It's so interesting talking to the older generations. If I tell them about my business they often give their opinion and are very interested. They have very different ideas to my generation" (Beata, Polish graphic design business, 2009).

The interaction between the old and new waves of Polish migrants in the West Midlands demonstrates that it is not only within their own generation which migrant entrepreneurs look to for support. This mirrors cross-generational mentoring through associations in Silicon Valley, where an older generation mentors a younger generation of entrepreneurs in both Chinese and Indian migrant communities. It also adds a further dimension to the translocal relationships involved in ethnic entrepreneurship. This cross-generational relationship is not the focus of this research, but could be explored in future research on Polish entrepreneurship.

Figure 6.3 The Polish Club, Birmingham



Source: Author (2012)

In many cities throughout the UK there are Polish Centres or Polish Clubs. These were often established by Polish migrants who arrived in the UK following the Second World War. They were developed as places to socialise and to share the common experience of migration and adjusting to life in the UK. The Polish Club (the

premises of which is known as Polish Millennium House) is based in Digbeth, Birmingham (Figure 6.3) and was established in 1963 by Poles connected with the local Polish Catholic Church (Figure 6.2). Beata also details how she uses the Polish Club in Birmingham. She comments that:

“Often after church on a Sunday I go to the club [Polish Club]. A lot of people do this so it’s a nice way to see people I know through church. There is a shop there and a restaurant... places to relax and talk. I get some business through meeting people at the club. I have leaflets in there promoting my business. Sometimes, I’ve needed business advice when I wasn’t sure what to do about something. The club has people there who can help with things like that. It [the club] is good in so many ways” (Beata, Polish graphic design business, 2009).

In addition to the Polish Catholic Church and the Polish clubs in the region, the first Polish Business Club in the West Midlands has recently been established. It has around thirty members. The club is open to all Poles from a business environment, but is strongly dominated by entrepreneurs. It therefore highlights the significant presence of Polish entrepreneurs in the West Midlands. It functions in a similar way to business associations such as those in Silicon Valley, which have been developed for Chinese and Indian entrepreneurs. According to the founder of the club, Agata Dmoch, “the aim of the club is to promote Polish businesses through the Polish community and beyond that”. The club meets on a regular basis, and its members conduct significant email exchanges and consultations. Members share business advice and discuss ways to promote their businesses throughout the region.

Milek of the IT consultancy business utilises the Polish Business Club. The Business Club has been very important to him and many other self-employed Poles. They use it to “share ideas and find answers to problems” such as “language, rules, and the

law”, since “it is hard being an entrepreneur especially when you are not in your home country”. Another important role of the Business Club is to encourage break-out. Milek explains:

“We [the business club members] try to make ourselves noticed outside the Polish community. So we talk about recruiting local staff and attracting local customers. We are now living and working in the Birmingham area, so we want to contribute to the local community, even though we are Poles. We spend a lot of time talking about how to do that” (Milek, Polish IT consultancy business, 2009).

This demonstrates that although the Polish Business Club is a Polish institution it is seeking to integrate itself and its members into the local community in order to create more successful businesses and lifestyles for its member.

The Polish Business Club in the West Midlands region plays an important role in the support of Polish entrepreneurs, particularly those who run professional businesses. In a similar way to the business associations for Chinese and Indian migrant entrepreneurs in Silicon Valley they simultaneously create ethnic identities and facilitate the professional networking and information exchange that aid success in the local economy. Support may come in the form of informal discussions, meetings, conferences, or guest speakers from the UK or Poland.

This exchange of ideas and support from family, friends, and such supporting institutions demonstrates the translocal nature of Polish businesses. It confirms Oakes and Schein’s discussions of translocality by deliberately confusing the “boundaries of the local” (2006: p.20). Translocal exchanges of ideas are conducted but “without losing sight of the importance of localities in people’s lives” (Oakes and

Schein, 2006: p.1). It also emphasises the importance of local-local connections in the running of Polish businesses in the West Midlands region.

6.4 Polish translocal relationships

Table 6.4 Translocal relationships in the retail sector: Polish delicatessen, Handsworth, Birmingham

Resource	UK: Midlands	Poland	Translocal relationship
Finance	Profits earned are shared with parents in Poland.	Poland based parents provided the source of funding for the business. Parents provide financial advice.	Funding and financial advice originates in Poland and is transferred to the West Midland. Some profits are returned from the West Midlands to Poland.
Products, services and trading relationships	Products transported using UK based Polish transport services. Business supplies and professional services are West Midlands based.	Products are sourced from Poland. Customers are mainly Polish.	Polish products sold to a largely Polish client based, but in Handsworth, Birmingham. The Polish business is supported by West Midlands based services.
Labour and people	Staff are largely from the family. Other members of staff are West Midlands based Polish friends. Business support and advice sought from Polish friends in the region, the Polish Business Club, and the Catholic Church.	Business advice is provided by family who remain in Poland.	Staff are Polish but are West Midlands based. Business support and advice comes from family, friends and organisations in both the UK and Poland.

Source: Author (field survey May 2009- February 2010)

The analysis of the research demonstrates some general translocal patterns, such as financial backing being provided by parents, and entrepreneurs seeking business advice from family and friends in both the West Midlands and Poland. However, there appears to be a difference in the family resources and translocal relationships utilised in different sectors of business.

Table 6.4 illustrates the translocal exchanges involved through the resources used by a Polish delicatessen in Handsworth, Birmingham. This case study represents the retail and service sector businesses involved in my research. The activities which take place in the two localities - the West Midlands and Poland, blend together to create translocal exchanges. The example highlights the importance of these translocal relationships in the running of the business. Each of the resources used is dependent on some type of translocal exchange. Particularly critical to this and many other retail and service sector businesses is that the products offered are Polish and require transportation from Poland. Therefore, such businesses could not function without this translocal exchange. However, it is the significance of this translocal exchange which impacts upon retail and service sector businesses' lack of desire to break-out from the Polish community. The necessity to provide Polish products results in a largely Polish client base, served by mainly Polish staff. Although retail and service sector businesses have a translocal outlook and require these in order to function as a business, focus very much remains on their Polish heritage and ties with Poland, as demonstrated in White's (2011) study of Poles in Bradford. This analysis supports Greve and Salaff's (2003) suggestion that failure to break-out can be linked to an overdependence on translocal relationships. Break-out for these businesses could actually result in them losing their niche market. They are distinctly Polish businesses that happen to be operating in the West Midlands.

Table 6.5 Translocal relationships in the professional sector: Polish recruitment agency, Stoke-on-Trent.

Resource	UK: Midlands	Poland	Translocal relationship
Finance	Profits earned are shared with parents in Poland.	Poland based parents provided the source of funding for the business. Parents provide financial advice.	Funding and financial advice originates in Poland and is transferred to the West Midlands region Some profits are returned from the West Midlands to Poland.
Products, services and trading relationships	Product is recruitment advice which is generated in the West Midlands. Business supplies and professional services are West Midlands based.	Originally the client base was largely Polish. It has now expanded to English clients and also those from other ethnic minorities.	Recruitment advice offered to jobseekers of all nationalities in the West Midlands region by a business which has broken out from serving only Poles. The Polish run business is supported by West Midlands based services.
Labour and people	Staff are a mixture of Polish and English workers based in the West Midlands. Business support and advice sought from Polish friends in the region, the Polish Business Club, and the Catholic Church.	Business advice is provided by family who remain in Poland.	Staff are Polish and English. Business support and advice comes from family, friends and organisations in both the UK and Poland.

Source: Author (field survey May 2009- February 2010)

Table 6.5 displays the translocal exchanges involved through the resources used by the previously discussed Polish recruitment agency in Stoke- on- Trent. This case represents the professional businesses involved in the research. The table shows that whilst maintaining ties with Poland, professional businesses are less reliant on translocal relationships. They could actually function largely without them. They are

not dependent on links with Poland for products or labour. As such, professional Polish businesses tend to be seeking break-out in order to expand. This supports Bieler's (2000) assertion that few social constraints and a lack of dependence on co-ethnics encourage break-out. For professional Polish businesses they are businesses operating in the West Midlands, who happen to be Polish owned. The focus is on the business itself rather than its Polish identity. If Polish identity can be taken for granted then local preoccupations may have space to take precedence over national ones.

Irrespective of business sector and attitudes towards break-out, the use of family resources ensures that all Polish businesses involved in the research demonstrated a translocal outlook. The Polish entrepreneurs migrated from Poland to the UK because of specific conditions in their home town or village with encouragement and financial backing from family there; they migrate to specific places in the West Midlands and set up a business where they have friends and family; in the West Midlands, they maintain ties with specific places and people in Poland, which they return to visit on holiday. Some businesses sell products imported from specific places in Poland. In their West Midlands location, they frequently feel a sense of local belonging even if they have little contact with the non-Polish population, and lead very Polish lives. Although, many Poles spoke of their desire to integrate within their local communities. Their UK home towns are viewed as places where they can realise livelihood aspirations developed in Poland, with support coming from family and friends in both the UK and Poland. They are trying to live in similar environments to which they came from. This is demonstrated by White's (2011)

study of Polish migrants in Bradford and Wessendorf's (2007) research on Italian migrants in Switzerland. Locality is therefore in some contexts more important than ethnicity. Too much emphasis can be placed on the role of ethnicity and national belonging in the lives of migrants, and 'translocal' is sometimes a more helpful label than 'transnational' to describe the lifestyles of Polish entrepreneurs in the West Midlands.

6.5 Conclusion

Family, co-ethnics and supporting institutions, significantly influence Polish entrepreneurs in the West Midlands. This influence can be seen in three ways 1) finance; 2) product, service and trading relationships; and 3) labour and people. Family is particularly important for those migrants who set up their business prior to accession since they provided crucial financial assistance and advice. For those who migrated after accession, migrating to maintain ties with family and friends who had already relocated to the UK was an important factor in their business decisions. The exchange of business advice and support is made through family, friends and supporting institutions, such as the Catholic Church and the recently founded Polish Business Club.

Through relationships with family, friends and support networks, Polish entrepreneurs in the West Midlands sustain translocal linkages. The flows of finance, ideas and products from Poland to the West Midlands are just some of the ways in which translocalism can be seen within Polish entrepreneurship. These flows

transcend national borders. Local-local connections are made between Poland and the West Midlands with importance given to individual decisions made and the lives of those involved. Polish migrant entrepreneurs do not need to work hard to maintain their Polish identity due to the easy access to flights when they wish to return to Poland to see family and friends, and due to the Polish communities which they are part of within the West Midlands. Therefore, local preoccupations have taken precedence over national ones. However, it is important to note that not all firms are equally translocal, with pre-accession and retail businesses displaying a greater reliance on translocal linkages than post-accession and professional businesses.

It can be argued that the family and translocal relationships inhibit break-out. Whilst this appears to be the case for informal, early established, retail based ventures such as delicatessens, professional and recent Polish enterprises aim to integrate into their local communities, service English customers and move away from the activities in Poland which initially supported them.

This chapter makes an important contribution to research into family ethnic entrepreneurship. It also reconceptualises the notion of translocalism. It brings together these usually disparate concepts, which this chapter has demonstrated are crucial to an understanding of Polish entrepreneurship. However, it does not explore details of the localities of origin of entrepreneurs in Poland since this was beyond the scope of the research. This is something which could be developed through future research into Polish translocal entrepreneurship. In response to this chapter, the way

in which translocalism amongst Polish entrepreneurs is maintained and evolves over time is explored in Chapter Eight.

The next chapter examines adaptation strategies adopted by Polish entrepreneurs, particularly to hostile environments, such as adaptation to recession. These adaptation strategies are often aided by translocal exchanges. This consideration of adaptation strategies is followed by a focus on business aspirations of Polish entrepreneurs, and how these have changed over time.

CHAPTER SEVEN

PROCESSES OF ADAPTATION, ASPIRATIONS AND FUTURE PLANS AMONGST POLISH BUSINESSES

7.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the business adaptation strategies adopted by Polish entrepreneurs. Particular attention is given to adaptation to the hostile environments of recession, the return migration of Poles, and supermarkets stocking Polish products. This is followed by an examination of business aspirations of Polish entrepreneurs, and how these have changed over time. The purpose of this is to understand the strategies adopted by Polish entrepreneurs once their business has been established and it begins to evolve.

Once an ethnic enterprise has been established strategies need to be adopted in order to keep the business running. No organisation can be completely static over time, and so some level of adjustment, change or improvement would seem inherent in operating a venture. However, the motivating factors of adaptation, the degrees of adaptation that occur, and the outcomes of this adaptation, are likely to vary considerably as a function of a variety of factors (Chakravarthy, 1982).

In order to execute businesses adaptations entrepreneurs need to have aspirations for their business. Economic theories of entrepreneurship usually assume, not surprisingly, that entrepreneurs have economic aspirations principally those of profit maximisation. However, entrepreneurs' aspirations are also heavily influenced by

the social relationships involved in the social networks in which they are embedded (Granovetter, 1985), including those with family members.

In response, the chapter considers business strategies once an enterprise has been established. It does this by exploring adaptation strategies, particularly to hostile environments, such as adaptation to recession, followed by a focus on theories of business aspirations. The analysis of this research into Polish entrepreneurs is then explored in relation to adaptations that have been made to their businesses, with attention given to the turbulent environments they have faced. The analysis continues with a focus on their business aspirations and plans, and how these have changed over time. The conclusion brings together the key ideas and points of analysis from this chapter and provides an indication of the current situation of Polish entrepreneurship in the West Midlands, which is a sub-set of the wider phenomenon of Polish ethnic entrepreneurship in the UK, and potentially in the European Union.

7.2 Business strategies

In a small business context, firms often do not have formal, written statements of strategy, or they specify them in very general terms. The actual strategy of the firm may have to be deduced from evolving patterns of behaviour and resource allocation. It may or may not be intentional, and frequently emerges through a series of incremental adjustments to the opportunities and threats confronted by the firm over time (Schindehutte and Morris, 2009).

The notion of ongoing adjustments would seem especially relevant for small businesses. The entrepreneur is dealing with the unknown, which implies both uncertainty and risk. The entrepreneur may or may not be a visionary in terms of an initial concept, but ultimate success is likely to be much more a function of appropriate and timely adaptation of the concept over time. Peter Drucker (1995: p.150) notes that:

“When a new venture does succeed, more often than not it is in a market other than the one it was intended to serve, with products and services not quite those with which it had set out, bought in large part by customers it did not even think of when starting, and used for a host of purposes besides the ones for which the products were designed”.

As Drucker (1995) suggests it is appropriate adaptation at the right time which makes a successful business. This can be combined with aspirations for the business, since the two are often inter-linked. These are both the topic of further consideration in order to understand how these relate to the adaptations and aspirations of Polish entrepreneurs in the West Midlands.

Business adaptations

Strategic adaptation in small businesses refers to substantive modifications of core elements that constitute the business concept as the venture evolves. Adaptation can be conceptualised in terms of a number of dimensions affecting the business, such as products or services offered, customer profile, marketing, distribution, personnel, financial and physical facility requirements (Schindehutte and Morris, 2009). Further, it typically entails incremental, continued change as opposed to

dramatic or discontinuous change, leading to major transformation of an organisation.

The theory of adaptation

Numerous theoretical perspectives support the concept of adaptive behaviour in organisations. In a small business context, an especially relevant foundation for adaptation can be found in contingency theory. Here, the basic premise is that environmental conditions dictate the adjustments management must make over time to the strategy and structure of a company (Andrews, 1971; Ginsberg and Buchholtz, 1990; Schendel and Hofer, 1979). In terms of the link to strategy, Chakravarthy (1982) argues that several niches are available to an organisation for surviving the conditions of its environment, and these niches can be arranged based on the extent of an organisation's level of adaptation. Where environments are more hostile or turbulent, various researchers note a tendency for firms to rely on strategies that are more adaptive (Davis et al., 1991; Jennings and Seaman, 1994).

In a related vein, it is useful to consider the contrasting perspectives found in 'population ecology' and 'strategic adaptation', two theoretical frameworks that have been applied by various researchers to the entrepreneurship field (Hannan and Freeman, 1977; Hrebiniak and Joyce, 1985). Population ecology posits that individual goal-driven behaviour is much less relevant than environmental selection procedures in determining entrepreneurial success or failure. Hence, organisations cannot really adapt. Conversely, strategic choice theory assumes that the key to entrepreneurial success lies in the decisions of individual entrepreneurs who identify opportunities,

develop strategies, assemble resources, and demonstrate initiative (Schindehutte and Morris, 2009). Both perspectives are useful here, although this research clearly falls within the latter framework. Organisations do survive or fail as a function of their fit within an ecological niche in the marketplace. Not only do the 'more fit' survive, but the 'more fit' are those who are best able to read and interpret patterns in the environment and adapt over time. This ability to adapt would seem less a function of luck, being in the right place at the right time, or having access to resources or information that others do not have, and more a function of the individual entrepreneur, his/her team, and their ability to learn (Levinthal, 1991; Venkataraman and Van de Ven, 1998).

Insights regarding adaptive behaviour in small businesses can also be found in learning theory. Much emphasis is placed today on the 'learning organisation' and the 'learning manager'. Related to this is the concept of learning regions (Florida, 1995), discussed in Chapter Five. Regions are becoming focal points for knowledge-creation and learning in the new age of capitalism, as they take on the characteristics of learning regions. It is apparent that learning is gaining acceptance as an integral element of entrepreneurial practice and study. As Minniti and Bygrave (2001: p.7) state: "entrepreneurship is a process of learning, and a theory of entrepreneurship requires a theory of learning". Indeed, Gartner (1985: p.700) asserts, "entrepreneurs do not operate in vacuums - they respond to their environments". An organisation's ability to adapt is a direct result of its ability to learn collectively about the environmental factors that influence that organisation.

Adaptive behaviour in small businesses

Since this research focuses mostly on small businesses it is necessary to consider any particularities in their adaptation strategies. The small business context is one in which adaptive behaviours would seem especially important. Compared with medium- and large-sized firms, smaller businesses are more vulnerable to environmental forces, especially given the limited cash reserves and debt capacity of such organisations, their frequent over-dependence on a limited product/service line, and their tendency to rely on a niche customer base (Schindehutte and Morris, 2009). Many small firms also suffer from a relatively limited market presence, subjecting them to significant demand fluctuations, aggressive competitor forays, and lack of support from suppliers and distributors. Aldrich and Auster (1986) discuss the liability of smallness in terms of problems in raising capital, fewer tax advantages, and proportionately greater costs from regulation, at least compared with larger firms. Moreover, especially at the early stages of the venture, entrepreneurs are unfamiliar with their roles and the roles of the firm, and are prone to committing a variety of errors and blunders. Stinchcombe (1965) characterised this phenomenon as the liability of newness.

Less clear is the extent to which small firms actively strive to adapt over time. On the one hand, it can be argued that they should find adaptation of virtually all aspects of their operations relatively easy, such that the ability to learn and adapt becomes a key venture competency. Their fixed commitments are often limited, their image and market positioning are frequently not well-established in the minds of key publics, and their operations are less constrained by structure, controls and formal

policies. Bird (1989) notes that they can innovate more quickly, are typically less concerned with retained earnings or payout of profits, have employees with less vested interest in how things are done or resources are allocated, and have managers and employees with more role ambiguity.

Drucker (1995) appears to be suggesting that fairly high degrees of adaptation are required for most small businesses to prosper. And yet it is reasonable to expect that small firms may resist adaptation for a variety of reasons. Some of these reasons concern the entrepreneur, including his/her personal willingness and ability to embrace change and adapt. In addition, organisations experience inertia over time, and this constrains their capacity to adapt, especially as they make fixed financial, physical and human commitments. Moreover, environmental conditions may either constrain the firm's ability to adapt (e.g. a regulatory restriction) or create little incentive for adaptation (e.g. relatively captive demand conditions).

Strategic adaption to the external environment

This research adopts the view of contingency theory (Scott, 1981)- that environmental conditions dictate adjustments entrepreneurs must make over time to the strategy and structure of the business. Shane et al. (2003) suggest that these external environmental conditions include such things as:

- 1) Political factors (e.g., legal restrictions, quality of law enforcement, political stability, and currency stability);

2) Market forces (e.g., structure of the industry, technology regime, potential barriers to entry, market size, and population demographics);

3) Resources (e.g., availability of investment capital, labour market including skill availability, transportation infrastructure, and complementary technology).

How entrepreneurs adapt to these environmental conditions is dependent on a number of factors such as the condition in question, the severity of the condition and the type of business involved. It should be noted that the environmental condition could also be a positive one, with adaptation seizing on the positive impact of this.

One external environmental factor, which falls into the category of market forces and requires further investigation due to its significant impact, is that of recession. On 22nd August 2008, the *ONS* reported that the UK economy had reached a standstill, with 0 per cent growth, during the second quarter of that year (ONS, 2008). On 24th October, statistics for the third quarter of the year showed the first contraction in the national economy for sixteen years. With further contraction in the final quarter of 2008, the recession was officially declared on 23rd January 2009.

Recessions such as this one present businesses with a dilemma (Chastain, 1982; Deans et al., 2009). On the one hand, firms experience pressures to cut costs in order to maintain survival in the short-run at the risk of reducing capacity to such a degree that the firm is unable to adapt adequately when recovery comes. On the other, businesses might also face pressures to maintain greater capacity, and

thereby incur higher costs in the short-run, in order to retain the capability to adapt when the upswing comes and realise opportunities for long-term value creation. Kitching et al. explain how firms “must be able to cut their cloth to survive present conditions while at the same time continue to invest in business development if they are to sustain satisfactory performance beyond the recession” (2009: p.25).

There are a number of approaches to explaining how firms adapt under recession conditions. For simplicity, three types of business strategy are distinguished: retrenchment, investment, and ‘ambidextrous’ strategies. It is worth noting that studies (including this one) tend to suffer from survivor bias, that is, they report the perceptions and actions of surviving firms; it is unclear whether, and how, these differ from non-surviving firms. The three strategy types are discussed below.

Retrenchment strategies involve cutting operating costs and divestment of non-core assets. In times of recession, business horizons often shorten with owners/managers focusing on immediate survival rather than on long-term aims. Believing it is easier to reduce costs than generate additional revenue, many businesses choose to retrench. Commentators report divestment of businesses, establishment closure, reductions in working hours and employment, expenditure cuts on a wide range of activities including research and development, marketing and employee training (Rones, 1981; Shama, 1993; Geroski and Gregg, 1997; Michael and Robbins, 1998; Dedee and Vorhies, 1998).

Analysts have identified firms choosing to adapt during recession by pursuing investment strategies. In contrast with retrenchment, such firms perceive recessions

as opportunities to invest, innovate and expand into new markets in order to achieve or extend a competitive advantage during the recession and beyond. Many of today's household names launched successful businesses during recessions. *Rockefeller* and *Carnegie* established dominant positions in the emerging oil and steel industries during the 1870s recession by taking advantage of new refining and steel production technologies and of the weakness of competitors (Bryan and Farrell, 2008), and *Edison* established *General Electric* (Lynn, 2009). *Hershey* developed their brand and distribution advantages during the 1893-1897 depression and *Kellogg's* grew out of the 1920s depression (Rumelt, 2009). The motor, electrical and chemical industries that were crucial to post-war British industry became prominent during the 1930s. The *Microsoft* and *Apple* corporations were both founded in the mid-1970s, following the oil-crisis (Rumelt, 2009).

'Ambidextrous' organisations combine incremental change with discontinuous change, or the exploitation of existing resources to improve efficiency, with exploration of new sources of competitive advantage and innovation (Tushman and O'Reilly, 1996; He and Wong, 2004; Raisch and Birkinshaw, 2008). Such organisations are said to combine retrenchment and investment strategies. Indeed, it is likely that most firms adapt under recession conditions through judicious cost/asset-cutting behaviour *and* through selective investment in product innovation and market development. Accenture (2003) reported that this was related to what businesses do during good times as well as during recession. Firms are likely to need to combine increased efficiency with increased innovation in order to position themselves for an upturn. Cost-cutting alone can leave businesses unable to take advantage of an improvement in trading conditions.

Recession is one of the external conditions which can create a hostile environment for businesses to operate in. Later in the chapter, the hostile environments operating and how businesses adapt to them will be explored in relation to Polish migrant entrepreneurs in the West Midlands.

Business aspirations

In order to execute businesses adaptations entrepreneurs need to have aspirations for their business. Economic theories of entrepreneurship usually assume, not surprisingly, that entrepreneurs have economic aspirations principally those of profit maximisation (Basu, 2004). However, a few early theorists like Schumpeter (1934) recognised that entrepreneurs may have non-economic aspirations as well, such as the desire to innovate and venture into areas untouched by others, the desire to conquer new markets, triumph over others in the market and dynastic aspirations.

In general, these theories of entrepreneurship implicitly assume that the entrepreneur operates on an independent, individualistic basis. They neglect the possibility that the entrepreneur's social relationships, including those with family members, might be critical in shaping entrepreneurial aspirations and behaviour. The impact of culture and family on entrepreneurial aspirations assumes added significance in the context of ethnic minority immigrant businesses. This is because immigrant businesses, especially those owned by Asians, tend to involve extended family in the business because of close-knit extended family networks. There is much debate in the literature about the business entry motives and aspirations of

immigrants, in terms of whether the motives are economic (to overcome disadvantage and/or improve their financial prospects), social (to improve their social status) or explained by cultural or historical factors (Basu, 1998).

The role of aspirations has been emphasised by behavioural theories of the firm (Cyert and March, 1963), which assert that individual aspirations affect information processing and calculations of expectations within the firm. It is argued that aspirations are affected by and affect firm performance (March and Simon, 1958). Typically, first generation family businesses are a reflection of the aspirations, strategies and values of the founder-owner. Thus, the aspirations of the owner are likely to influence the development path of the business, especially in its early stages. Business growth is usually related to the founder-owner's willingness to hire professional managers and delegate operational responsibilities to them. In family businesses, growth is affected by, and may be constrained by, the abilities and influence of the founder-owner's family members in the business. Empirical studies indicate that the family can be both a crucial resource but can also impose costs, especially on women, in non-minority micro-businesses (Baines and Wheelock, 1998), as well as in ethnic minority businesses (Ram and Holliday, 1993). In the case of British Asian businesses, Janjuha-Jivraj and Woods (2002) found that the confusing, emotional bonds between family and business adversely affect strategy formulation.

Despite these studies into aspirations of ethnic family businesses little is known about their aspirations once they establish a business. However, Basu (2004) explores the differences in entrepreneurs' backgrounds that might explain

differences in their aspirations and examines whether aspirational differences are related to differences in business behaviour and outcomes once a business has been established. Basu (2004) finds that despite the importance of the family in their businesses, ethnic minority entrepreneurs have diverse aspirations. It is possible to distinguish between those with business-first, family-first, money-first and lifestyle-first aspirations. Their educational and family background affects entrepreneurs' nature of business, the way in which it is managed, the recruitment of professional managers and entrepreneurial performance.

Aspirations may alter with changes in entrepreneurs' family circumstances. Thus, family-first entrepreneurs, who did not belong to business families, were at a more advanced stage in the family life cycle with grown-up children at the time of Basu's (2004) interviews, which might explain their family orientation. In this sense, entrepreneurial aspirations might be regarded as dynamic and endogenous to the family life cycle of the entrepreneur rather than simply related to the past or original family circumstances.

Basu (2004) also suggests that despite their common immigrant and ethnic minority status, entrepreneurs are far from identical in their aspirations. While some family business owners have strictly entrepreneurial aspirations of business growth and survival and greater profitability, this may not be universally true. It is possible therefore that some family business owners have non-economic aspirations of ensuring family succession in the business or of enjoying a comfortable lifestyle by achieving a satisfactory level of income. The latter type of business owner is unlikely to continually search for new market opportunities or to aim for profit maximisation.

Thus, family business owners can have entrepreneurial aspirations but not all family business owners are strictly entrepreneurial in their aspirations. This suggests that an analysis of owners' aspirations is important for comprehending family businesses. This is highly relevant for this research into Polish migrant entrepreneurship since all of the businesses involved referred to some form of family involvement.

This account of the literature highlights themes that can be explored through research into Polish entrepreneurship. In order to continue to function, a business needs to adapt to its external environment. This adaption can be for the purpose of growth, but often is in response to factors of a hostile or turbulent environment, such as recession. Strategic adaptation of a business is intrinsically linked to entrepreneurial aspirations; however, entrepreneurs are far from identical in their aspirations. Aspirations can be business-orientated, or they may be non-economic. What is lacking in the literature, particularly that on business adaptation, is a focus on adaptation in ethnic minority businesses. In response, the next section of the chapter focuses on how Polish businesses in the West Midlands adapt and how their entrepreneurial aspirations affect this adaptation.

7.3 Processes of adaptation, aspirations and future plans amongst Polish businesses

In response to the literature and to build upon current debates surrounding business adaptations amongst ethnic entrepreneurs, this research demonstrates adaptation strategies and business aspirations involved in Polish entrepreneurship in the West Midlands. Of the forty-eight entrepreneurs interviewed, all made some reference to

their adaptation strategies and business aspirations when discussing their experience of entrepreneurship in the UK.

Amongst Polish migrant entrepreneurs business adaptation can be seen in order to grow and develop their businesses. However, more commonly, business adaptation strategies were put in place in order to adapt to external conditions and survive factors which created a hostile environment. This reflects the literature on business adaptation which focuses on theories of adapting to the external environment, such as contingency theory (Scott, 1981). The most cited environmental threats to Polish businesses in the West Midlands were: the UK recession, the return migration of Poles, and supermarkets stocking Polish products. This section of the chapter will explore these threats and the different strategies adopted by Polish businesses in order to deal with them. In addition, it investigates the business aspirations of Polish entrepreneurs and how these affect their plans to remain in the UK or return to Poland.

Adaptation for growth

One of the ways in which businesses evolve over time is adaptation in order to grow the business and to achieve greater success and stability. Businesses established prior to EU accession show little adaptation in order to grow their businesses. These are mostly retail based businesses. They are generally satisfied with the business in its current form. As long as it is making a profit the owners are happy. Janek who owns a Polish delicatessen in Stafford illustrates this. He comments that:

“I do not need to change the way my business is run- its building, staff, or products. We are good like we are now. We have customers, we sell enough. Why would I want to change that? (Janek, Polish delicatessen, 2009)”.

Janek, however, may be underestimating any changes that occur in his business since no firm can be static over time, and some adaptation is inherent in running a business. There are notable exceptions to pre-accession businesses showing little adaptation for the purpose of growth. Arek who runs a construction company which is based in Lichfield, Staffordshire, arrived in the region in 2002. He began his construction company in 2003 and steadily grew his business by taking on more projects and more staff. By 2007, although the business was successful, Arek was highly ambitious and keen to earn a greater profit, but he was doubtful he could grow the construction business any further. Therefore, he purchased franchises of three fuel stations in the Lichfield area. This made him “less reliant” on his construction business by diversifying through “other business prospects”.

A similar strategy was used by Adrian, who owns a Polish nightclub in West Bromwich. Adrian arrived in the UK in 2002 and opened the nightclub in April 2004. By 2006 he was comfortable running the nightclub and began seeking ways to create new business opportunities. He therefore started a computer repair business from his home in West Bromwich, in order to increase his business portfolio and consequently, his profit. Adrian comments:

“It [the nightclub] was doing well and making a steady profit. I felt I wanted to take on more and earn more. I had a manager in the club who did most of the work there for me so I had time on my hands. Computers had always been a hobby of mine so I set up a computer repair business which I run from my home. I have little overheads for this- no premises or staff, so it’s a great way for me to maximise my profit. I oversee the nightclub and spend most of the time working at home doing my computer repairs” (Adrian, Polish nightclub, 2009).

Entrepreneurs such as Adrian and Arek, emphasise that small businesses can adapt relatively easily since their commitments are often limited, and their operations are not constrained by structure, controls and formal policies. This supports Bird’s (1989) assertion that small businesses can innovate quickly, and have managers and employees with more role ambiguity. It also reflects the work of Ram et al. (2002) whose study into Birmingham’s ethnic restaurant trade showed evidence of expansion achieved through acquiring further businesses. For instance, in Ram et al.’s (2002) restaurant sample, several of the owners held assets outside the catering sectors, such as property investments, in a similar manner to Adrian and Arek holding assets and businesses outside their original businesses.

Those businesses established following accession, show a strong desire for adaptation in order to strengthen the business. These are typically professional businesses. Katrine owns a marketing and PR company in Birmingham. She comments that:

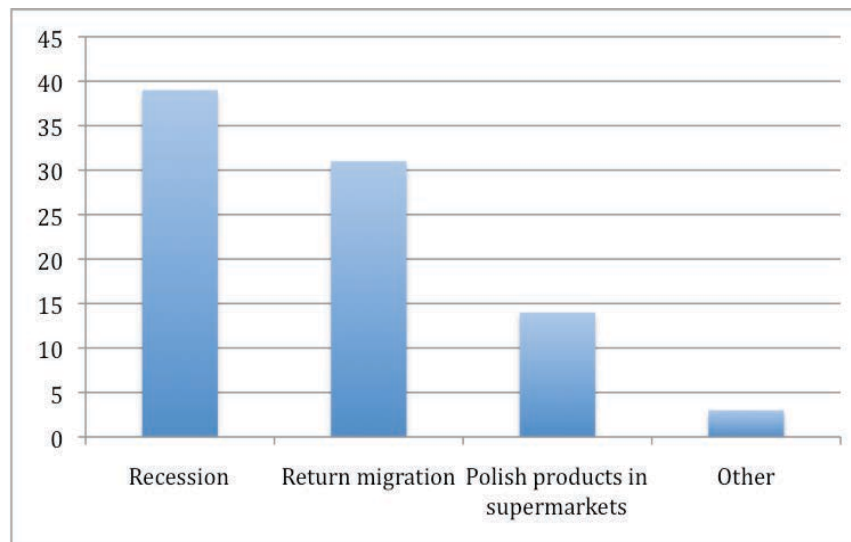
“A good business should always be looking to change. There is no room to be lazy. I look for new products and services I can offer. I want to offer things others don’t. I look for new customers. I look for bigger or cheaper premises. I make whatever changes needed to help the business grow - to be more successful and to make more money” (Katrine, Polish marketing and PR firm, 2010).

This ambition and desire to innovate and grow the business supports McClelland's (1961) argument that entrepreneurs have a high need for achievement. Such entrepreneurs are motivated by economic aspirations, however, as suggested by Schumpeter (1934) they also have a desire to innovate and to conquer new areas of the market. Both of these factors lead to adaption for growth being common amongst post-accession Polish businesses. These entrepreneurs are 'searchers' (Eade et al., 2006) for new entrepreneurial opportunities. The different attitudes towards adaptation amongst pre-accession and post-accession entrepreneurs could be due to recession rather than accession. Businesses set up well before the onset of the recession were able to 'bed in' more easily and are therefore less vulnerable to the impact of recession.

Adaptation to hostile environments

Adaptation in order to grow the business is one way in which Polish enterprises can be seen to be adapting. However, another way in which adaptation is present amongst Polish entrepreneurs in the West Midlands is adapting in order for the business to survive in response to environmental conditions. This is grounded in contingency theory (Scott, 1981). The basis of this, which was evident amongst Polish entrepreneurs, is that environmental conditions dictate the adjustments that business owners must make over time to the strategy and structure of their business (Andrews, 1971; Ginsberg and Buchholtz, 1990; Schendel and Hofer, 1979).

Figure 7.1 Mentions of hostile environments faced by Polish businesses



Source: Author (field survey May 2009- February 2010)

Respondents were asked to identify any times when the business environment was turbulent or hostile and how they had responded to that stress. Three key types of hostile environment emerged, with multiple hostile environments being referred to by entrepreneurs. Firstly, the UK recession of 2009 was the most cited, with thirty-nine entrepreneurs mentioning it (Figure 7.1). Kuba, the owner of a car garage in Stafford discussed how this had affected his business:

“I left Poland because times were tough and the economy [was] bad, thinking that it was better here [in England]. But then that changed and it became bad here [in England] too. Because my customers had less money to spend they put off getting work done on their cars. They only had work done if they absolutely had to. So that meant my business was struggling for some time” (Kuba, Polish car garage, 2009).

As a result of the impact of recession on his business Kuba decided that he needed to diversify his services in order to stay in business. He therefore set up a car wash alongside his garage. This required minimum outlay and since the cost to the customer of having a car washed is low, Kuba found that people were willing to pay for this, rather than paying large amounts of money for car services and repairs.

Kuba comments that:

“I decided that something had to be done. I thought about what I could do using my existing staff and premises. So I came up with the idea of a hand car wash. People do not have hundreds of pounds to spend on new tyres or brake pads, but they don’t seem to mind spending a small amount having their car washed. When the garage is quiet we give more time to the car washing, and if it is busier then we wash less cars. All those small amounts of money from the car wash add up for me. By doing that I have kept my business running through the recession. Without the car wash I would have had to close my garage” (Kuba, Polish car garage, 2009).

Kuba’s adaptation to recession through diversification exemplifies the strategy used by many Polish entrepreneurs- ‘ambidextrous strategy’. Through combining the appropriate investments to make and costs to cut, businesses such as this have successfully adapted to the hostile environment created by recession. This supports Drucker’s (1995) view on adaptation that it can result in a business diversifying to provide products and services which it did not imagine initially, along with serving customers that it did not expect to.

The second hostile environment faced by Polish businesses is Poles leaving the UK and returning to Poland, with thirty-one of the forty-eight respondents citing this (Figure 7.1). Despite the dominance of Polish NINo registrations, by 2008 British employment agencies and the Polish media all believed that the tide of immigration

had turned; “a combination of tightening economic conditions in the UK, a comparatively weak pound and an unprecedented surge in the Polish economy has made it unattractive for Poles to remain” (Mostrous and Seib, 2008: p.1). This echoes reports of the wider East European population returning to their home countries. Survey data collected by Pollard et al. (2008) indicates that the pace of return to Poland among migrants in the UK accelerated during 2007 and 2008, indicating that anecdotal evidence that Poles are starting to return in greater numbers paints an accurate picture. Polish entrepreneurs, particularly those in the retail and service sector felt the impact of this since their clientele was largely Polish. Feliks owns a delicatessen in West Bromwich. He comments that:

“When Poles started going home it was like a nightmare for me. Most of my customers were Polish since I mostly only sell Polish products. Poles going home meant less customers, and less profit. It was a worrying time. I thought I may have to shut the shop” (Feliks, Polish delicatessen, 2009).

Despite these worries Feliks responded by seeking break-out from his Polish customer base. He reduced the cost of his products and sought ways to penetrate the local market in West Bromwich. Feliks explains:

“In order to survive things had to change. Firstly, I reduced the cost of my products where possible. I did this to keep the Polish customers that were still in West Brom [Bromwich] and to also encourage new Polish customers to my shop. I also started to stock products from elsewhere in Eastern Europe, to encourage those groups to my shop- like the Slovaks and Lithuanians. I started to get involved in the local community mixing with all nationalities- Brits, Asians, afro-Caribbean’s, and Eastern Europeans... West Brom is very [ethnically] diverse. By doing this I spread the word of my shop. This meant I was not dependent on Poles and saved my business from closure” (Feliks, Polish delicatessen, 2009).

Other businesses responded to the return migration of Poles through diversification, similar to the strategy used by Kuba's car workshop. For instance, Iwona who owns a hair salon in Erdington, sought to achieve break-out from her Polish clients in response to Poles returning to their homeland, but she also diversified her business by adding a tanning salon to the premises to expand her market. She comments:

"When Poles started going home I needed ways to encourage non-Poles into my business. So I wanted a way to offer another service within my salon, but one that involved little contact so the fact that it was Polish run didn't matter. So I introduced a tanning salon to my shop in the hope of gaining clients [who are] not Polish. People come in and out quickly [of the tanning salon] so English customers don't mind that the business is Polish- some don't even know. Others got chatting to me and then started using the hair salon too" (Iwona, Polish hair salon, 2009).

This is an example of the 'middleman minority' perspective (Bonacich, 1973). Iwona highlights an important point regarding adaptation by diversification. Since the adaptation is occurring in a time of stress diversification often involves a low-risk strategy since the business is already suffering or is likely to suffer and cannot afford to make any changes which may further compromise its stability. Iwona states that:

"By opening the tanning salon there was little risk involved if it didn't work out. I couldn't risk spending a lot of money and trying something very different in case it went wrong, as that would have been the end [of the business]. Thankfully it did work well and this saved my business" (Iwona, Polish hair salon, 2009).

Although this is not an adaptation to recession I suggest that it can be labelled in a similar way, since the adaptation strategy used to respond to this hostile environment is the same as 'ambidextrous strategies' used in response to recession. This case demonstrates the appropriate investment in a tanning salon in order to

diversify the business portfolio and to achieve break-out, but also cutting costs in the existing hair salon by splitting staff across the two ventures.

For some professional businesses, the impact of return migration was less severe than for retail and service sector businesses since these businesses often did not centre on a Polish customer base. For example, Polish return migration has not affected Katrine's marketing company because her business is "not dependent on Polish clients" and her "clients are mainly English".

However, for other professional businesses this still had an impact and adaptation through break-out was used as a business survival strategy. Selina, owner of a recruitment company in Stoke-On-Trent exemplifies this. Selina established her business for Polish migrants looking for work in the West Midlands region because she saw a gap in the market. However, more Polish migrants obtained work and many others returned to Poland causing her business to become quieter. She came to realise that her business did not have to be aimed solely at Polish job seekers. Consequently, her business now specialises in helping Poles to find work but it also helps any English clients who want to use the business. "This means that we're busier and less reliant on the Polish community, especially now some [Poles] have gone home [to Poland]," Selina explains. Selina highlights the importance of adaptation through break-out to businesses such as hers in order to evolve and survive. Like Iwona's business, Selina's business' break-out reflects the 'middleman minority' perspective (Bonacich, 1973).

There are other instances of adaptation which were not a direct response to recession and return migration. Instead these adaptations slightly preceded these events and were initiated in order to grow the business. However, they proved vital in the survival of the business through recession and return migration. This is the case with Agata who owns a Polish bakery in Walsall. During 2007 the business was in growth and the owners were strategically seeking opportunities to develop it further by “scaling up”. Agata arranged meetings in various *Tesco* supermarkets in the region. She attended the first meeting with some of her Polish bread and cakes. She told the store manager the story of the business, about her vision and her passion and invited them to try the products. The Polish bakery signed a contract with this *Tesco* store to provide them with a range of Polish baked goods. Agata repeated this process at other branches of *Tesco*. The bakery now supplies hundreds of *Tesco* stores throughout the UK, with the products produced in their larger factory premises. Although these products are largely sold to Polish customers they are available to an ethnically diverse range of customers within a UK established store. The details of this are explored further in Chapter Eight.

Although the decision to adapt the business through scaling up and break-out was made prior to recession and reports of return migration, it has been critical in the success and survival of the business, which has seen these hostile and turbulent environments. Both could have caused the bakery suffer, but by diversifying and adopting an ‘investment strategy’ the bakery is not now reliant on a small, local Polish consumer, as Agata explains:

“Since we [her and her husband] opened [the bakery], we have been very successful, but we have had very difficult times too. The recession affected us, like most businesses. Plus a lot of Poles have gone back [to Poland]. At the start, they were our only customers. So we needed to serve other nationalities as well. That’s why *Tesco* is so important to us- we can access the English market that way” (Agata, Polish bakery, 2009).

Through adopting an ‘investment strategy’ and moving to a larger premises in order to produce stock to sell to *Tesco*, Agata’s bakery has adapted and avoided the negative impact that could have been brought about by recession and return migration. This demonstrates that Agata is a ‘searcher’ (Eade et al., 2006) for new entrepreneurial opportunities, which have enabled the business to survive the recession and return migration.

The third stress on Polish businesses is one which is specific to the retail sector and is the proliferation of supermarkets stocking Polish products. It was the least cited of the hostile environments (Figure 7.1) since it does not apply to all of the businesses featured in the research. However, it was mentioned by the majority (82 per cent) of the food-retail-based businesses, highlighting its significance. Many owners of Polish delicatessens actually dismissed that the return migration of Poles had had a negative impact on their business, instead attributing it to British supermarkets increasingly stocking Polish products. Supermarkets can offer these at a cheaper price than Polish delicatessens because they buy in bulk. They import directly from Poland in larger quantities than the delicatessen owners are able to and therefore they are able to undercut prices through economies of scale or through contracts. Supermarkets are also a more convenient way to shop. Figure 7.2 and Figure 7.3 show how customers can purchase *ogórek kiszony* (pickled cucumber) and

drożdżówka (a type of yeast cake) alongside *Heinz baked beans* whilst doing their weekly shop - an option which Polish delicatessens cannot offer. In an added dimension, Figure 7.4 shows a loaf of 'Polish bread', which is actually made by UK supermarket *Morrisons*. Perhaps the recipe used for this bread is the only Polish feature of this product. In July 2007, *Tesco* announced that it was both doubling its range of Polish products and its number of stores stocking them. *Tesco* now sells Polish food in more stores in the UK than in Poland, where it has 280 shops (Tesco, 2007).

Figure 7.2 Polish food products available in *Sainsbury's* in Mere Green, Birmingham



Source: Author (2011)

Figure 7.3- The Polish food section in *Tesco*, Birmingham



Source: Author (2011)

Figure 7.4 A loaf of 'Polish bread' produced and sold by supermarket *Morrisons*



Source: Author (2011)

Many Polish delicatessen owners blame supermarkets for taking away their Polish customers, and preventing them from achieving break-out because the supermarkets sell to a diverse range of customers from a number of nationalities. Sainsbury's says: "The increase in demand is not solely from the Polish community. When we began the pilot scheme last year it tempted other customers to try things out" (cited in Craven, 2008). These are customers that could otherwise be shopping in Polish delicatessens. Oles who owns a delicatessen in Worcester comments:

"Tesco [and other supermarkets] have a lot to answer for. When we first opened, delis [delicatessens] like ours were the only place in England to get Polish products. Now they are in every supermarket all over the country. We cannot compete with their prices. We have lost customers because of it. Particularly English customers. They had just started coming here. They tried Polish food and liked it but now it is in Tesco they get it from there because it is cheaper and more convenient" (Oles, Polish delicatessen, 2009).

Having an informal conversation with an English acquaintance of mine about Polish shops confirmed the problem that supermarkets pose to them. Discussing the Polish shop in Lichfield, Staffordshire, my acquaintance described how they used to shop there for Polish bread and meats, but now found the products to be cheaper in the local supermarket so they no longer use the Polish shop.

Interestingly, the negative impact of supermarkets stocking Polish products is a stark contrast to the positive impact that supermarkets have had on Agata's bakery. Agata's bakery was the only business interviewed who supplied produce to a supermarket. This is probably due to the fresh nature of the product she offers, with non-perishable Polish food being able to be imported directly from Poland and therefore no need to be produced in the UK.

Owners of Polish delicatessens, such as Oles, have responded to supermarkets stocking Polish products through a number of business strategies. Firstly, Oles has developed a website for his business where people throughout the UK can order a range of products from his shop online. Through the website the business can “sell products already in stock making it cheap and easy to do” and it can access customers who previously may not have shopped in the store, therefore “expanding the business through minimum use of time, knowledge and money”. Through another strategy, the delicatessen has come to place focus on its Polish identity and use it to its advantage - something which supermarkets cannot do. For instance, it offers advice on Polish cuisine and taster evenings where customers can sample products free of charge. This is done to attract both Polish customers, and those from other nationalities. On this Oles comments that:

“I tried to think what we [the business] had to offer that the supermarkets don’t... and that is our Polish culture and knowledge. So now we offer recipe cards for Polish dishes using ingredients from the shop and we do evenings where customers can come and try some of these dishes for free, along with other ingredients from the shop. The idea was to encourage people into the shop with the free products in the hope they liked them and bought some. This has worked really well and has gained lots of new business from Poles and Brits. By offering our knowledge with the product we are giving something extra over *Tesco*” (Oles, Polish delicatessen, 2009).

Ole’s response to the turbulent environment created by supermarket chains stocking Polish products represents an ‘ambidextrous strategy’. Although his focus was originally on immediate survival he has now come to explore ways of diversifying the business through modest diversification and investment.

In contrast to Oles' and other delicatessen owners' claims of the stress that supermarkets have placed on their businesses, a small number of others suggest that this has had little impact. They believe that supermarkets stocking Polish products have opened the products up to a wider client base. By making it easier for non-Poles to try Polish products they are more likely to then shop in Polish delicatessens to see what other products are on offer. As a result this has aided Polish delicatessens in achieving break-out. Casper, owner of a delicatessen in Wolverhampton comments that:

"I think that the supermarkets have done me a favour really. We get a lot of English customers coming in the shop now who tell me that they tried something from *Asda* or *Tesco* and they liked it. They come in to see what other Polish food there is, because we will obviously have a better selection than the supermarkets" (Casper, Polish delicatessen, 2009).

The impact of supermarkets stocking Polish products can also be positive for businesses that are not reliant on selling Polish products. Non food-retail-based Polish businesses reported that supermarkets stocking Polish products has allowed British people to gain an "insight into Polish life", making them more inquisitive about and receptive towards Polish migrants in the UK. Therefore, they have become more inclined to use Polish businesses. This highlights that what can be perceived as a hostile environment for one business can actually be a positive factor for another. This reinforces Chakravarthy's (1982) assertion that the motivating factors of adaptation, the degrees of adaptation that occur, and the outcomes of this adaptation, are likely to vary considerably between businesses, as a function of a variety of factors.

These examples reveal that Polish migrant entrepreneurs in the West Midlands demonstrate strong evidence of business adaptation due to both their need for achievement (McClelland, 1961) and also in response to hostile environments such as recession. This supports Schindehutte and Morris' (2009) views on strategic adaptation, as it appears that for Polish migrant entrepreneurs the key to success lies in their decisions to identify opportunities, develop strategies, and to demonstrate initiative.

Business aspirations

Polish entrepreneurs in the West Midlands have made many of their decisions to adapt their businesses according to their business aspirations. These aspirations vary according to the type of business in question and in many cases aspirations have changed over time in response to external drivers specifically linked to the business, but also linked to their personal lives.

There is a tendency for pre-accession Polish businesses in the West Midlands to have modest business aspirations. These are often retail enterprises. In the past they have shown little desire to adapt or break-out and when discussing aspirations for the future they describe their desire to continue their businesses in a similar manner.

Nelek, owner of a delicatessen in Hereford explains:

“I am happy with the shop as it is. That is how I want it to stay. I have no plans to change. My plan is to carry on as we are. We are doing well, business is good so I don't want to change anything” (Nelek, Polish delicatessen, 2009).

However, there are exceptions to this. Agata who owns the Polish bakery spoke at length about her aspirations for her business. For the time being Agata and her husband are happy to continue the business as they are, but with “an eye on new opportunities”. Again, this supports McClelland’s (1961) theory that entrepreneurs have a strong need for achievement. The couple are planning to maintain their shop premises in Walsall but relocate their factory to bigger premises in Tamworth, Staffordshire, in order to increase their output and workforce. Tamworth offers cheap premises with excellent transport links, and is close to Walsall, making it an ideal choice to establish a larger factory. This relocation and the decision process involved in it are explored in detail in Chapter Eight. Critically, as Agata explains, her and her husband do not rule out a change of business direction in the future if the market requires it:

“In five years, ten years...who knows what will happen [to affect the business]? Like with the recession and Poles going home we do not know what will happen to affect the business. We will try to respond to this. We have to. There is no time for complacency in a successful business” (Agata, Polish bakery, 2009).

Although Agata arrived in the UK prior to EU accession her hardworking nature and business driven attitude is common amongst post-accession business owners. Such as mortgage advisor Marc who has clear “goals” for his business and is “adaptable” to any changes in the external environment which may occur in order to maintain a successful business.

Post-accession entrepreneurs have greater entrepreneurial aspirations than pre-accession entrepreneurs. This is perhaps a result of these businesses being accounted for by professional enterprises and therefore a more business minded

and driven approach. For instance, IT consultant Milek explained how he never took his “eye off the ball”, constantly had “new things to achieve for the business” and was “always setting goals” in order for the business to be as successful as possible, but he stressed that these aspirations changed dependent on how his business was performing. This illustrates Shane et al.’s (2003) motivational characteristics of entrepreneurs and also supports March and Simon’s (1958) argument that aspirations are affected by and affect firm performance.

Life in the UK or returning to Poland?

Those respondents who spoke of their intention to continuing running their businesses without substantial changes in the future also discussed their plans to remain in the UK, which is consistent with their desire for minimal change. Again, these were largely pre-accession, retail sector businesses. For these business owners the plan to remain in the UK, rather than returning to Poland, was often described from a family-first and lifestyle-first perspective, rather than a business-first and money-first one (Basu, 2004). These entrepreneurs have non-economic aspirations to remain in the UK, and in many cases were from entrepreneurial families supporting Basu’s claim that entrepreneurs born into entrepreneurial families have more life-style orientated aspirations. The entrepreneur’s social relationships within the social network in which they are embedded (Granovetter, 1985), particularly those with family members, are critical in shaping entrepreneurial aspirations and behaviour. Their priorities are ensuring their family’s happiness and enjoying a comfortable lifestyle. This type of business owner is unlikely to aspire to profit maximisation and new market opportunities (Basu, 2004). Thus their aspirations to

remain in the UK are not strictly entrepreneurial. Delicatessen owner Nelek described that:

“I will definitely stay here [Hereford] and continue running my shop. My life is here now. Not just because of the business, but because my children were born here and my wife is happy here. We have a house, some of our family live not far away... we have Polish friends who we knew in Poland and have moved here and we have new English friends who we have met and have become important to us” (Nelek, Polish delicatessen, 2009).

Oles, also runs a delicatessen. He is based in Worcester and migrated to the UK in 2003. He has a similar view to Nelek when asked about whether he will return to Poland. Oles explains:

“Worcester is where I belong now. Yes, Poland is where I am from and it will always be important to me. My parents still live there. But my main family is here [Worcester]. People know me on the street. My kids go to school here, they have friends and so do me and my wife. We feel part of the community. We would not want to leave that and go back [to Poland] for good. If I want to go back I can visit my parents and other friends and family there. But in the end I always want to get back here [Worcester] to my home...” (Oles, Polish delicatessen, 2009).

Other pre-accession entrepreneurs gave both work and lifestyle in the West Midlands as a reason for planning to stay in the UK, but this was a rare response. Of the thirty-six entrepreneurs who migrated prior to accession, only seven mentioned both work and lifestyle as reasons for remaining in the UK. One of those who had this view was bakery owner Agata. She commented that:

“Our [her and her husband’s] future is here [Walsall] with the business. We love it. We have friends and are thought of as good business people... We are happy as we are right now... with life and the business” (Agata, Polish bakery, 2009).

Those entrepreneurs who migrated after accession, and run professional businesses have quite different aspirations for their businesses to those who migrated prior to accession. They are driven by profit and success and this is reflected in their future plans for the business. For instance, Selina runs an “established and successful” recruitment agency. Selina explained that she may look to expand her business by recruiting more employees. She also described how running a successful business involves a constant process of revaluating and looking for opportunities:

“The agency is doing very well at the moment. We [the agency] are busier than ever. I don’t take this for granted though. It is important to continue to work hard and think of new ideas all the time. So... I am thinking of taking on more staff so that we can deal with more clients” (Selina, Polish recruitment agency, 2009).

Interestingly, Selina’s business aspirations are strongly reflected in her intention to remain in the UK, but possibly move away from Stoke-On-Trent since she is contemplating opening another branch in Stafford, as the market in Stoke-On-Trent could become saturated. In this way Selina’s future locational plans are very much a business-first decision. Selina states that:

“That way [by opening a branch in Stafford] I can expand the business and I will not be reliant on Stoke. There is only so much business I can do here [Stoke-On-Trent] so I need to think of ways to grow the business elsewhere to make more money” (Selina, Polish recruitment agency, 2009).

Selina demonstrates a strong business-first and money-first approach (Basu, 2004) towards her business aspirations and her decision to remain in the UK. Marc who runs a mortgage advice company has similar business aspirations as Selina. He is driven by profit, growth and success. He described his plans for his business.

“In the future I want to grow the business. Maybe another premises, maybe branching out into other services. It is important for me to be successful- to earn money, and to have a business that has an excellent reputation. So I plan to work hard and to grow the business” (Marc, Polish mortgage advice business, 2009).

Marc stresses his desire to remain in the UK, rather than returning to his homeland.

However, unlike retail based entrepreneurs, he uses a business-first perspective for this reasoning:

“I have no intention of moving back to Poland. I have worked hard to establish my business here [Lichfield] and so this is where I will stay. I would move from Lichfield but not too far because of the business, and any move would probably be because I may set up a new branch for the business nearby. Although I have family and friends in Poland and that is where I am from, to me my business is more important and I have to be where is best for the business- where I can be most successful, where I have the best opportunities and where I can make most money” (Marc, Polish mortgage advice business, 2009).

Despite the majority of migrant entrepreneurs stating their desire to remain in the UK, and usually the locality in which they are currently based, there were five instances of entrepreneurs who indicated that they are likely to return to Poland. Interestingly, all five of these entrepreneurs migrated prior to accession and were based in retail/ service sector businesses. This suggests a greater importance of remaining in the UK for post-accession migrant entrepreneurs, which could be for a number of reasons. It could be partly down to pre-accession migrants being in the UK for a longer time period and that they are now ready to return to their homeland, particularly because they miss family and friends. In contrast with migrants’ motivations for coming to the UK, financial factors are not the main drivers of migrant’s decisions to leave the UK. This is the case with Henryk who owns a plumbing business in Telford and arrived there in February 2004. Henryk explained

that:

“As much as I like being here I am happy to go back to Poland now. I have been here for 8 years. I’ve achieved a lot and enjoyed my time here but I’ve had enough really. Plus my parents are getting older and they need help and looking after. I’ll worry about them too much if I’m here [Telford] so I am looking to go move back soon. I’ll miss England and my friends here but Poland is my home” (Henryk, Polish plumbing business, 2009).

Henryk’s comments support the work of Pollard et al. (2008) who explain that the most commonly cited reasons for migrants returning home to Poland are those related to people’s personal or family lives. In Pollard et al.’s research (2008) almost four in ten returned migrants (36 per cent) say they left the UK because they missed home, almost three in ten (29 per cent) cite wanting to be with family in Poland as a reason for returning (Pollard et al., 2008: p.45).

A further reason given for a desire to return to Poland permanently was that the sector in which the entrepreneur is based has experienced turbulent times and that they therefore wish to depart from this. For example, Casper who owns the delicatessen in Wolverhampton, discussed earlier in the chapter, described how difficult he had found recent years largely because of supermarkets stocking Polish products, Poles returning home and the UK recession. Although the business was making a sufficient profit at the time of the interview he explained that if it were to suffer again he would be likely to return to Poland. Casper stated that:

“Everything is ok now because of the changes I’ve made to the business, but it has been tough. I can’t go through that again- emotionally or financially. If the business starts to suffer again I will sell and go home [to Poland]. I won’t hesitate. Yes, I have family and friends here [Wolverhampton] but if I can’t make a living then I won’t stay. I can’t afford to” (Casper, Polish delicatessen, 2009).

Perhaps a critical factor in the decision to remain in the UK is children. None of five respondents who stated that they intend to sell their businesses and return to Poland had children. This suggests that this makes the decision of return migration easier due to less family ties to the West Midlands. All of the respondents who want to remain in the UK and who had children mentioned these children when discussing their plans to stay in the country, even if this was not specifically given as the primary reason. This supports Ryan and Sales (2011) who emphasise the importance to Polish migrants of their children in family migration strategies and decision making.

There was one respondent who described how he intended to return to Poland in order to establish a business there, but he would do this by maintaining his businesses in the UK and splitting his time between the UK and Poland. Arek who runs a construction company is planning to purchase land near Gdańsk to develop an indoor skiing centre. Arek described that:

“My construction company is running well and I am in a position to expand my businesses. I don’t feel particularly tied to Lichfield or Gdańsk really. I like things about both places. I know things about both places and people in both places. I’ve always had a passion for skiing and so that’s why I’m doing the ski centre. There are quite a few like it already in the UK so I thought I’d go back to Poland to do it. It makes business sense” (Arek, Polish construction company, 2009).

This clearly illustrates the concept of translocality discussed in the previous chapter, through exchanges between people and places in the localities of Lichfield and Gdańsk. It supports Iyer and Sahpiro’s (1999) evolutionary business model which states that immigrant entrepreneurs will develop their businesses through a number of stages with the final stage being when they initiate international expansion and

develop lateral links between multiple business interests in their homeland and host country. This is achieved through being a 'searcher' (Eade et al., 2006) for new entrepreneurial opportunities. Arek will accomplish this business idea by devoting most of his time to this new venture in Poland, and travelling back and forth between Lichfield and Gdańsk. Arek explains that:

"I can fly back and forth between Lichfield and Gdańsk easily to oversee all of my businesses but I won't be based in either place. I'm going to have houses in both and split my time between the two, but at the start most of my time will be in Gdańsk to get things up and running as quickly as possible" (Arek, Polish construction company, 2009).

This is an interesting case of return migration since Arek is not returning to Poland in full, but neither is he permanently remaining in the UK. He is creating a dual home through translocal movements of ideas and people as he makes local-to-local connections and travels between his businesses in Lichfield and Gdańsk.

Changes in aspirations and plans over time

Respondents also discussed how their business aspirations and intended duration of stay in the UK had changed since they initially migrated. Pre-accession entrepreneurs largely stated that their aspirations had changed little since they arrived in the UK. They put this down to a careful planning before they arrived but also to their happiness with their business in its original form and a lack of desire for substantial growth. Post-accession migrants on the other hand explained how once they arrived in the West Midlands they became more aware of the business opportunities

available to them and therefore wanted to grow their businesses and to achieve greater success than they had initially intended.

Of the forty-eight respondents, twenty-three claimed that when they migrated to the West Midlands they did not anticipate that this move would be permanent. This supports Pollard et al.'s argument that the decisions of Polish migrants to return home are almost always pre-planned (Pollard et al., 2008: p.45). Five of these entrepreneurs may return to Poland as they initially planned, but the remaining eighteen have changed their opinion since migrating and now plan to remain in the UK, and particularly the West Midlands indefinitely. Kuba from the car garage in Stafford typifies the opinion of such entrepreneurs:

“When I came here [Stafford] I thought it would be for a few years and then I would go back [to Poland]. I had no idea how much I would like it here, that my business would do well, that I would make friends, and feel part of the community. I even met my fiancé here. I did not imagine that would happen! There is no way that I will leave all that I have here [Stafford] behind, like I originally planned”(Kuba, Polish car garage, Stafford, 2009).

For Kuba, along with the other Polish entrepreneurs who have changed their mind and decided to remain in the UK, it appears to be the attachment to the local community and theirs and their families' relationships with other people in that community which are the main factors in their decision not to return to Poland. Although their dedication to their businesses is mentioned, it is their attachment to their “new life” in their “home” of the West Midlands, which is often stressed as the key factor in remaining in the region. They have a family-first and lifestyle-first (Basu, 2004) approach to remaining in the UK.

Polish entrepreneurs in the West Midlands are far from identical in their business aspirations and plans. These vary according to the type of business in question and to when migration occurred. Pre-accession migrants generally have more modest aspirations to grow their businesses than post-accession migrants. The majority of entrepreneurs intend to remain in the UK indefinitely. Pre-accession and service sector businesses give family-first and lifestyle-first reasons for this decision, whereas post-accession professional businesses give business-first and money-first (Basu, 2004) reasons.

7.4 Conclusion

Polish business in the West Midlands are far from static over time and some level of adjustment, change or improvement is inherent in operating these ventures. However, the motivating factors of adaptation, the degrees of adaptation that occur, and the outcomes of this adaptation vary considerably as a function of a variety of factors (Chakravarthy, 1982). Adaptation in Polish businesses can be seen to occur for two main reasons. The first is adaptation in order to grow the business. This is more common amongst post-accession entrepreneurs and often takes the form of expanding their business portfolio. The most prevalent reason for business adaption amongst Polish entrepreneurs is adaptation to hostile environments. These environments include recession, supermarkets stocking Polish products and return migration of Poles. Adaptation to such factors is apparent amongst both pre-accession and post-accession businesses. Adaptation strategies include diversification of the business, cost reduction, break-out and scaling up.

The majority of respondents intend to remain in the UK for the foreseeable future. However, the reasons behind this choice vary between pre-accession and post-accession migrants. Pre-accession migrants give non-economic reasons for staying in the UK. They state that family and friends are important to them and they will stay in the UK as they are settled here. Post-accession businesses, on the other hand, give business-/first and money-first reasons for remaining the UK, with a focus on their aspirations for the future of the business.

Overall, Polish entrepreneurs are highly adaptable, particularly in turbulent times for their businesses. They place importance on the future of their businesses, generally with a desire to remain in the UK running their businesses. However, the significance of family and lifestyle in the UK demonstrates that the aspirations of Polish entrepreneurs to remain in the UK are not always strictly entrepreneurial.

The following chapter utilises the empirical evidence gathered from the study through the use of two illustrative case studies. The purpose of this is to pay greater attention to the stages involved in migration and establishing and running a business, and to tie together the empirical evidence discussed in the previous chapters, thus giving a more detailed and holistic account of entrepreneurship amongst Polish migrants in the West Midlands.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE KEY THEMES OF POLISH ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN THE WEST MIDLANDS: A CASE STUDY APPROACH

8.1 Introduction

This chapter draws on the conceptual approach developed in Chapter Three and the empirical evidence to bring together the various themes (timing, translocality and adaptations) identified as critical in the establishment, growth and running of Polish businesses in the West Midlands. To add realism and to connect the various themes of the research, two case studies, which have been selected from the sample of entrepreneurs, are explored. Through the conceptual approach, these cases explore how different processes act together to contribute to the experiences of Polish migrant entrepreneurs. It is worth emphasising that the four elements within the conceptual framework work together. This is to highlight the complexity of the migrant entrepreneurial process or experience. The case studies illustrate how Polish businesses evolve and highlight the different ways in which they engage with difference localities.

The chapter is structured as follows. After the introduction, the second section justifies the use of two female-owned businesses for the case studies. In the third section, two descriptive case studies are used to illustrate the key themes of the research and the relationships between them. The cases provide a detailed story of the entrepreneurs including their migration decision, establishing their business, running their business, and their business aspirations. The fourth section proposes a revised version of the conceptual approach (from Chapter Three), which takes into

account the ideas and concepts which have emerged throughout the empirical chapters. The final section concludes the chapter by summarising the main points of analysis.

8.2 A case study approach

This research into Polish entrepreneurship employs a range of research methods. Research methods can be and are associated with different kinds of research design. The latter represents structure that guides the execution of a research method and the analysis of the subsequent data (Bryman, 2008). Researchers have used the case study research method for many years across a variety of disciplines. Pioneer work in this field is thought to be those of William Thomas and Robert Parks from the University of Chicago in the early 1900s (Hamel et al., 1993). Yin defines the case study research method as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used (2003). Rather than studying a phenomenon in general, a specific example within time and space is chosen for study. This “allows a particular issue to be studied in depth and from a variety of perspectives” (Kitchin and Tate, 2000: p.225).

The chapter is based on case study research of Polish migrant entrepreneurs in the West Midlands since this approach excels at bringing us to an understanding of a complex issue and it can extend experience or add strength to what is already known through the research this far. The use of the case study approach is appropriate since it emphasises detailed contextual analysis of a number of Polish entrepreneurial experiences and their relationships. It provides the basis for the

application of ideas developed throughout the thesis and extension of methods. The case studies provide a recording of exactly what happened in the field, giving the full story behind the entrepreneurs.

The two case studies have been selected to reflect the types of entrepreneurs interviewed during the fieldwork. Interestingly, both of the case studies are female-owned businesses. The case studies were not intentionally selected according to the gender of the owner. They were selected because they represent the range of participating entrepreneurs/firms due to the type of service they provide and the migration date of their owners. One case study represents the retail/service sector businesses; the other represents the professional sector businesses. Also, one represents a pre-accession business and the other a post-accession business. They are from successful businesses and perhaps the 'top end' of the businesses featured in the research. The cases were based on the entrepreneurs who participated fully in the interview (they were present for the whole duration of the interview and answered all the questions raised), and the types of business they operate, with the purpose of representing different types of business and the key issues raised. They successfully highlight a range of the key themes involved in Polish migrant entrepreneurship in the West Midlands - timing, translocality, and business adaptations. The case studies selected are those with the best available material to satisfy these points raised. Both of the cases being female-owned businesses and being seen as the 'top end' of the respondents featured in the research points to the significance of women in Polish entrepreneurship. However, this was beyond the scope of the thesis. Future investigations could develop this to focus on the role and experiences of female Polish entrepreneurs.

8.3 Case study evidence: entrepreneurial processes acting together

In using the case study approach, combined with the conceptual approach proposed in Chapter Three, it is shown how the themes of timing, translocality and business adaptations developed in the previous chapters are present, how they act together and how they evolve over time. The theme of timing can be seen to operate in two ways. Firstly, the timing of the decision to migrate and to set up a business, and secondly through the timing of activities, such as business adaptation through break-out. The second theme which becomes apparent through the use of the case study approach is a blend of translocal relationships and the engagement in localities. This is achieved through business adaptation strategies. Therefore, business adaptations can be seen to be operating as an enabling factor to the two main themes of timing and translocality/ localisation.

The cases have been selected as firms to explore the processes involved in Polish entrepreneurship. They are from different business sectors, and the businesses were established at different times. The purpose of selecting these two contrasting businesses was to illustrate the different experiences of Polish entrepreneurs in different sectors. Consequently, the information obtained from each of these case studies varies, giving a fuller picture of Polish entrepreneurship in the West Midlands.

This first case highlights the importance of timing in the migration of a Polish entrepreneurial woman. It affirms the argument in Chapter Five that the concept of time (Hägerstrand, 1970; Thrift, 1983; Giddens, 1979; Giddens, 1981) is not appropriate when discussing migrant entrepreneurship since this is an active process

involving a series of incremental decisions. Agata, an owner of a bakery in Walsall, used the timing of her pre-accession migration to enter into employment, before making a transition to self-employment, to save funds to establish her business, to get to know the UK economy, to carry out entrepreneurial learning (Minniti and Bygrave, 2001) and to take her time in developing a potentially successful business. Agata also demonstrates the importance of family and the translocal nature of Polish businesses through funding and business advice flowing between their origin locality in Poland and the locality of settlement - Walsall. Unlike many other retail businesses included in the research Agata shows a propensity for break-out and localisation with a diminishing importance of translocality as the business evolves, although translocality remains a notable feature of the business. She demonstrates how this has been critical to the survival of her business, through difficult times in the market. Although she is content with the business she does not rule out adaptation in the future in order to create new business opportunities, particularly as she sees her life as being in Walsall.

The second case focuses on the experiences of Selina, the owner of a recruitment agency in Stoke-On-Trent. Unlike Agata, Selina migrated in September 2004, as she wanted to assess the market in the UK before establishing her business. Although she received funding from her family she wants as little business involvement with them as possible. For Selina, translocal links are not highly significant in the running of her business. Her business has undergone a process of break-out (Ram and Hillin, 1994) and localisation. Localisation involves adapting to one's surroundings and feeling a part of that locality. For Selina localisation has occurred through serving and employing English people and Selina believes that this is critical to running a successful migrant business. This is supported by Zhou and Tseng (2001) whose work

on Chinese businesses in Los Angeles found that immigrant entrepreneurs required deep localisation as when transnational entrepreneurs orient to the ancestral homeland they may overlook the importance of strengthening social structures that may enhance their future well being in the host country.

Case one: Agata, a bakery owner who migrated in 2001

Agata, along with her husband, owns a Polish bakery in Walsall, West Midlands. It specialises in producing traditional Polish bread, cakes and pastries (Figure 8.1, Figure 8.2). In Poland Agata was a recent Business Studies graduate who worked in marketing and her husband worked for a bakery. It was Agata's husband's passion for baking and the skills he had acquired from his time in the trade that inspired the couple to establish their own bakery. They believed combining this with Agata's knowledge from her Business Studies degree would be a good way to establish a successful business.

Figure 8.1 Polish bread produced in a UK based Polish bakery, similar to Agata's



Source: Author (2012)

Figure 8.2 A Polish pastry baked in Agata's bakery¹⁴



Source: Author (2012)

¹⁴ Bakery name and address has been blanked out to maintain anonymity.

Timing of migration: motivation, entrepreneurial learning and family finance

Agata and her husband arrived in the UK from Poland in 2001. On doing so Agata worked as a waitress and her husband was a builder. Whilst it is likely that the couple were working illegally, this was not discussed in the interview since it was not the focus of the research and may have made the respondent uneasy and reluctant to answer further questions. Like many Polish entrepreneurs who arrived in the UK prior to accession, Agata was prepared to leave her job at the time and change her sector of employment to enter into entrepreneurship. Consequently, pre-accession migrant entrepreneurs can be seen to be risk-takers. They also have high achievement needs which leads to their propensity to take risks (McClelland, 1961). Such Polish entrepreneurs support claims that firm founders objectively have a higher propensity for risk than do members of the general population, but that firm founders do not perceive their actions as risky (Fry, 1993). Agata exemplifies the motivation characteristics of entrepreneurs described by Shane et al. (2003), such as need for achievement, risk-taking, and setting goals.

Agata's change in career, combined with the timing of migration, was motivated by the long-term desire to establish a business. She describes how:

“In Poland we had the idea, the determination, the skill and the passion... but we wanted to get here [Walsall] and see what was going on. We thought that by coming [to the UK] in 2001 that would give us time to see how things worked and what England was like”. (Agata, Polish Bakery, 2009).

Agata believes that the business is successful because the couple's migration occurred prior to accession. This allowed them time to save money, become accustomed to life in the UK and carry out research. This meant that they could gradually establish a solid business and be ready to exploit the opportunities of wealth creation brought about by the flows of Polish migrants following accession. The timing of the migration (in 2001) was a carefully constructed decision of an active nature. It enabled time to be taken to learn and acquire new skills in the region of the business before actually establishing it (in 2003), which is important to a successful business since "entrepreneurship is a process of learning" (Minniti and Bygrave, 2001: p.7). Indeed, Lundvall (1995) has remarked that the term 'learning economy' signifies a society in which the capability to learn is critical to economic success.

Although the couple worked for several years in the UK in order to save money to fund their business, a significant amount of financial support was provided by Agata's parents in Poland. She spoke not only of her parents' input in terms of capital, but also their financial advice. This capital and advice flows between the locality of origin in Poland, and the recipient locality in Walsall, demonstrating that the bakery was established through translocal relationships. This also shows how the concept of "translocality does not only mean people" (Oakes and Schein, 2006: p.1). It is "constituted as well by the circulation of capital, ideas, images, good and styles, services" (Oakes and Schein 2006: p.1) and identities, i.e. a Polish bakery run by Poles.

In an added dimension to these translocal exchanges, Agata sends a percentage of her profits to her parents as a remittance for their financial involvement in the business. She acknowledges that the flow of finance is now from Walsall to her locality of origin in Poland, rather than the opposite way around, as when the business was established. Agata pays a small amount of interest on this capital that she was lent by her parents. These translocal flows of capital and financial advice are centred on the local lives of the individuals involved - Agata and her parents. She explains that:

“My parents are very important to my business. They gave me money in the beginning to set up the bakery. Plus they gave me a lot of financial and business advice. They still do give me some [advice] but now the money goes the other way. They have a cut of my profits to repay them for the financial help they gave me at the start” (Agata, Polish Bakery, 2009).

Much of the motivation for migration from Poland to the UK is often attributed to the uneven development between the two countries, with greater prospects perceived to be on offer in the UK. This is illustrated by Polish entrepreneurship. For example, Agata spoke of migrating and establishing a business in Walsall as “life was a struggle in Poland and the economy was poor”, whereas in England she could “have a better life”.

Agata explained that her parents’ desire to help finance the venture so that she could establish the business prior to accession in order to capitalise on the flows of migrants arriving in 2004. She also discussed her parents’ financial backing in reference to their views on loans and credit cards. As was the case for many

entrepreneurs, for her family it is important not to enter into a venture which they cannot afford without the support of bank loans or credit cards.

The financial family involvement in this case supports de Visscher et al. (1995) who describe family firms as having patient capital with the capacity to invest in long-run return opportunities rather than quarterly return requirements (Dreux, 1990). However, Leach's (1991) claim that family firms can be at a disadvantage when raising capital, is strongly conflicted by the case. For Agata, family and finance and the translocal relationships that they utilise are of critical importance to the success of the business.

Opening the bakery: translocal exchanges

After several years of careful planning and selecting their premises, Agata and her husband opened their bakery in December 2003. They were based in a shop unit where the bread was both baked and sold. Whilst their equipment and ingredients were largely sourced from within the UK, their recipes originated from Poland and some ingredients were imported, illustrating the translocal processes involved in establishing a business. When the business opened in addition to Agata and her husband, it employed three members of staff who were all Polish. These members of staff migrated from particular localities in Poland to live and work in the English locality of Walsall, whilst employed in a Polish business, demonstrating the translocal nature of people (Oakes and Schein, 2006: p.1) involved in migrant entrepreneurship. Supporting Shane et al.'s (2003) motivations of entrepreneurship, such as need for achievement and self-efficacy, the couple saw this time before

accession as the opportunity to utilise their translocal relationships, to become accustomed to life in Walsall and “to get the business right before enlargement”.

At the time of opening, the bakery’s customer base was small and again solely Polish. The bakery sold to local Poles who visited the bakery, particularly those from the older generation. This demonstrates how close translocal ties in an owner's network can help get businesses started within communities and may help keep businesses solvent through the products and services it provides. The early phase of this business being established supports Light's (1984) research on the Los Angeles liquor store industry, which found that the majority of customers of ethnic business are co-ethnics. Agata and her husband also fostered relationships with several Polish delicatessens elsewhere in the UK, to which they sold their products. Agata comments that:

“In the beginning it was important to use our Polishness to develop links which would be good for the business. We had Polish staff who were recent migrants. Since we were making Polish products, using Polish recipes, we thought that this was important. We also made contact with Polish delis in Manchester so we could sell our products outside the local area. Plus we kept in touch with Polish bakeries in Poland to ask for advice and ideas” (Agata, Polish Bakery, 2009).

Agata keeps in touch with bakeries in Poland through email interactions and Skype conversations. These bakeries are run by contacts her and her husband made before leaving Poland. This, along with other processes described in this quote, demonstrates translocality through the multiple localities involved in the Polish bakery, both in the UK and Poland. Polish staff, Polish recipes and Polish products are used in the bakery, which are produced in Walsall and then transported to other Polish businesses throughout the UK.

Following EU accession in May 2004 the bakery gradually became busier due to the influx of Polish migrants. Not only did the number of customers entering the shop rise substantially, but the customer demographic also changed from an older generation of customers to customers from the new, younger wave of migrants. The couple developed further relationships with the increasing Polish delicatessens, in the West Midlands and throughout the UK. The bakery recruited more staff, taking their total to ten, but the workforce remained solely Polish. Two of these employees were friends of the couple who had migrated to the region from Poland and were looking for work.

Agata and her husband maintained strong contact with family and friends who remained in Poland. They did this for advice and support but also to promote their business should any of their friends or acquaintances have chosen to migrate to the UK. For early stage Polish businesses mutual trust is very important, and such trust is more likely between co-ethnics than in contacts across ethnic boundaries (Light, 1984). Through this dependence on co-ethnics, the couple did not see the localities in the UK and Poland as separate entities. They treated them as being translocal and interconnected since both localities were critical to the functioning of the business.

The timing of activities through adaptation: breaking-out and scaling up

By 2007 the business was flourishing. Agata and her husband chose to adapt the business in order to achieve growth and therefore acquired a new and larger premises also located in Walsall, but they also retained their original premises. The

original premises was kept as a shop with a small production unit, but the new premises was located on an industrial estate on the outskirts of Walsall. It had the main function of being a factory, but it also contained a shop in order to sell their goods.

At this time, Agata demonstrated several characteristics of being a 'searcher' (Eade et al., 2006) for new entrepreneurial opportunities. She sought to expand her business through acquiring new clientele. As well as a solid Polish customer base the Polish bakery now sells to a range of nationalities. This can perhaps be attributed to the sizeable Polish community in the region leading to an interest in Polish culture and their cuisine, rather than a strategic plan to break-out. It demonstrates localisation by the Polish product becoming sold in the local community Agata commented:

"Of course a lot of our customers are Polish. When we opened they were all Polish. But now we have more and more English customers, and other nationalities. Often they have Polish friends who they visit and they will offer them some of our bread or cakes. If they like it they will come and buy it. It doesn't matter that we are a Polish bakery because our products taste good to every nationality" (Agata, Polish Bakery, 2009).

Despite the confidence that the bakery's products would "sell themselves" beyond the Polish community, during 2007 the owners were strategically seeking opportunities to adapt and develop it further by "scaling up". As touched upon in Chapter Seven, Agata arranged meetings in various *Tesco's* supermarkets in the region. She attended the first meeting with some of her Polish bread and cakes. She told the store manager about the background of the business, and about her vision

for the business. She also invited them to try the products she had brought with her. As a result of this successful meeting, the Polish bakery signed a contract with this *Tesco* store to provide them with a range of products. Agata repeated this process at other branches of *Tesco*. The bakery now supplies hundreds of *Tesco* stores throughout the UK, with the products produced in their larger factory premises. Although it is likely that these products are largely sold to Polish customers they are available to an ethnically diverse range of customers within in a UK established store. This demonstrates the importance of the concept of timing in Polish migrant entrepreneurship with business decisions being actively made at specific points in time.

This also adds an interesting dimension to the translocal relationships involved in break-out and localisation of Polish entrepreneurs. A Polish product is being produced in Walsall by a mixture of Polish and English workers (at the time of the interview). It is sold in a variety of Polish run and English run shops, to a largely Polish customer based, but it is also being purchased by other nationalities. This shows that in order to achieve localisation and break-out the Polish bakery was required to use its translocal connections with localities in Poland whilst fostering new ones in Walsall, and other localities in which their product is sold. There are translocal exchanges between Walsall and localities in Poland in terms of people, capital, and ideas in order to achieve this break-out and localisation. However, as time has progressed from the business being established in 2003 it appears that the importance of these translocal links has become less, with less reliance on family for funding and on Polish migrants for customer. The more localised the business has

become the less it uses its translocal linkages. However, translocal exchanges are still present through interactions with family and friends who remain in Poland, and through using Polish ingredients which are imported to Walsall. This demonstrates that there is a blend between the translocal and the local and the composition of this blend changes over time.

As with Bagwell's study of Vietnamese nail bars, Agata hinted that the presence of "innovative members within the family network appeared to be particularly important for encouraging business diversity and thus break-out" (2008: p.390).

Agata commented:

"It did take some hard work to get recognised outside the Polish community, but my parents advised and encouraged me. There are only so many Poles in the area so we knew that to expand the business we had to appeal to English people... But not only that- we had to move beyond our shop and only selling to Polish delis [delicatessens]. Getting our products stocked in *Tesco* was the major breakthrough of the business. Now everyone, everywhere in England can sample our products" (Agata, Polish Bakery, 2009).

Thus, "rather than simply acquiring a white clientele, effective break-out requires attention to market position, appropriate niches, new product development and the management of human resources" (Curran and Blackburn, 1993; quoted in Ram, 1997: p.151). Break-out by the Polish bakery supports work of researchers who suggest that in environments which are hostile or turbulent, there is a tendency for firms to adopt business strategies that are adaptive (Davis et al., 1991; Jennings and Seaman, 1994). The decision to adapt the business and to achieve break-out has been critical in the success and survival of the business which has seen the hostile

and turbulent environments of a recession and also a return migration of Poles (Mostrous and Seib, 2008). By diversifying the customer base the bakery was less susceptible to these hostile environments and is not now reliant on a small, local Polish consumer. “Our contract [with *Tesco*] is very important to us. Without it we could have a much smaller pool of customers and be more likely to suffer during difficult times”, Agata says.

The Polish bakery highlights that ethnic entrepreneurs often seek break-out from the constraint of servicing a distinctive ethnic cohort to provide services (goods, etc) to the wider population. This supports Ram and Hillin (1994) who are mainly concerned with inter-sectoral shift, where ethnic minority firms seek to penetrate into higher-order mainstream markets unconstrained by a local or a co-ethnic customer base (Jones et al., 2000). They explain that this may sometimes take the form of existing firms adapting through branching out and diversifying, as is the case with the Polish bakery.

Now that the Polish bakery is a successful business, Agata is keen to offer advice and support to other Polish entrepreneurs in the West Midlands. She is a member of the Polish Business Club and regularly attends meetings in order to share her experiences, particularly of how to integrate into the local community. She also works closely with the *British Polish Chamber of Commerce* (BPCC) based in London, who aims to facilitate and develop Polish businesses in the UK, and maintains links between Poland and the UK. Through this she has had discussions with the advisor to the Finance Minister of Poland about how to encourage Polish entrepreneurship

in the UK. Like Silicon Valley's immigrant entrepreneurs, Agata and many of her fellow Polish entrepreneurs rely on this diverse range of social structures and institutions to support their entrepreneurial activities (Saxenian, 2003: p.78), whilst also aiding those of others.

Polish local bakery

At the time of the interview (November, 2009) the business employed fifty members of staff, across its two premises, from a range of nationalities, including both English and Polish. This success and localisation are the reasons why Agata and her husband plan to remain in the Walsall area running their bakery. They also have Polish and English friends in the area that they have "grown close to" and this demonstrates a further aspect to their localisation. Their "life now belongs in the UK, and particularly in Walsall". However, they can easily return to see family in Poland due to cheap and frequent flights brought about by the "myriad technologies" (Oakes and Schein, 2006: p.1), which enable these translocal relationships. The significance of establishing a life beyond the business through the transgression of spatial boundaries and movement between scales of translocality demonstrates that only part of their reason for remaining in Walsall is market-driven (Oakes and Schein, 2006: p.2).

For the time being Agata and her husband are happy to continue the business as they are, but with "an eye on new opportunities". They are planning to maintain their shop premises in Walsall but relocate to bigger premises in Tamworth,

Staffordshire, in order to increase their output and workforce. Tamworth offers cheap premises with excellent transport links, and is close to Walsall, making it an ideal choice to establish a larger factory. Critically, as Agata explains, they do not rule out a change of business direction in the future if the market requires it:

“Our future is here [Walsall] with the business. We love it. We have friends and are thought of as good business people... We are happy as we are right now... with life and the business, and we have our new premises on the way. But, we do not take this for granted. We have ideas in our minds and we are aware that times could become tough again. We need to be ready to respond if they do.” (Agata, Polish Bakery, 2009).

These comments support strategic choice theory which assumes that the key to entrepreneurial success lies in the decisions of individual entrepreneurs who identify opportunities, develop strategies, assemble resources, and demonstrate initiative. Not only do the ‘more fit’ survive, but the ‘more fit’ are those who are best able to read and interpret patterns in the environment and adapt over time. Agata’s bakery illustrates that the ability to adapt would seem less a function of luck, being in the right place at the right time, or having access to resources or information that others do not have, and more a function of the individual entrepreneur, his/her team, and their ability to learn (Levinthal, 1991; Venkataraman and Van de Ven, 1998). Through a carefully timed migration decision, passion, hard work, forward thinking, adaptation, and using translocal relationships and resources, Agata and her husband have created a successful Polish bakery in Walsall, which now serves an ethnically diverse range of customers throughout the UK.

As the business has developed it is now less reliant on the translocal linkages which

it used when it was being established. Family finance and advice have been replaced with support from local instructions. The customer base has diversified, particularly through gaining a contract with *Tesco*. Furthermore, Agata and her husband see their future and the future of the business in the West Midlands. All of this suggests that the business has become a Polish local business. Nevertheless, the concept of translocalism remains an important moment in the evolution of the business. Translocal exchanges are still present through importing Polish ingredients, and interactions with family and friends in Poland. As the business has evolved Agata and her business have become increasingly localised within the surrounding local community, but these local features blend with the translocal.

Case two: Selina, owner of a recruitment agency who migrated in 2004

Selina owns a recruitment agency in Stoke-on-Trent, Staffordshire. She arrived in the UK in September 2004 and established the business on arrival, opening in November 2004. Stoke-On-Trent was selected as her destination as it had a notable Polish community for Selina to base her business around and she also had Polish acquaintances who had already migrated to the city and surrounding areas, such as Stafford. Unlike Agata, being a later migrant entrepreneur, Selina did not see a need to assess the Polish community or the economic climate on arrival. This could be done in Poland before leaving for the UK and she had family and friends in the UK who could advise and support her. The recruitment agency started life as a service to solely Polish jobseekers but as the business evolved it has now come to provide a service for job seekers of all nationalities in a process of localisation.

Timing and support for a professional business

The timing of Selina's migration was a careful decision, based on her business' original reliance on Polish migrants. Returning to a quote already given in Chapter Five explains her choice to migrate in September 2004 and establish her business.

Selina states that:

"I thought about it [migrating] probably in 2003 but I wasn't sure. I mean what if not as many Poles had come as actually have and I'd moved and set up my business? It wouldn't have been so successful. But when I saw how many Poles were leaving [Poland] I thought I would do the same. By this time [2004] I was confident that there was a growing Polish community in England and that this would support my business. To run a Polish recruitment company I obviously needed there to be lots of Poles here [Stoke-on-Trent]. I needed to wait and see where they were so I could decide where to establish my business and get it up and running as soon as I arrived in England" (Selina, Polish recruitment agency, 2009).

Selina is the daughter of entrepreneurial parents. Her parents, who still live in Poland, ran a recruitment agency in Poland. They encouraged her to migrate to England to set up a similar business and "follow in their footsteps". Consequently, they provided all of the financial backing required for the business. They also gave her advice when planning the business and on how to run the business. She explains:

"My mother and father were critical in setting up the business. They gave me the money I needed on the condition that it went into the agency how they saw best. They gave me advice on how the money should be spent and how to run the business in the best way. We were on the phone to each other a lot at the start. They help me less now but sometimes if I have a problem I call them and they tell me what to do" (Selina, Polish recruitment agency, 2009).

Despite Selina's parents' strong involvement in the recruitment agency and their entrepreneurial skills and knowledge, they are not familiar with the entrepreneurial setting of the UK and the local region. She explains that her "parents are great and helpful, but they aren't here [Stoke-On-Trent]. They don't know what's going on in the area like other people do". Therefore Selina looks to other sources for business advice specific to the UK. Some of this advice comes from both English and Polish friends that she has in the region. She also uses the Polish Business Club and the Polish Catholic Club in Birmingham. She comments that:

"Sometimes I need help from other people. I speak to my English friends about things relating to England and the area because they know more than me. I speak to my Polish friends here [Stoke-On-Trent] about things that only Poles will understand or I go to the Polish Catholic Club. We are all in the same situation so we understand each other's issues. And if I have specific business issues I go to the Business Club. We share ideas, discuss problems and encourage getting involved in the local community. We are all Polish business people in the UK so often have the same ideas and problems. Getting together to talk helps" (Selina, Polish recruitment agency, 2009).

The use of West Midlands based support services, even though they have a Polish connection, demonstrates localisation through the importance of local knowledge to Selina's business. It would appear that as the business evolves and as time moves on, although the translocal is still apparent, the local becomes increasingly important. This concept is developed in the following sub-section.

Localisation through services and people

Unlike Polish delicatessens that are dependent on Polish products, Selina's recruitment agency offers a service. Consequently, the products and services that she uses to support the business are all based in the West Midlands and are not Polish run businesses. Such services include accountants, solicitors, and suppliers of office equipment. Selina explains that she uses these business services because they are well-established, provide a good quality service and they are affordable. Ultimately "they don't need to be Polish".

Selina established her business for Polish migrants looking for work in the West Midlands because she saw a gap in the market. However, more Polish migrants obtained work, plus some returned to Poland causing her business to become quieter. She came to realise that her business did not have to be aimed solely at Polish job seekers. Consequently, her business now specialises in helping Poles to find work but through the process of localisation it also helps any English clients who want to use the business. "This means that we're busier and less reliant on the Polish community, especially now some [Poles] have gone home [to Poland]", Selina explains.

Selina highlights the importance of break-out to businesses, such as hers, in order to evolve and survive. She also stresses her desire for localisation and integration into the local economy and community. She explains how opening up the business to English clients helped her to feel more a part of England and her local community. By placing English workers in English companies she has come to know a lot of English

people in her local area. For Selina this is important for promoting and expanding her business but also for feeling that she “belongs to the community”.

The professional sector, and generally post-accession businesses demonstrate a greater propensity for break-out. This also ties in with them offering services that are not limited to the Polish community and an inclination not to employ family members. Selina does not employ any family or friends. This was echoed in other professional businesses, with staff coming from a wider base outside the family. Consequently, these businesses are more localised than those who employ family members. Selina’s business employs a mixture of Polish and English staff, who generally have degrees, a good educational background, or a professional qualification.

This dismissal of family labour and an emphasis on recruiting educated and professional staff contradicts her discussions of her parents’ involvement in the business; she previously emphasised the importance of their advice and financial support. However, she is perhaps using the term loosely to describe extended family members, since her parents are themselves entrepreneurs and therefore should meet the skills she requires for involvement in her business. Selina clarifies this by explaining that there is an important distinction between her parents and friends advising her “from time to time”, and actually employing family members and friends. She comments that:

“Yes, I speak to my parents about work, they help me financially and give me advice, but there is a difference between this and having someone in your family or a friend employed in your business. I mean... there is no way I would have my boyfriend work with me. I don’t want to mix my business with my home and social life. It would cause problems at home and problems at work. It would be very bad for my business” (Selina, Polish recruitment agency, 2009).

Professional Polish entrepreneurs, like Selina, usually do not employ family or friends¹⁵, nor do they rely on translocal linkages for actual labour. They do not see cheap and flexible labour as critical for their business. Alternatively, they emphasise the need of having the most qualified and most suitable employees. However, such entrepreneurs do indicate that they discuss work issues with family members and friends. This pattern for more professional entrepreneurs to seek break-out from family in terms of labour, but maintaining family and friendship ties for advice, suggests that translocal linkages are still important for such businesses. It also demonstrates that a blend of translocal and local interactions are present which have evolved over time through an ongoing process.

Selina intends to continue living and working in Stoke-On-Trent since her business is established and successful. Her business is busier than ever which she attributes to the recession and the high number of people looking for work. Selina may therefore look to expand her business by recruiting more employees and is considering opening another branch in Stafford, as the market in Stoke-On-Trent could become saturated. This reinforces the localised nature of the business. Selina explains that running a successful business involves a constant process of revaluating and looking for opportunities:

¹⁵ 83 per cent of professional sector Polish businesses do not employ family or friends.

“The agency is doing very well at the moment. We are busier than ever. I don’t take this for granted though. It is important to continue to work hard and think of new ideas all the time. So... I am thinking of taking on more staff so that we can deal with more clients. I may also open a new branch in Stafford to expand the business” (Selina, Polish recruitment agency, 2009).

Selina’s business strategies alter as she tries to grow her business and also as she responds to external pressures. This highlights that businesses are not static – they are in a constant state of becoming. Businesses that do not change tend to decline or die. It is also worth considering the relationship between the firm and the individual entrepreneur. For Selina these are one and the same, but for other firms tensions may exist between the expectations of individuals involved with the firm and more dominant members of the management team, particularly when adaptations are occurring.

Selina’s desire to expand the business beyond Stoke-On-Trent means that through adaptation, new localities within the UK may be incorporated in a process of localisation. This localisation is also evident through break-out from serving Polish customers and an integration into the local community. Selina’s recruitment agency is a Polish local business. It is a local business which is Polish run. Nevertheless, it does demonstrate some translocal relationships through interactions with family and friends who live in Poland and provide advice for the business. The result is that the translocal and localised elements of the business blend together, with the composition of this blend changing as the business evolves.

Both the cases of Agata and Selina explore the processes involved in Polish migrant firms. They highlight concepts which were identified at the outset of the research, and also identify new ones, providing a deeper understanding of the research. As such, the cases can be used to revise the conceptual approach that was initially proposed for the research in Chapter Three.

8.4 Polish local entrepreneurship and timing: a revised conceptual approach

The entrepreneurs presented in the case studies have a number of similarities with other Polish entrepreneurs in the West Midlands. They migrated to the UK in order to establish a business in response to EU accession in 2004 and they used translocal exchanges to establish these businesses and to help them run effectively. The entrepreneurs often had moral and financial support from a translocal circle of friends and family. However, the degree to which translocal relationships were used varies between the businesses.

The two cases represent Polish entrepreneurs in the West Midlands. For service sector businesses which are often Polish-focused, such as Agata's bakery, early migration prior to accession is an important factor in order to establish the business in advance and capitalise on the flows of migrants with accession, with entrepreneurs often working in other jobs in order to save for their business. Translocal exchanges are critical to these businesses, although these become less important over time. Localisation and break-out is desirable to help the business succeed and grow. If this is achieved they become Polish local businesses. For professional sector businesses, such as Selina's recruitment agency, the timing of

migration was less critical and often came after accession. Such businesses are less reliant on translocal linkages and tend to be very localised with often little mention of the business being Polish. These are Polish local businesses.

These cases are of value because they give a deeper insight into Polish entrepreneurship, and satisfy the aims of the thesis more fully than the briefer examples used in the previous empirical chapters. As such this deeper understanding can be used to modify the conceptual approach proposed in Chapter Three and to adapt the themes of the research accordingly. Firstly, timing can be seen to operate in a number of ways. This involves the timing of the decision to migrate and to set up a business, and also the timing of activities, such as business adaptation through break-out. Timing can be influenced by governance decisions such as accession, but also by the stage in the life of the entrepreneur and their lifestyle. The second theme which becomes apparent through the use of the case study approach is the blend of translocal relationships and the engagement of Polish entrepreneurs in localities. The composition of the blend of translocal and local changes over time and is an ongoing process. These two previously separate themes are therefore combined. The blend of translocal and local is achieved through business adaptation strategies. Therefore, business adaptation should not be seen as a separate theme. Instead it should be viewed as operating as an enabling factor to the two main themes of timing and translocality/localisation.

In response, the conceptual approach to understanding Polish entrepreneurship in the UK, proposed in Chapter Three, has been revised in order to incorporate these new issues for consideration, which have been highlighted by the case study

approach. The case study approach also explores in detail how the themes of the conceptual approach are interrelated. The revised conceptual approach still maintains the concept of *timing*. However, the drivers to the timing of the migration, which were previously considered, are only one type of timing involved here. This involves the role of governance (exogenous factors) and lifestyle circumstances (endogenous factors). *Business adaptations* have been modified to show how they are intrinsically linked to timing. This timing of business activities/adaptations is the second type of timing involved. The conceptual approach has also been altered to replace transnational relationships with the significance of *translocal relationships*, due to the importance of local-to-local interactions evident in the research. Linked to this, the revised conceptual approach does not consider purely local entrepreneurship, as suggested in the initial approach. The case study approach revealed that business adaptations and the careful timing of decisions operate in the background as enabling factors, which allow a *blend of translocal and local*. This is the final revision to the conceptual approach, which provides a theoretically and empirically grounded conceptual approach to investigating Polish migrant entrepreneurship in the UK.

8.5 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to identify the primary themes of Polish entrepreneurship in the West Midlands and to assess how the themes work together, using the analysis from the empirical chapters and two case studies selected in the sample of entrepreneurs used for the study. The case study approach “allows a particular issue to be studied in depth and from a variety of perspectives”

(Kitchin and Tate, 2000: p.225) and in this case also enables the complete process to be explored.

The cases demonstrate how Polish entrepreneurship in the West Midlands involves a complex set of processes. The concept of timing can be understood in two ways. First, through the timing of the decision to migrate and establish a business, and secondly through the timing of activities involved in running the business, such as business adaptations for growth or survival. The timing of the migration is particular to the sector in question with retail/ service sector businesses showing a propensity for migration prior to accession and professional sector businesses often migrating post-accession. Translocal exchanges were present in both cases, particularly through the provision of family finance and also advice. However, translocal exchanges are more prevalent in the case of Agata's bakery since this is a business which relies on its Polish identity and some Polish supplies. Selina's recruitment agency does not view Polish identity as essential in order to trade and therefore translocal exchanges are less necessary. Both businesses show evidence of a weakening of translocal relationships as the businesses evolve and an increasing localisation with the development of Polish local businesses. This localisation is also present in the attachment of Agata and Selina to their localities (Walsall and Stoke-On-Trent). This localisation is given as one of the reasons why both entrepreneurs intend to stay in their new localities, rather than returning to Poland. In doing so they are both looking to expand their businesses and are constantly in a process of seeking innovative ideas, ensuring that they do not become complacent. These elements of localisation, present in both businesses, are combined with translocal

relationships. The composition of blend of the concepts of localisation and translocality varies between businesses and evolves over time in an ongoing process.

Most importantly, the cases have provided a rich account of the types of Polish business that are present in the West Midlands and the key themes involved in their existence. The case studies have allowed the original themes and conceptual approach for understanding Polish entrepreneurship, proposed in Chapter Three, to be revised in light of the issues raised by them. The next chapter provides the concluding arguments of the thesis, drawing together the key points of analysis from the chapters and suggesting new avenues for future research.

CHAPTER NINE

TRANSLOCAL POLISH MIGRANT ENTREPRENEURS: A SUMMARY

9.1 Introduction

Polish entrepreneurship is an important element of ethnic entrepreneurship in the West Midlands; it provides livelihoods, generates employment, and contributes to local economic growth. A review of the literature on ethnic entrepreneurship and EU accession identified key issues that are important for understanding the rise and role of Polish entrepreneurs in the West Midlands. These include: the absence of studies on transnational entrepreneurship (Yeung, 2007); the preoccupation of existing studies of ethnic entrepreneurship with established migrant groups such as Afro-Caribbean's, South Asians and Chinese (Ram et al., 2007); the limited understanding of Polish entrepreneurship and the main factors that drive this; and the lack of studies on the entrepreneurial environment and of studies that combine the themes of the entrepreneur, the entrepreneurial business and the entrepreneurial environment (Kiggundu, 2001). These gaps have been explored in this study through empirical research on Polish migrant entrepreneurship in the West Midlands.

This chapter explores the main contributions of this study, and highlights the strengths and constraints of the key concepts and conceptual approaches used. After the introduction, the current state of knowledge on Polish entrepreneurship in the West Midlands is revisited. The third section re-examines the aims and objectives of the study, discusses the main contributions that it makes and how they add to the

field of knowledge; the fourth section reflects on the study, highlighting the difficulties encountered during the course of the research and proposes avenues for future research, and the fifth section concludes the thesis.

9.2 The current state of knowledge on Polish entrepreneurship

Previous studies on ethnic entrepreneurship frequently treat ethnic minorities as a homogenous group (Chavan and Agarwal, 1998; Hardill and Raghuram, 2002). This is not to suggest that there are no studies that focus on specific minority groups (Barn, 2000; Ram et al., 2000). A number of studies of various groups of immigrant entrepreneurs in developed countries have been undertaken (Kloosterman and Rath, 2003). Many studies of ethnic entrepreneurship initially emerged from the field of sociology (Srinivasan, 1992; Saxenian, 1999). These included studies based around 'structural' perspectives in which discrimination in the workplace encouraged minority ethnics to consider self-employment as an alternative to employment.

Studies of entrepreneurship cover a wide range of themes and concepts, exploring factors from start-ups to the role of networks and social capital (Bonacich, 1973; Aldrich and Waldinger, 1990; Ram, 1994; Kloosterman and Rath, 2003; Sundaramurthy, 2008). Whilst there is an abundance of literature on ethnic entrepreneurship, there are some gaps which reflect the lack of focus on important variables such as the entrepreneurial environment. Although some studies have addressed the entrepreneurial environment, it has been highly fragmented (Gnyawali and Fogel, 1994), often failing to provide a detailed understanding of how

the environment spawns new entrepreneurs and generates new businesses (Thorton and Flynn, 2005), and linking individual entrepreneurs to the external business environment they operate in (Thorton, 1999).

The literature on entrepreneurship more broadly currently lacks integration and cross-fertilisation between entrepreneurship and international business studies. This has been the main obstacle to a fuller understanding of the nature and processes of transnational entrepreneurship (Yeung, 2007). Furthermore, in some of the studies that have investigated transnational entrepreneurship there is a failure to consider what transnational entrepreneurship actually consists of and how businesses generate value by bringing together activities based around the globe (Basch et al., 1996; Yeung, 2002).

From a methodological perspective, many studies on ethnic entrepreneurship have been criticised for using a generalisation approach and conservative methodologies, such as standardised surveys (Halkias et al., 2010). Consequently, it has been suggested that holistic frameworks and methodologies that take into account entrepreneurs' behaviour in the micro, meso and macro environmental setting are most appropriate (Halkias et al., 2010).

In addition to literature on ethnic entrepreneurship, literature on EU accession migration, with a focus on Poland, was explored. EU accession in 2004 saw an unprecedented influx of migrants to the UK from the NMS, in particular Poland. It is clear that many of these migrants wish to migrate for the purpose of employment

and there is a large amount of literature on Polish workers and the lives of Polish migrants in the UK (Drinkwater et. al, 2006; Eade et al., 2006; Fomina, 2009; Stenning and Dawley, 2009). However, these studies rarely identify Polish migrants as a source of new enterprise (Barnes and Cox, 2007). This is despite the visible signs of such entrepreneurship in towns and villages throughout the UK. Furthermore, the *British-Polish Chamber of Commerce* (BPCC) estimates that there are currently 40,000 Polish entrepreneurs who have set up businesses in the UK (Pollard et al., 2008: p.44). Although there is a sizable Polish population in the UK, which is reflected in the significant literature on the topic, the absence of detailed research into self-employed Polish migrants reflects the need for further research. There are some existing studies into Polish entrepreneurship but these are limited (Lassalle et al., 2011a; Lassalle et al., 2011b; Helinska-Hughes et al., 2009; Vershinina et al., 2009). Therefore, Polish entrepreneurship was identified as a gap in existing research on both ethnic entrepreneurship and EU accession.

The identification of the above gaps led to the formulation of the aims and objectives and the development of a conceptual approach that draws on four elements. These components include: the main factors that drive the timing of the migration of Polish entrepreneurs and their desire to establish a business; the transnational relationships and the role of family and friends in migration and the running of a business; the entrepreneurial environment within which businesses operate and to understand the impact this has on entrepreneurs' business aspirations and adaptations; and local entrepreneurship with attention given to the relationship that Polish migrant entrepreneurs have between place and locality.

These elements are further placed in wider conditions (Polish community, social status, extended family and culture), as well as the micro economy. To test the conceptual approach, a theoretically informed empirical study has been undertaken on Polish migrant entrepreneurship. The analysis of the existing literature led to the identification of research gaps which have informed the construction of the conceptual approach and led to the formulation of the aims and objectives of the study.

9.3 Contribution to the field of knowledge

The primary focus of this study is to understand the rise and role of Polish entrepreneurs in the UK by investigating Polish entrepreneurs in the West Midlands. The case studies of Polish entrepreneurs are used to examine the behaviour and attitudes of Polish entrepreneurs, to identify the main factors that drive the timing of the migration for entrepreneurship; to explore the translocal relationships used to establish and run a business; and to examine the environment within which Polish entrepreneurs operate.

The study has used qualitative tools to analyse the data gathered from forty-eight interviews with Polish entrepreneurs, eleven business associations, institutions and key individuals, and two in-depth case studies, which provide a rich picture and add realism to the analysis of the lives and experiences of entrepreneurs. Building on the work of other researchers the study adopted a holistic methodological approach (Dana, 2005; De Bruin et al., 2007).

The study has contributed to the field of knowledge in the following areas: the motivation of the timing of migration and the entrepreneurial act (pre-accession and post-accession business differences); translocal linkages (family, friends, finance, products, services and people); localisation (Polish local businesses); business networks (formal business support associations, religious institutions, and key community members); and finally, business adaptations (break-out and hostile environments) and business plans (remaining in the UK or returning to Poland). These will now be explored in turn.

Timing and the entrepreneurial act

The timing of the migration of Polish entrepreneurs to the West Midlands highlights an important contribution to the field of knowledge. Most of the migrants interviewed chose to migrate prior to accession in order to capitalise on the opportunities that would be created by enlargement. For these entrepreneurs EU enlargement was a crucial external (exogenous) driver to migration. However, there were other internal (endogenous) drivers operating which played a critical role. Such businesses are largely concentrated in the retail and service sector including delicatessens, hairdressers and car garages. These entrepreneurs pre-empted the need for Polish businesses in the UK and by doing so maximised their profit and likelihood of success. A key internal driver in the timing of their migration was to have the time before accession to carry out localised learning (Cope, 2003). Such entrepreneurs possess motivational characteristics such as a need for achievement, self-efficacy, and goal setting (Shane et al., 2003). The moment of entrepreneurship

for these individuals was generally when they migrated from Poland, as they maintained a constant desire to establish a business once in the UK. In spite of this, they were initially employed on arrival in the UK, using employment as a tactic to make a successful transition to self-employment using an ECCA self-employment visa.

The timing of the migration of entrepreneurs whose businesses were established after 1st May 2004 was influenced by EU enlargement, but with other factors having an effect. These entrepreneurs were more cautious in their plans and therefore waited to see the initial response to accession before committing to a decision to migrate and develop their enterprise. For this reason they may be viewed as followers to the more risk-taking pre-accession entrepreneurs. These businesses are professional services such as recruitment agencies and mortgages advisors, suggesting that different business types require different migration timing and strategies. Their moment of entrepreneurship generally came before migration since they spent time in Poland saving money, and putting the initial plans of the business together. Unlike pre-accession entrepreneurs, post-accession entrepreneurs entered immediately into self-employment on arrival in the UK.

What is common amongst both groups is evidence of carefully constructed decisions regarding the timing of 'searching' for migration and entrepreneurial opportunities. Also, the external prompt of accession is the key factor in the decision to migrate. Without accession these Poles probably would not have migrated or set up a business in the UK at this time, since enlargement made the UK more visible to

Poles. This worked both ways as enlargement also made Poles more visible to the UK. EU enlargement gave them the opportunity to come to the UK and also allowed other migrants to migrate, creating the customer base that these enterprises required. The internal prompts to migration operate with the external influence of the timing of EU enlargement working in the background. This demonstrates the active nature of the timing decision to migrate and establish a business, the series of incremental decision involved and therefore, the utility of the concept of timing when discussing entrepreneurship amongst Polish migrants.

Translocal to localisation

Polish entrepreneurs in the West Midlands are significantly influenced by family, co-ethnics and supporting institutions. This influence can be seen in three ways 1) finance; 2) product, service and trading relationships; and 3) labour and people. Family is particularly important for those migrants who set up their business prior to accession since they provided crucial financial assistance and advice. For those who migrated after accession, migrating to maintain ties with family and friends who had already relocated to the UK was an important factor in their business decisions. The exchange of business advice and support is made through family, friends and supporting institutions, such as the Catholic Church and the recently founded Polish Business Club.

Through relationships with family, friends and support networks, Polish entrepreneurs in the West Midlands sustain translocal linkages. The study argues

that relationships across national borders link specific persons with specific locales. Accordingly, the concept of translocality opens a new dimension in the study of immigrant economic adaptation because it focuses explicitly on the significance of resilient cross-border ties. Too much emphasis can be placed on the role of ethnicity and national belonging in the lives of migrants. 'Translocal' is sometimes a more helpful label than 'transnational' (White, 2011: p.1) since 'transnational' neglects the relationships occurring between localities in favour of relationships on a national level. The flows of finance, ideas and products from Poland to the UK are just some of the ways in which translocalism can be seen within Polish entrepreneurship. These flows transcend national borders. Local-local connections are made between Poland and the UK, with importance given to individual decisions made and the lives of those involved.

The empirical chapters highlighted the translocal exchanges used by Polish entrepreneurs. These are exchanges between individuals in the locality in the West Midlands and the locality in Poland, rather than exchanges between the nations of the UK and Poland. Translocal exchanges involve the flows of ideas, products, finance and people. They are particularly important before the businesses are established and in the early stages of running the businesses. The case study approach shows how Polish businesses evolve over time and demonstrates a weakening of translocal relationships and an increasing localisation with the development of Polish local businesses. Such Polish local businesses are Polish run, but they are integrated into their local communities; often employing English staff, serving English customers, and using local business support networks.

Nevertheless, translocal relationships are still critical in the functioning of Polish businesses. Despite becoming increasingly localised, Polish delicatessens largely stock Polish products which are imported from their homeland through translocal exchanges. Other Polish entrepreneurs often remain dependent on Polish family and friends for finance or advice, which involves a series of translocal exchanges. Further translocal exchanges are maintained thanks to the advent of cheap air travel. Many Polish entrepreneurs can easily visit family and friends by travelling back and forth between their locality of origin in Poland and their new locality in the West Midlands, which many now refer to as home. Whilst the Polish migrant entrepreneurs appeared to be rooted in the West Midlands on the one hand, on the other they also demonstrate fluidity of movement. Therefore, whilst translocality may become less significant as a business evolves and becomes increasingly localised, it still remains an important aspect to the functioning of Polish enterprises and particularly for maintaining relationships with family. All Polish migrant enterprises demonstrated a blend of translocal and local. What varies from business to business is the composition of the blend and how the blend evolves. This evolution from translocal to local is an ongoing process.

Whilst this study contributes to the field of knowledge through the concepts of translocalism and localisation, it does not explore details of the localities of origin of entrepreneurs in Poland since this was beyond the scope of the research. This is something that could be developed through future research into Polish translocal and localised entrepreneurs.

Business networks

Related to the concept of localisation is that of business networks. The study found that a high proportion (75 per cent) of the entrepreneurs were, or had been, engaged in various types of business association, support institution, or in dialogues with key individuals from the entrepreneurial or Polish community. The study highlighted that such associations and individuals were perceived as attractive as they provided: opportunities for networking; community involvement; advice on life in the UK; sources of business information; funding streams; training and development workshops; as well as potential clients and markets. The study identified that entrepreneurs were attracted to business associations and supporting institutions, however, they also emphasised that business specific and Polish specific needs were not often met at the same time, as support provided was general and often related to one factor or the other. Associations which were centred on entrepreneurship in the UK were the most commonly used since they are the most abundant. Polish organisations unrelated to business or entrepreneurship were also frequently used. Only two associations specifically related to Polish entrepreneurship were identified (which supports that business specific and Polish specific needs were not often met at the same time), but their use was extremely popular with Polish entrepreneurs. Polish entrepreneurs therefore access more mainstream and localised support networks as the existence of Polish entrepreneurial support networks is limited.

Business adaptations and plans

Polish entrepreneurs in the West Midlands show strong evidence of adaptation in their businesses, and this leads to localisation. An understanding of this is important as it demonstrates how and why a business evolves, and how what once was perceived as a distinctly Polish business can become localised in its new community. Adaptation occurs for two main reasons. The first is adaptation to grow the business. This is more common amongst post-accession entrepreneurs and often takes the form of expanding their business portfolio. The most prevalent reason for business adaption amongst Polish entrepreneurs is adaptation to hostile environments. These environments include recession, supermarkets stocking Polish products and return migration of Poles. Adaptation to such factors is apparent amongst both pre-accession and post-accession businesses whose owners are 'searchers' (Eade et al., 2006) for new entrepreneurial opportunities. Adaptation strategies include diversification of the business, cost reduction, and scaling up. Break-out is also an important adaptation strategy. This is more evident amongst post-accession businesses. They are keen to grow their businesses and adapt to hostile environments by serving the non-ethnic population. Some pre-accession businesses do not wish to achieve break-out and want to keep 'business as usual'. In some cases, family and friends were seen to be inhibiting break-out through extensive use of translocal relationships, such as those businesses that only recruit staff from within the family and are consequently less open to adaptation advice from external sources.

The majority of respondents (90 per cent) intend to remain in the UK for the foreseeable future. However, the reasons behind this choice vary between pre-accession and post-accession migrants. Pre-accession migrants give non-economic reasons for staying in the UK. They state that family and friends are important to them and they will stay in the UK as they are settled here. Post-accession businesses, on the other hand, give business-first and money-first (Basu, 2004) reasons for remaining the UK, with a focus on their aspirations for the future of the business.

Overall, Polish entrepreneurs appear to be highly adaptable, particularly in turbulent times. They are aware that their business ventures must change to remain profitable. Whilst some are keen to grow their business, many Polish entrepreneurs with retail businesses are satisfiers, with a limited interest in growth. Polish migrant entrepreneurs place importance on the future of their businesses, generally with a desire to remain in the UK running their businesses. However, the significance of family and lifestyle in the UK demonstrates that the aspirations of Polish entrepreneurs to remain in the UK are not always strictly entrepreneurial.

A revised conceptual approach to understanding Polish entrepreneurship

The case studies used in Chapter Eight gave a deeper insight into Polish migrant entrepreneurship than the evidence used in the empirical chapters. They provide a more holistic understanding and they highlight issues that would otherwise not have been recognised. In response, the initial conceptual approach for understanding

Polish migrant entrepreneurship in the UK (provided in Chapter Three) has been modified to include the new themes discovered through the case study approach.

Firstly, the revised conceptual approach includes *timing*, which operates in two ways. This involves the timing of the decision to migrate and to set up a business. This is influenced most significantly by governance decisions (exogenous factors) and also by lifestyle circumstances (endogenous factors). The timing of activities, such as business adaptation through break-out, is the other influence of timing. The second theme which becomes apparent through the use of the case study approach is *translocal relationships*, which replaces the earlier notion of transnational relationships. The case of Polish entrepreneurs in the West Midlands demonstrates how interactions involved in the businesses take place from locality to locality, rather than nation to nation, therefore suggesting the utility of the concept of translocality rather than transnationalism. The conceptual approach also takes into account the *blend of translocal and the local*. This involves the interaction between translocal relationships and the engagement of Polish entrepreneurs in localities. The composition of the blend of translocal and local changes over time and is an ongoing process. The blend of translocal and local is achieved through carefully timed business adaptation strategies. Therefore, *business adaptations* should be viewed as operating as an enabling factor to the main themes of timing and the blend of the translocal and the local.

Unlike the original conceptual approach, the revised approach is not based solely on the general literature; it takes into account Polish entrepreneurs' behaviour and

experiences. More importantly, it takes into account the importance of different drivers to the timing of migration and the establishment of a business, and how the relationships and strategies involved in running a business evolve over time. The new conceptual approach is a model that is not specific to the Polish entrepreneurs investigated in this study, but one that is flexible and that can be applied to other East European migrant entrepreneurs, in other regions of the UK, and other countries throughout Europe, bearing in mind cultural and country specific differences. It could be continually monitored to implement changes in the political or entrepreneurial environment and to assess the environments within which businesses operate.

9.4 What does the research mean for debates in geography and beyond?

The thesis has identified a number of key themes and concepts which have significant relevance to debates in geography, other disciplines, and also for policy and the media. Within geography, it highlights the importance of the concept of timing. Geographers have previously treated time in a relatively unsophisticated manner (Merriman, 2011). It has been seen as a passive noun-based concept (Thrift, 1983), rather than as an active verb-based concept. The notion of timing acknowledges the active nature of the concept. In the case of Polish migrant entrepreneurs the active nature of timing is evident in a number of ways. It demonstrates the importance of the timing of a political event (in this case EU accession) and events outside the control of the individual. In an active manner, the experience of individuals was moderated by a change in policy. The timing of this

political intervention changed the behaviour of individuals as they exercised agency in their involvement in migrating and establishing a business in their new locality. The research also highlights the carefully constructed decisions involved in the timing of both migration and firm formation. Through understanding these incidents as active the appropriateness of the concept of timing is illustrated. Geographers need to develop a much deeper understanding of the relationship between space, place and timing. To develop this argument further, one could argue that the focus of much geographical research should be on understanding processes of spacing, placing and timing. Accordingly, we need to shift what has been known as 'time geography' towards a geography of 'timing'.

This argument acknowledges that related to discussions of time geographies, are those of space, with the two often being considered together as time-space geographies (Hägerstrand, 1970; Giddens, 1979; Giddens, 1981; Thrift, 1983). The thesis also contributes towards a geography of spacing, rather than space, through its consideration of the interplay between translocality and localisation. Translocality involves exchanges between individuals in their locality of origin in Poland and their new locality in the UK. Localisation is characterised by integration into the new locality and interactions with other people within that locality. The two concepts are therefore inherently spatial. Whilst the importance of concepts for Polish migrant entrepreneurs have been identified, further research is required into the interplay between the translocal and the local and how the blend between the two evolves within different businesses. The research should also begin to challenge conventional approaches to globalisation by developing a more nuanced and place

embedded approach to understanding the nature of the spatial interactions that occur between locales or places.

The Polish entrepreneurs in this study are situated within discussions of highly skilled (Bhagwati, 1979; Salt, 1992; Vertovec, 2002; Düvell, 2004) and unskilled migrants (Düvell, 2004; McDowell et al., 2009). They can be viewed as highly skilled migrants since they migrated and established their own business ventures, even though some of their businesses may traditionally be associated with unskilled occupations. This highlights the division of highly skilled and unskilled migrant workers in the literature. Future research could investigate the link between these two groups, which are often seen as separate. Geographers need to begin to unpack skills. For the purposes of this study they need to explore the ways in which family and friends are used to bring together different skill sets and the knowledge that is required to establish and run a business.

Within broader debates, the migration and the creation of wealth brought about by entrepreneurship present in this research should be seen as part of the globalisation field of study. The research demonstrates this through the flows of capital and people. It also raises the issue of how global migration is mediated at different geographical scales. The experiences of Polish migrant entrepreneurs in the West Midlands region are part of the wider migration system. This involves a variety of migration and employment experiences, ranging from Filipino domestic carers working in Amsterdam (Anderson, 2000), to Chinese 'astronaut' migrants in Vancouver (Waters, 2000).

This research also has important implications for policy making and the media. Accession migration has attracted sustained press interest, both locally and nationally. Initial reports characterised Polish migrants as 'job-takers' (Doughty, 2007), highlighting an unquestioned assumption that Poles in the UK are employees rather than employers. In contrast, this thesis suggests that there is a highly visible and active proportion of the Polish population who are self-employed 'job-makers'. This should be considered by both the media and policy makers to present a more balanced view of the Polish community in the UK. This research could also be used in policy making by providing an indication of the needs of Polish entrepreneurs for business advice and business planning, as well as understanding the system of establishing a business in the UK.

9.5 Reflection on the research process and the future research agenda

The purpose of this section is to highlight some of the difficulties that have been experienced during the course of this research and to explore them. The study has been constrained by several factors. First, there is an absence of reliable data on Polish entrepreneurs in the UK, and there is no comprehensive database that records all Polish businesses. Therefore, those businesses included in the study are those which were visible to me when passing through local areas, those which were listed on the internet, and those which were accessed through gatekeepers. As a result there will be Polish businesses which have been excluded from this study.

Some of the themes discussed in the thesis were only touched upon during data collection. During the data analysis, new themes emerged which required further attention, but they had not been explored in detail during the interview. For some of these themes follow up interviews were arranged to gain the extra information necessary for these to be included in the thesis. Due to time constraints and some themes being beyond the scope of the thesis some of the more complex themes could not be included in the analysis. Such themes include a consideration of translocal processes centred in Poland, a comparison with established ethnic minority groups such as the Chinese or South Asians, a comparison with other EU accession migrants, and gender relationships amongst Polish entrepreneurs. In future care should be taken to ensure that there is more time for the researcher to return to the field to collect more evidence if required.

Although information was gathered from a substantial number of businesses and supporting institutions there is a reliance on a small sub-sample of the respondents. This is due to the poor quality of some of the data. In some cases interviews were cut short by respondents because they had to attend to their businesses. In other instances language limitations resulted in a reduced amount of information being obtained.

The research provides a conceptual approach that could be further tested by extending the sample for the survey to represent a wider geographical population. This would increase the confidence in the assessment of the characteristics of Polish entrepreneurs and help to limit the chances of sampling error. It would also allow a

country-wide comparative analysis of Polish businesses in different geographical locations.

The research presented in this study provides a platform upon which to construct a better understanding of Polish entrepreneurship in the UK. The results suggest that there is scope for future research that explores the conceptual model further. Future studies could explore the application of the conceptual approach to different geographical settings (in the UK and beyond) and to migrant entrepreneurs who originate from other EU accession countries. Comparative studies would highlight relationships between the different components of the entrepreneurial conceptual approach and the fine-tuning that could be made with different contexts.

The research has noted the existence of an older generation of Polish migrants in the West Midlands. They offer advice and support to migrants through the Catholic Church and the Polish Clubs in the region. However, these relationships and interactions would benefit from further enquiry. This older generation, or their offspring, many actually be self-employed, but this was not the focus of the research, nor were any of the businesses identified run by older generations of Poles. The existence of an older generation of Polish entrepreneurs could be an avenue for future research.

The role of Polish self-employed women could be further investigated. Forty-four per cent of the respondents were women, and the two selected case studies were also female run enterprises. Whilst this was beyond the scope of the research, the

information obtained highlights the presence of Polish self-employed women in the West Midlands, suggesting the need for future research into their experiences. This is supported by Ram (1997) who suggests that self-employment amongst migrant women is an under researched topic.

The research also highlighted the need to explore further the role and contribution of business associations and supporting institutions in Polish entrepreneurship, the types of advice they provide to businesses, and whether most support is sought from ethnic or non-ethnic organisations.

Further research could examine the import and export activities of Polish businesses in the UK economy: the role of importing in order to sell or produce products, the role of direct and indirect exporting and the responsibility of the state for facilitating export activities. Additionally, the role and the contribution of Polish entrepreneurs in the informal economy could be explored, together with the transition process from informal to formal sector business owners.

The analysis has also demonstrated a need for greater understanding of the employment of family members by Polish entrepreneurs; the impact of family labour on business and local economic development, bearing in mind that entrepreneurs sometimes employ relatives without providing remuneration.

Furthermore, the thesis has revealed the existence of a group of successful entrepreneurs who have multiple businesses and have grown these businesses beyond the micro level. Future research could explore the behaviour of these

entrepreneurs across different sectors of economic activity to highlight their similarities and differences; to identify what leads to success; and monitor their progress and success over a period of time to understand their characteristics, their behaviour and coping strategies by comparing them with less successful Polish entrepreneurs.

In contrast to this, the hostile environments faced by Polish entrepreneurs have led to some businesses failing and to other entrepreneurs who intended to return to Poland. Future research, could investigate the causes of failed Polish businesses, reasons for return migration amongst Polish entrepreneurs, and the plans for these individuals following their entrepreneurial ventures.

Although it was touched upon in the literature review, the significance of the concept of translocality and its transition to localisation as these businesses evolve only became apparent during the course of the interviews and through the case study approach. Respondents described the multiple ways in which they utilised translocal relationships in the establishment and running of their businesses, particularly the role of their local Polish community in the West Midlands and family finance and advice from relations in their locality of origin in Poland. Although I obtained an abundance of empirical evidence related to the local lives of Polish entrepreneurs in the UK, I do not have significant information on their local lives in Poland before they migrated, how they currently operate in this locality, if they return for any periods of time, and any impact that this may have on their businesses. Consequently, the shift from translocal to local, and the extent to which

translocal ties are maintained, would be a highly appropriate topic for future research into the background of Polish entrepreneurship.

9.6 Summary and Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to revisit the aims of the research and to draw conclusions regarding Polish entrepreneurship in the West Midlands. This thesis has contributed knowledge and understanding to four areas of entrepreneurship:

- 1) Understanding the motivation of the timing of migration and the entrepreneurial act. Part of this analysis has been to highlight the importance of timing in the entrepreneurial process and perhaps, more importantly, to alert geographers to the difference between time and timing.
- 2) Explored the importance of translocal linkages through family, friends, finance, products, services and people, and how this evolves to localisation. This alerts geographers to the concept of spacing.
- 3) Explored the role played by business networks in the Polish migrant entrepreneurial process.
- 4) Highlighted the business adaptations and business plans present amongst Polish entrepreneurs.

Polish entrepreneurs in the West Midlands are 'searchers' (Eade et al., 2006) for new entrepreneurial opportunities. They migrated to the UK to establish a business, fundamentally as a result of the external driver of EU accession. Whilst there were

internal drivers operating, without EU accession it is unlikely that the majority of these migrants would have migrated and established a business. A large proportion (75 per cent) of Polish entrepreneurs migrated prior to accession, but in response to the announcement that accession would take place. They did so by entering into employment (perhaps illegally) before making a transition to self-employment using the ECAA self-employment visa, or by immediately entering self-employment. The purpose of pre-accession migration was to establish the business in time for accession to capitalise on the flows of migrants that were expected at that time. Businesses of owners who migrated prior to accession are largely retail and service based, with those of owners who migrated following accession being from professional enterprises.

Translocal relationships are critical to the functioning of Polish businesses; this is particularly evident through family finance and advice that they provide. It plays a greater role in pre-accession businesses, with this role diminishing over time as the business becomes more established and localised. However, a blend of the translocal and the local is present, with the composition of this blend varying from business to business and evolving over time through an ongoing process.

Polish entrepreneurs are highly aware of the entrepreneurial environment in which they operate. They have clearly defined business aspirations and are keen to adapt for growth and to respond to hostile business environments, particularly through achieving break-out. The majority of Polish migrant entrepreneurs intend to remain in the West Midlands, continuing to run their businesses. They consider it is

important to stay given the dedication and hard work that they, and their families, have put into establishing their businesses and also because their localities within the West Midlands are now the places that they call home.

Entrepreneurship amongst Polish migrants in the West Midlands highlights concepts which have significant relevance to debates in geography. Through identifying the importance of timing in the entrepreneurial process, the research alerts geographers to the difference between time and timing. It also highlights the utility of the concept of translocality as an alternative to transnationalism. In doing so, it suggests avenues for future research into the concept of timing and the local lives of migrants in both their locality of origin and their new locality.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abel, G.J. (2010). Estimation of international migration flow tables in Europe. *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society A*, 173, 4, 797-825.

Accenture (2003). *When Good Management Shows: Creating Value in an Uncertain Economy*. Available at:

http://www.accenture.com/Global/Research_and_Insights/By_Subject/Finance_and_Performance_Mgmt/Enterprise_Performance_Mgmt/WhenEconomy.htm
(accessed 16th June 2011).

Acs, Z.J. and Armington, C. (2006). *Entrepreneurship, Geography and American Economic Growth: Introduction*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Aldrich, H.E., Carter, J.C., Jones, P.T. and McEvoy, D. (1981). Business development and self-employment segregation: Asian enterprise in three British cities. In Peach, C., Robinson, V. and Smith, S. (Eds.) *Ethnic Segregation in Cities*. London, Croom Helm.

Aldrich, H.E., Jones, P.T. and McEvoy, D. (1984). Ethnic advantage and minority business development. In Ward, R. and Jenkins, R. (Eds.) *Ethnic Communities in business: Strategies for Economic Survival*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Aldrich, H.E., Elam, A. and Reese, P. (1997). Strong ties, weak ties, and strangers: do women owners differ from men in their use of networking to obtain assistance? In Birley, S. and MacMillan, I.C. (Eds.) *Entrepreneurship in a Global Context*. London: Routledge.

Aldrich, H.E. (1999). *Organizations Evolving*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Aldrich, H.E. and Cliff, J.E. (2003). The pervasive effects of family on entrepreneurship: toward a family embeddedness perspective. *Journal of Business Venturing*, Vol. 18, No. 5, 573-96.

Aldrich, H.E. and Ruef, M. (2006). *Organizations Evolving* (2nd edition). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Aldrich, H. E. and Waldinger, R. (1990). Ethnicity and entrepreneurship. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 16, 111-135.

Aldrich, H.E., and Zimmer, C. (1986). Entrepreneurship through social networks. In Sexton, D.L and Smilor, R.W. (Eds.) *The Art and Science of Entrepreneurship*, 3–23. Cambridge, MA: Ballinger.

Altheide, D.L. and Johnson, J.J. (1994). Criteria for assessing interpretive validity in qualitative research. In: Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y. (Eds.) *The Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Altman, E. I. (1983). *Corporate Financial Distress: A Complete Guide to Predicting, Avoiding, and Dealing with Bankruptcy*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Amit, R. (1994) *Frontiers of Entrepreneurship Research*. Available at: <http://www.babson.edu/entrep/fer/papers94/amit.htm> (accessed 18th August 2010).
- Amit, R., Glosten, L. and Muller, E. (1990). Entrepreneurial Ability, Venture Investments, and Risk Sharing. *Management Science*, 36, 1233-1246.
- Anderson, B. (2000). *Doing the Dirty Work: The Global Politics of Domestic Labour*. London: Zed Books.
- Anderson, B., Ruhs, M., Rogaly, B. and Spencer, S. (2006). *Fair Enough? Central and East European Migrants in Low-Wage Employment in the UK*. Available at: <http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/changingstatus/index.shtml#fair> (accessed 22nd June 2009)
- Anderson, K. and Jack, D. (1991). Learning to listen: interview techniques and analysis. In: Gluck, S. and Patai, D. (Eds.) *Women's Words*, 11-26. New York: Routledge.
- Andrews, K.R. (1971). *The Concept of Corporate Strategy*, Homewood: Irwin.
- Arrow, K. (1962). The economic implications of learning by doing. *Review of Economic Studies*, 29, 155–73.
- Atkinson, J. W. (1957). *Motives in Fantasy, Action, and Society*. Princeton, NJ: Van Nostrand.
- Atkinson, R. (1998). *The Life Story Interview*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Audretsch, D., Thurik, R., Verheul, I. and Wennekers, S. (2002). Understanding entrepreneurship across countries and over time. In Audretsch, D. (Eds.) *Entrepreneurship: Determinants and Policy in a European- US Comparison*, 1-10. Zoetermeer: Springer Netherlands.
- Bagwell, S. (2008). Transnational family networks and ethnic minority business development: the case of Vietnamese nail-shops in the UK. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour & Research*, 14, 6, 377 – 394.
- Bailey, N., Bower, Sim, D. (1995). The Chinese community in Scotland. *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 110, 66-75.
- Baines, S., Wheelock, J. (1998). Reinventing traditional solutions: job creation, gender and the micro-business household. *Work, Employment and Society*, 12, 579-601.

- Bandura, A. (1997). *Self-Efficacy: the Exercise of Self Control*. New York: Freeman.
- Barn, S. (2000). South Asian entrepreneurship: a view from the north. *Journal of Research in Marketing and Entrepreneurship*, 2, 17-35.
- Barnes, I. and Cox, V. (2007). EU immigrants as entrepreneurs in Lincolnshire: exploiting the enterprise culture. *International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Innovation*, 8, 3, 209-218.
- Barrett, G., Jones, T. and McEvoy, D. (1996). Ethnic minority business: theoretical discourse in Britain and North America. *Urban Studies*, 33, 783-809.
- Barrett, G., Jones, T., and McEvoy, D. (2001). Socio-economic and policy dimensions of the mixed embeddedness of ethnic minority business in Britain. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration studies* 27, 2, 241–258.
- Barrett, G., Jones, T., McEvoy, D. (2003). United Kingdom: severely constrained entrepreneurialism. In Kloosterman, R and Rath, J. (Eds.) *Immigrant Entrepreneurs: Venturing Abroad in the Age of Globalization*. Oxford: Berg.
- Basch, L. G., Glick Schiller, N. and Cristina Blanc-Szanton, C. (1994). *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Post-Colonial Predicaments, and De-territorialized Nation States*. Langhorne, PA: Gordon and Breach.
- Basu, A. (1998). An exploration of entrepreneurial activity among Asian small businesses in Britain. *Small Business Economics*, 10, 4, 313-326.
- Basu , A. (2004). Entrepreneurial aspirations among family business owners: an analysis of ethnic business owners in the UK. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research*, 10, 1/2, 12-33.
- Basu, A., and Altinay, E. (2003). *Family and Work in Minority Ethnic Businesses*. Available at: <http://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/files/jrf/jr154-family-ethnic-work.pdf> (accessed 15th June 2010).
- Basu, A. and Goswami, A. (1999). South Asian entrepreneurship in Great Britain: factors influencing growth. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research*, 5, 251-275.
- Bates, T. (1990). Entrepreneurial human capital inputs and small business longevity. *Review of Economics and Statistics*, 72,4, 551-9.
- Bauere, V., Densham, P., Millar, J. and Salt J. (2007). Migrants from central and eastern Europe: local geographies. *Population Trends*, 129, 7-19.
- Baum, J. R., Locke, E. A., and Smith, K. G. (2001). A multi-dimensional model of venture growth. *Academy of Management Journal*, 44, 2, 292–303.

Baycan-Levent, T., Gülümser, A. A., Kundak, S., Nijkamp, P. and Sahin, M. (2004). *Diversity and Ethnic Entrepreneurship: Dialogue Through Exchanges in the Economic Arena*. Available at: http://www.susdiv.org/uploadfiles/RT4_4_PP_Tuzin.pdf (accessed 18th March 2011).

Bazeley P. (2007). *Qualitative Data Analysis with NVivo*, 2nd Edition. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

BBC. (2008). *New life in our Polish church*. Available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/birmingham/content/articles/2007/01/18/st_michaels_birmingham_feature.shtml (accessed 9th January 2009)

Begley, T. M. (1995). Using founder status, age of firm, and company growth rate as the basis for distinguishing entrepreneurs from managers of smaller businesses. *Journal of Business Venturing*, 10, 249–263.

Belcourt, M. (1990). A family portrait of Canada's most successful female entrepreneurs. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 9, 4/5, 435-438.

Bell, J. (1993). *Doing Your Research Project: A Guide for First-Time Researchers in Education and Social Science*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Bennett, R.J and Ramsden, M. (2007). The contribution of business associations to SMEs: strategy, bundling or reassurance? *International Small Business Journal*, 25, 1, 49-76.

Berg, B. (1995). *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences* (2nd edition). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Berg, B. (1999) *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences* (3rd edition). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Bhagwati, J. N. (1979). International migration of the highly skilled: economics, ethics and taxes. *Third World Quarterly*, 1, 17-30.

Bieler, E. (2000). Competitiveness and cohesion: the 'embeddedness' of ethnic minority business. *Rising East*, 3, 3, 22-45.

Bird, B. (1989). *Entrepreneurial Behaviour*. Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman

Bird C.M. (2005). How I stopped dreading and learned to love transcription, *Qualitative Inquiry*, 11(2), 226-248

Birkinshaw, J.M. (1997). Entrepreneurship in multinational corporations: the characteristics of subsidiary initiatives. *Strategic Management Journal*, 18, 207–29.

Birkinshaw, J.M. (2000). *Entrepreneurship in the Global Firm: Enterprise and Renewal*. London: Sage.

Birley, S. (1985). The role of networks in the entrepreneurial process. *Journal of Business Venturing*, 1, 107-117.

Birman, D. (2006). Ethical issues in research with immigrants and refugees. In Trimble, J.E. and Fisher, C.B. (Eds.), *The Handbook of Ethical Research with Ethnocultural Populations and Communities*, 155-177. London: Sage.

Birmingham City Council Report (BCC) (2006). Support to small businesses. *Overview and Scrutiny Birmingham*. Available at: <http://www.birmingham.gov.uk/scrunitylatest> (accessed 28th July 2009).

Blanchflower, D.G. and Oswald, A.J. (1990). *What Makes a Young Entrepreneur?* National Bureau of Economic Research, Working Paper 3252. Cambridge, MA: NBER.

Blanchflower, D.G. and Oswald, A.J. (1998). What makes an entrepreneur? *Journal of Labor Economics*, 16, 26-60.

Blanchflower, D. G., Saleheen, J. and Shadforth, C. (2007). The impact of the recent migration from Eastern Europe on the UK Economy. *IZA Discussion Paper No. 2457*. Available at: <http://www.bankofengland.co.uk/publications/speeches/2007/speech297.pdf> (accessed 9th July 2009).

Boden, P. and Rees, P. (2010). Using administrative data to improve the estimation of immigration to local areas in England. *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society A*, 173, 4, 707-731.

Boissevain, J. Blauschkee, J. Grotenburg, I., Joseph, I. Light, I., Sway, M., Waldinger, R. and Werbner, P. (1990). Ethnic entrepreneurs and ethnic strategies. In Waldinger, R., Aldrich H.E. and Ward, R. (Eds.) *Ethnic Entrepreneurs: Immigrant Business in Industrial Societies*. London: Sage.

Bolton, J.E. (1971). Report of the Committee of Enquiry on small firms. *Bolton Report Cmnd 4811*. London: HMSO.

Bonacich, E. (1973) The theory of middleman minorities. *American Sociological Review*, 37, 547-559.

Bonacich, E., Light, I. and Wong (1977). Koreans in business. *Society*, 14, 54-59.

Bonnett, C. and Furnham, A. (1991). Who wants to be an entrepreneur? A study of adolescents interested in a young enterprise scheme. *Journal of Economic Psychology*, 12, 3, 465-478.

- Borjas, G. (1986). The self-employment experience of immigrants. *Journal of Human Resources*, 21, 485-506.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Boulding, K. (1985). *The World as a Total System*. London: Sage
- Brickell, K. and Datta, A. (eds.) (2011). *Translocal Geographies: Spaces, Places and Connections*. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Brown, D., Taylor, C., Baldy, R., Edwards, G. and Oppenheimer, E. (1990). Computers and QDA - can they help it? A report on a qualitative data analysis programme. *The Sociological Review*, 38, 134–150.
- Brush, C.G (1992). Research on women business owners: past trends, a new perspective and future directions. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 16, 4, 5-30.
- Bryman, A. (2008). *Social research methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bryman, A. and Burgess, B. (1994) *Analyzing Qualitative Data*. London: Routledge.
- Bryson , J.R., Daniels, P. and Henry, N. (1996). From widgets to where? The Birmingham economy in the 1990s. In Gerrad, A, and Slater, T. *Managing a Conurbation: Birmingham and its region*. Studley, Warwickshire: Brewin Books.
- Bryson, J.R. and Taylor, M.J. (2006). *The Functioning Economic geographies of the West Midlands Region*. Birmingham: West Midlands Regional Observatory.
- Buame, S.K. (1996). *Entrepreneurship: a Conceptual Perspective*. Lund, Sweden: Lund University Press.
- Budner, S. (1982). Intolerance of ambiguity as a personality variable. *Journal of Personality*, 30, 29–50.
- Burgess, R.G. (1994). *Field Research: a Sourcebook and Field Manual*. London: Routledge.
- Burns, P. (1989). *Strategies for Success and Routes to Failure*. Available at: <https://dspace.lib.cranfield.ac.uk/bitstream/1826/680/2/SWP1488.pdf> (accessed 3rd October 2010).
- Burrell, K. (2002). Migrant memories and migrant lives: Polish national identity in Leicester since 1945. *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society*, 76, 59-77.

Burt, R. (1992). The social structure of competition. In Nohria, N. and Eccles, R. (Eds.) *Networks and Organisations: Structures, Form, Action*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press.

Buttner, E.H. and Moore, D.P. (1997). Women organizational exodus to entrepreneurship: self reported motivations and correlates with success. *Journal of Small Business Management*, 34-46.

Bygrave, W.D. (1995). Theory building in the entrepreneurship paradigm. In Bull, I., Howard, T. and Willard, G. (Eds.) *Entrepreneurship Perspectives on Theory Building*, 129-155. Trowbridge, UK: Redwood books.

Bygrave, W.D. (2003). *The Entrepreneurial Process*. Available at: http://mediawiley.com/product_data/excerpt/43/04712715/0471271543.pdf (accessed 11th October 2010).

Bygrave, W.D. and Hofer, C.W. (1991). Theorizing entrepreneurship. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 16,2, 13-22.

Cantillon, R. (1775) *Essai Sur La Nature Du Commerce En Général*. In Henry Higgs (Ed.) London: Macmillan.

Carlstein, T. and Thrift, N. (1978). Afterword: towards a time- space structured approach to society and environment. In Carlstein, T., Parkes, D. and Thrift, N. *Human Activity and Time Geography*, 225-263. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Carter, S., Anderson, S. and Shaw, E. (2004). *Women's Business Ownership: a Review of the Academic, Popular, and Internet Literature*. Glasgow: University of Strathclyde.

Cartier, C. (2001). *Globalizing South China*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Casson, Mark C. (1985). Entrepreneurship and the Dynamics of Foreign Direct Investment. In Buckley, P.J. and Casson, M.C. *The Economic Theory of the Multinational Enterprise*, 172-191. London: Macmillan.

Chakravarthy, B.S. (1982). Adaptation: a promising metaphor for strategic management. *Academy of Management Review*, 7, 35-44.

Chappell, L., Latorre, M., Rutter, J. and Shah, J. (2009). *Migration and Rural Economies: Assessing and Addressing Risk*. Available at: <http://www.ippr.org.uk/publicationsandreports/publication.asp?id=670> (accessed 28th January 2010).

Chastain, C. (1982). Strategic planning and the recession. *Business Horizons*, 25, 6, 39-44.

Chavan, M. and Ararwal, R. (1998). Characteristics of ethnic women entrepreneurs in Australia. *International Council of Small Business Conference*, September, Singapore.

Chell, E., Haworth, J. and Brearley, S. (1991). *The Entrepreneurial Personality: Concepts, Cases and Categories*. London: Routledge.

Christiansen, C. (1997). *The Innovators Dilemma*. Cambridge: Harvard Business School Press

Clements, R. (2010). *Tesco's Eldon Square*. Available at: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/identityinnewcastle/4410126129/> (accessed 14th October 2011).

Collins, C., Locke, E., and Hanges, P. (2000). *The Relationship of Need for Achievement to Entrepreneurial Behavior: a Meta-Analysis*. Working Paper. College Park, MD: University of Maryland.

Commission for Rural Communities (CRC). (2007). *A8 Migrant Workers in Rural Areas*. Available at: <http://www.ruralcommunities.gov.uk/publications/migrantworkersinruralareas> (accessed 22nd June 2009).

Cook, J.A and Fonow, M.M. (1990). Knowledge and women's interests: issues of epistemology and methodology in feminist sociological research. In Nielson, J.M. (Eds.) *Feminist Research Methods: Exemplary Readings in the Social Sciences*. 69-91. San Francisco: Westview.

Coombes, M., Champion, T. and Raybould. S. (2007). Did the early A8 in-migrants to England go to areas of labour shortage? *Local Economy*, 22,4, 335-348.

Cope, J., and Watts, G. (2000). Learning by doing: An exploration of experience, critical incidents and reflection in entrepreneurial learning, *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research*, 6,3, 104-124.

Cope, J. (2003). *Towards a Dynamic Learning Perspective of Entrepreneurship*. Lancaster University Management School, Working Paper 2003/079. Lancaster: Lancaster University.

Corman, J., Perles, B., and Vancini, P. (1988). Motivational factors influencing high-technology entrepreneurship. *Journal of Small Business Management*, 26, 36-42.

Crang, M. and Thrift, N. (eds.) (2000). *Thinking Space (Critical Geographies)*. London: Routledge.

Crang M.A., Hudson A.C., Reimer S.M., Hinchliffe S.J. (1997). Software for qualitative research: 1. Prospects and overview, *Environment and Planning A*, 29, 771-787.

Craven, N. (2008). *The Great Polish Supermarket Sweep*. Available at: <http://www.thisismoney.co.uk/money/saving/article-1631057/The-great-Polish-supermarket-sweep.html> (accessed 10th November 2011).

Cross, M. (1981). *New Firm Formation and Regional Development*. Farnborough: Gower.

Curran, J. and Blackburn, R. (1993). *Ethnic Enterprise and the High Street Bank*. Kingston Business School, Kingston University, London.

Currie, S. (2008). *Migration, Work and Citizenship in the Enlarged EU*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Cushman and Wakefield Ltd (2008). *London, Manchester and Birmingham Lead UK Survey of Business Friendly Cities*. Available at: <http://www.cushwake.com/cwglobal/jsp/newsDetail.jsp?repId=c19200007p> (accessed 15th February 2010).

Cyert, R. and March, J. (1963). *A Behavioral Theory of the Firm*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Dakhli, M. and De Clercq, D. (2004). Human capital, social capital, and innovation: a multi-country study *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development*, 16, 2, 107-28.

Dana, L.P and Dana, T.E. (2005). Expanding the scope of methodologies used in entrepreneurship research. *International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Small Business*, 2,1, 79-88.

D'Angelo, A. and Ryan, L. (2011). Sites of socialisation- Polish parents and children in London schools. *Studia Migracyjne – Przegląd Polonijny*, 1 (special issue on Polish Migration to the UK).

Datta, K. (2004). A coming of age? Reconceptualising gender and development in urban Botswana. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 30, 2, 251-269.

Davis, D., Morris, M. and Allen, J. (1991). Perceived environmental turbulence and its effect on selected entrepreneurship, marketing, and organizational characteristics in industrial firms. *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, 19, Spring, 43-51.

De Beer, J., Raymer, J., Van Der Erf, R., Van Wissen, L. (2010). Overcoming the problems of inconsistent international migration data: a new method applied to flows in Europe, *European Journal of Population*, 26, 459-481.

De Bruin, A., Brush, C.G. and Weller, F. (2007). Advancing a framework for coherent research on women's entrepreneurship. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 31, 3, 323-329.

De Klerk, A. (1998). *Variables distinguishing entrepreneurs and non-entrepreneurs from different ethnic groups in the South African environment*. PhD Thesis, University of South Africa.

De Philis, E.G. (1999). *What's Achievement Got to Do With It? The Role of National Culture in the Relationship Between Entrepreneurship and Achievement Motivation*. Available at: http://www.babson.edu/entrep/fer/papers98/IV/IV_A/IV_A_text.htm (accessed 2nd March 2010).

De Visscher, F. M., Aronoff, C. F. and Ward, J. L. (1995). *Financing transitions: Managing capital and liquidity in the family business*. Family Business Leadership Series. Marietta, GA: Business Owner Resources.

Deakins, D., Majmudar, M. and Padson, A. (1977). Developing success strategies for ethnic minorities in business: evidence from Scotland. *New Community*, 23, 325-342.

Deakins, D., and Freel, M. (1998). Entrepreneurial learning and the growth process in SMEs, *The Learning Organization*, 5, 3, 144-155.

Deans, G., Kansal, C. and Mehlretter, S. (2009). Making a Key Decision in a Downturn: Go on the Offensive or be Defensive? *Ivey Business Journal Online*, Jan/Feb.

Dedee, J. and Vorhies, D. (1998). Retrenchment activities of small firms during economic downturn: an empirical investigation', *Journal of Small Business Management*, 36, 3, 46-61.

Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA) (2009). *Rural Definition and Local Authority Classification*. Available at: <http://www.defra.gov.uk/evidence/statistics/rural/rural-definition.htm> (accessed 13th November 2009).

Demsetz, R.S. (2001). Bank loan sales: a new look at the motivation for secondary market activity. *Journal of Financial Services Research*, 23, 192-222.

Department for Education (2012). *School Census 2012 Known Issues*. Available at: <http://www.education.gov.uk/schools/adminandfinance/schooladmin/a00202055/school-census-2012-known-issues> (accessed 16th April 2012).

Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) (2007). *National Insurance Number Allocations to Overseas Nationals Entering the UK (Previously Migrant Worker statistics)*. Available at: http://www.dwp.gov.uk/asd/asd1/niall/niall_report.pdf (accessed 11th February 2008).

Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) (2008). *National Insurance Number Allocations to Adult Overseas Nationals Entering the UK 2007/08*. Available at: http://www.dwp.gov.uk/asd/asd1/tabtools/nino_allocations_0708.pdf (accessed 6th February 2009).

Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) (2009). *National Insurance Number Allocations to Adult Overseas Nationals Entering the UK 2008/09*. Available at: http://www.dwp.gov.uk/asd/asd1/tabtools/nino_allocations_0809.pdf (accessed 10th December 2009).

Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) (2011). *National Insurance Number Allocations to Adult Overseas Nationals Entering the UK 2010/11*. Available at: http://www.dwp.gov.uk/asd/asd1/tabtools/nino_allocations_1011.pdf (accessed 18th November 2011).

Dewitt, S. (2011). *Second and third generation South Asian service sector entrepreneurship in Birmingham, United Kingdom*. PhD thesis, University of Birmingham.

Dey, I. (1993). *Qualitative Data Analysis*. London: Routledge.

Dhailwal, S. (1998). Silent contributors: Asian female entrepreneurs and women in business. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 21, 463-474.

Dicken, P. (1998). *Global Shift: Transforming the World Economy*, 3rd Edition. Paul Chapman Publishing Ltd.

Dicken, P. (2002). 'Placing' Firms - 'Firming' Places: Grounding The Debate On The 'Global' Corporation. Available at: <http://www.colorado.edu/ibs/pec/gadconf/papers/dicken.html> (accessed 7th June 2010).

Dobson, J., Koser, K., McLaughlan, G. and Salt, J. (2001). International migrations and the United Kingdom: recent patterns and trends. *RDS Occasional Paper 75*. London: Home Office.

Donckels, R., and Frohlich, E. (1991). Are family businesses really different? European experiences from STRATOS. *Family Business Review*, 4, 2, 149-160.

Donckels, R. and Lambrecht, J. (1997). The network position of small business: an explanatory model. *Journal of Small Business Management*, 35, 13-25.

Doughty, S. (2007). We're never going home... 300,000 Polish migrants plan to stay permanently in UK. *The Mail Online*. 5th July. Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-466270/Were-going-home--300-000-Polish-migrants-plan-stay-permanently-UK.html> (accessed 26th October 2007).

Douw, L. and Huang, C. (2000). *Qiaoxiang Ties: Interdisciplinary Approaches to 'Cultural Capitalism' in South China*. Leiden/Amsterdam: International Institute for Asian Studies.

Dreux, D. R. (1990). Financing family business: alternatives to selling out or going public. *Family Business Review*, 3, 3, 225–243.

Drinkwater, S., Eade, J., and Garapich, M. (2006). Poles apart? EU enlargement and the labour market outcomes of immigrants in the UK, *Discussion Paper No. 2410*, University of Surrey. Available at: <http://ftp.iza.org/dp2410.pdf> (accessed 14th December 2007).

Drinkwater, S. (2008). *Recent Immigration to the UK*, Available at: [www.parliament.uk/documents/upload/EA206 per cent20Drinkwater.doc](http://www.parliament.uk/documents/upload/EA206_per_cent20Drinkwater.doc) (accessed 14th December 2007).

Drori, D. Honig, B. and Wright, M. (2009). Transnational entrepreneurship: an emergent field of study. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 33, 5, 1001–1022.

Drucker, P. (1995). The discipline of innovation. *Harvard Business Review*, November/ December, 149.

Dubini, P. and Aldrich, H. (1991). Personal and extended networks are central to the entrepreneurial process. *Journal of Business Venturing*, 6, 305-313.

Dustmann, C., Casanove, M., Fetig, M., Preston, L., and Schmidt, C. (2003). The impact of EU enlargement on migration flows, *Home Office Online Report No, 25/03*. London: Home Office.

Düvell, F. (2004). *Polish Undocumented Immigrants, Regular High-Skilled Workers and Entrepreneurs in the UK*. Institute for Social Studies, Working Paper 54. Warsaw: Warsaw University.

Dyer, L.M. and Ross, C.A. (2000). Ethnic enterprises and their clientele. *Journal of Small Business Management*, 39, 49-66.

Eade J., Drinkwater S. and Garapich, M. P. (2006). *Class and ethnicity – Polish migrants in London*. Guildford: Universities of Surrey and Roehampton (Centre for Research on Nationalism, Ethnicity and Multiculturalism (CRONEM))

Easton, G. and Araujo, L. (1986). Networks, bonding and relationships in industrial markets. *Industrial Marketing and Purchasing*, 1, 8-25.

Economist, The (1998). *Birmingham: from workshop to melting pot*. 22nd- 23rd August, 22-23, 8.

Evans, D.S. and Leighton, L.S. (1990). Small business formation by unemployed and employed workers. *Small Business Economics*, 2, 4, 319-30.

Fabiszak, M. (2007). Migration as schooling, migration as holidays. Paper presented at *New Europeans Under Scrutiny: Workshop on State-of-the-Art Research on Polish Migration to the UK*, University of Wolverhampton, 2nd February 2007.

Fadahunsi, A. (2000). Researching informal entrepreneurship in sub-Saharan Africa: a note on field methodology. *Journal of Developmental Entrepreneurship*, 5, 3, 249-261.

Fife Research and Coordination Group (2008). *Migrant Workers in Fife Survey 2007*. Available at:
www.fifedirect.org.uk/uploadfiles/publications/c64_MigrantWorkersSurveyKnowFifeFindingdV1_2.pdf (accessed 28th January 2010).

Filion, L.J. (1997). *Entrepreneurship to Entreprenology*. HEC, The University of Montreal Business School. Available at:
<http://www.usabe.org/knowledge/proceedings/1997/P207Filion.PDF> (accessed 16th June 2010).

Fineman, S. (1977). The achievement motive construct and its measurement: where are we now? *British Journal of Psychology*, 68, 1 – 22.

Florida, R. (1995). Towards the Learning Region. *Futures*, 27, 5, 527-536.

Flusty S. (2004). *De-Coca-Colonization: Making the Globe from the Inside Out*. Routledge: New York.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2006). Five misunderstandings about case-study research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 12, 2, 219-245.

Foddy, W. (1993). *Constructing Questions for Questionnaires and Interviews*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fomina, J. (2009). *Światy równoległe – wizerunek własny Polaków w Wielkiej Brytanii*. Warsaw: ISP. Available at:
<http://www.isp.org.pl/files/1975607530144791001254742838.pdf> (accessed 19th August 2010).

Fomina, J. and Frelak, J. (2008). *Next Stopski London: Public Perceptions of Labour Migration within the EU. The Case of Polish Labour Migrants in the British Press*. Warsaw: Institute of Public affairs.

Fontana, A., and Frey, J. H. (2000). The interview: from structured questions to negotiated text. In Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 645-672. London: Sage.

Fraser, S. (2007). *Finance for Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises: Comparisons of Ethnic Minority and White Owned businesses, A Report on the 2005 UK Survey of SME Finances Ethnic Minority Booster Survey*. Coventry: Warwick Business School.

Freitag, U. and Von Oppen, A. (Eds.) (2010). *Translocality: The Study of Globalising Processes from a Southern Perspective*. The Netherlands: Brill Academic Publishers.

Fry, F. L. (1993). *Entrepreneurship: a Planning Approach*. Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN: West Publishing.

Gabbay, S.M. and Leenders, R. (1999). CSC: The structure of advantage and disadvantage. In Leenders, R and Gabbay, S.M. (Eds.) *Corporate Social Capital and Liability*, 1-14. Boston: Kluwer Academic Press.

Ganguly, P. (1985). *UK Small Business Statistics and International Comparisons*. London, UK: Harper and Row.

Garapich, M. (2005). Soldiers and plumbers. Immigration business and the impact of EU enlargement on Polish migrants. *International Conference on New Patterns of East West Migration in Europe*, 18th – 19th November, Hamburg.

Garapich, M. (2006). *London's Polish Borders: Class and Ethnicity Among Global City Migrants*. CRONEM: University of Surrey. Available at:
<http://www.surrey.ac.uk/Arts/CRONEM/LONDON-Polish-Borders-interim-report.pdf>
(accessed 2nd March 2010).

Garapich, M. (2008). The migration industry and civil society: Polish immigrants in the United Kingdom before and after EU enlargement. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 34, 5, 735-52.

Garnsey, E. (1998). A theory of the early growth of the firm. *Industrial and Corporate Change*, 7, 3, 523–556.

Gartner, W. B. (1985). A conceptual framework for describing the phenomenon of new venture creation. *Academy of Management Review*, 10, 4, 696-706.

Gartner, W.B. (1989). Who is an entrepreneur? Is the wrong question. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 13, 4, 733-757.

Geroski, P. A. and Gregg, P. (1994). Corporate restructuring in the UK during the recession. *Business Strategy Review*, 5, 2, 1-19.

Geroski, P. A. and Gregg, P. (1997). *Coping with Recession: UK Company Performance in Adversity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gerring, J. (2001). *Social Science Methodology : a Criterial Framework*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gerring, G. (2004). What is a case study and what is it good for? *American Political Science Review*, 98, 2, 341-354.

Giddens, A. (1979). *Central Problems in Social Theory, Action, Structure and Contradiction in Social Analyses*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Giddens, A. (1981). *A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism*. London: Macmillan.

Giddens, A. (1990). *The Consequences of Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity.

Gielis, R. (2009). A global sense of migrant places: towards a place perspective in the study of migrant transnationalism. *Global Networks*, 9, 2, 271-87.

Gilbert, N. (1993) (Ed.) *Researching Social Life*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Gill, N., Bialski, P. (2011). New friends in new places: network formation during the migration process among poles in the UK. *Geoforum*, 42, 2, 241-249.

Ginsberg, A. and Buchholtz, A. (1990). Converting to for-profit: corporate responsiveness to radical change. *Academy of Management Journal*, 33, 445-77.

Glick Schiller, N., Basch, L. and Szanton Blanc, C. (1992). *Toward a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity and Nationalism Reconsidered*. New York: Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences.

Gnyawali, D.R. and Fogel, D.S. (1994). Environments for entrepreneurship development: key dimensions and research implications. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 18, 4, 43-62.

Goffee, R., and Scase, R. (1985). Proprietorial control in family firms: some functions of 'quasi-organic' management systems. *Journal of Management Studies*, 22, 1, 53-68.

Gomez, E.T. and Cheung, G.C.K. (2009). Family firms, networks and 'ethnic enterprise': Chinese food industry in Britain. *East Asia*, 26, 2, 133-157.

Górny, A. and Ruspini, P. (2004). *Migration in the New Europe: East-West Revisited*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Granovetter, M.S. (1973). Strength of weak ties. *American Sociological Review*, 78, 6, 1360-1380.

Granovetter, M.S. (1985). Economic-action and social-structure – the problem of embeddedness. *Journal of Sociology*, 91, 481-510.

Greater London Authority (GLA) (2005). *Our London. Our Future. Planning for London's Growth II*. Available at: http://legacy.london.gov.uk/mayor/economic_unit/ourlondonourfuture/docs/olof-main.pdf (accessed 14th June 2009).

Grebel, T., Pyka, A. and Hanusch, H. (2003). An evolutionary approach to the theory of entrepreneurship. *Industry and Innovation*, 10, 4, 493-514.

Green, P. (1997). A resource-based approach to ethnic business sponsorship: a consideration of Ismaili-Pakistani immigrants. *Journal of Small Business Management*, 34, 58-71.

Green, P. and Butler, J. (1996). The minority community as a natural business incubator. *Journal of Business Research*, 36, 51-58.

Green A., Jones, P. and Owen, D. (2007a). *Migrant Workers in the East Midlands Labour Market*. Report for the East Midlands Development Agency. Nottingham: EMDA.

Green A., Owen, D., Jones, P., Owen, C. and Francis, J. (2007b). *The Economic Impact of Migrant Workers in the West Midlands*. Report for a consortium of organizations in the West Midlands. Birmingham: West Midlands Regional Observatory.

Gregory, D. (1984). Space, time, and politics in social theory: an interview with Anthony Giddens. *Environment and Planning D*, 2, 2, 123-132.

Greve, A. and Salaff, J.W. (2003). Social networks and entrepreneurship. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 28, 1, 1-22.

Grillo R. (2007). 'Betwixt and between: trajectories and projects of transmigration. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 33, 2, 199-217.

Gudgin, G., Brunskill, I. and Fothergill, S. (1979). *New Manufacturing Firms in Regional Employment Growth*. Centre for Environmental Studies, Research Series No. 39.

Habberson, T. and Williams, M. (1999). A resource-based framework for assessing the strategic advantages of family firms. *Family Business Review*, 12, 1-25.

Hägerstrand, T. (1970) What about people in regional science? *Papers of the Regional Science Association*. 24, 7-21.

Hales, A.C. (2008). *Women's entrepreneurship in Senegal*. PhD thesis, University of Birmingham.

Halkias, D., Nwajiuba, C., Harkiolakis, N. and Caracatsanis, S.M. (2011) Challenges facing women entrepreneurs in Nigeria. *Management Research Review*, 34, 2, 221 - 235

Hamel, J., Dufour, S., and Fortin, D. (1993). Case study methods. In *Qualitative Research Methods* (Series 32). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Hannan, M. and Freeman, J. (1977), The population ecology of organizations. *American Journal of Sociology*, 82, 929-64.

Hansen, E.L. (1995). Entrepreneurial networks and new organisation growth. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 19, 4, 7-19.

Hardill, I., Raghuram, P., and Strange, A. (2002). Diasporic embeddedness and Asian women entrepreneurs in the UK. In Taylor, M. and Leonard, S. (Eds.) *Embedded Enterprise and Social Capital*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Harré, R. and Secord P. (1972). *The Explanation of Social Behaviour*. London: Blackwell.

Harris, C., Moran, D. and Bryson J.R. (2012). EU accession migration: national insurance number allocations and the geographies of Polish labour immigration to the UK. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 103, 2, 209–221.

Harris, C., Moran, D. and Bryson, J.R. (forthcoming). Polish labour migration to the UK: data discrepancies, migrant distributions and entrepreneurial activity. Under review at *Growth and Change*.

He, Z. L. and Wong, P. K. (2004). Exploration vs. exploitation: an empirical test of the ambidexterity hypothesis. *Organization Science*, 15, 4, 481-94.

Held, D., McGrew, A., Goldblatt, D., Perraton, J. (1999). *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Helinska-Hughes, E., Hughes, M., Lassalle, P. and Skowron, I. (2009). The trajectories of Polish immigrant businesses in Scotland and the role of social capital. Paper presented at *Entrepreneurship and Growth of Family Firms*, June 2009. Cracow: University of Economics.

Henry, N. (1998). Multicultural city, multicultural city centre? Some thoughts on the future of the city centre and Birmingham going international. *Service Sector Commentary*, 4, 1.

Herbert, R.F. and Link, A.N. (1988). *The Entrepreneur: Mainstream Views and Radical Critiques*, 2nd edition. New York: Praeger.

Herod, A. (1993). Gender issues in the use of interviewing as a research method, *Professional Geographer*, 45, 3, 305-17.

Hinchliffe S.J., Crang M.A., Reimer S.M., & Hudson A.C. (1997). Software for qualitative research: 2. Some thoughts on 'aiding' analysis, *Environment and Planning A*, 29, 1109-1124 .

Hisrich, R.D. (1988). Entrepreneurship: past, present, and future. *Journal of Small Business Management*, 26, 4, 1-4.

Hisrich, R. D. and Brush, C. (1984). The woman entrepreneur: management skills and business problems. *Journal of Small Business Management*, 22, 30-37.

Hisrich, R. D. and Ozturk, S. A. (1999). Women entrepreneurs in a developing economy. *The Journal of Management Development*, 18,2, 11-12.

Hoang, H. and Antoncic, B. (2003). Network based research in entrepreneurship: a critical review. *Journal of Business Venturing*, 18, 495-527.

Holmes, C. (1988). *John Bull's Island- Immigration and British Society 1871-1971*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Home Office (2003). *Control of Immigration: Statistics United Kingdom 2003*. London: Home Office.

Home Office (2006). *Accession Monitoring Report May 2004- June 2006*. London: Home Office.

Home Office (2008). Worker Registration Scheme (WRS) *Application Form- Guidance Notes*. Available at:
<http://www.ukba.homeoffice.gov.uk/sitecontent/applicationforms/wrs/englishwrs.pdf> (accessed 12th December 2008).

Home Office (2006). *Accession Monitoring Report May 2004- March 2009*. London: Home Office.

Howorth, C. Tempest, S. and Coupland, C. (2005). Rethinking entrepreneurship methodology and definitions of the entrepreneur. *Journal of Small Business and Enterprise Development*, 12,1, 24 – 40.

Hrebiniak, L.G. and Joyce, W.F. (1985). Organizational adaptation: strategic choice and environmental determinism. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 30, 336-49.

Hsu, F.L.K. (1971). *Under the Ancestor's Shadow: Kinship, Personality and Social Mobility in China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Hudson, R. (1999). The learning economy, the learning firms, and the learning region: a sympathetic critique of the limits to learning. *European Urban and Regional Studies* 6, 1, 59-72.

Hung, H. (2006). Formation and survival of new ventures: a path from interpersonal to interorganizational networks. *International Small Business Journal*, 24, 4, 359.

Hussain, J. and Matlay, H. (2007). Financing preferences of ethnic minority owners/managers in the UK. *Journal of Small Business and Enterprise Development*, 14, 487-500.

Ibarra, H. (1993). Personal networks of women and minorities in management: a conceptual framework. *Academy of Management Review*, 18, 56-88.

Ind, J. (1998). Business is easy when it's in at the deep end. *The Birmingham Post*, 9 May, Weekend Section, 53.

Iyer, G. and Sahpiro, J. (1999) Ethnic entrepreneurial and marketing systems: implications for the global economy. *Journal of International Marketing*, 7, 38-110.

James, A. (2006). Critical moments in the production of 'rigorous' and 'relevant' cultural economic geographies. *Progress in Human Geography*, 30, 3, 289–308.

James, T. and Platzner, H. (1999). Lesbians' and gay men's experiences of health care- a personal perspective. *Nursing Ethics*, 6, 73-81.

Janjuha-Jivraj, S. and Woods, A., (2002) The art of 'good conversations': a strategy to negotiate succession within South Asian family firms, *Strategic Change*, 11, 8, 425-434.

Janta, H. (2007). The experience of Polish Migrants working in the hospitality industry in the UK. Paper presented at *Three Years on: EU Accession and East European Migration to the UK and Ireland* symposium, 20th–21st April 2007, De Montfort University: Leicester.

Jayaratne, T. (1983). The value of quantitative methodology for feminist research. In Bowles, G. and Klein, R. D. (Eds.). *Theories of Women's Studies*, 140-162. London: Routledge.

Jennings, D.F. and Seaman, S.L. (1994). High and low levels of organizational adaptation: an empirical analysis of strategy, structure, and performance. *Strategic Management Journal*, 15, 459-75.

Jensen, R. C., Mandeville, T. D. and Karunarante, N. D. (1979). *Regional Economic Planning: Generation of Regional Input-Output Analysis*. London: Croom Helm.

Jewkes, Y. and Letherby, G. (2001). Insiders and outsiders: complex issues of identification, difference and distance in social research. *Auto/Biography Studies*, 16, 2, 41-50.

Johansson, A. (2004). Narrating the entrepreneur. *International Small Business Journal*, 22, 3, 273-293

Johannisson, B. (1988). Business information- a network approach. *Scandinavian Journal of Management*, 4, 83-99.

Johannisson, B. (2000). Networking and entrepreneurial growth. In Sexton, D. and Lanstrom, H. (Eds.), *The Blackwell Handbook of Entrepreneurship*. Blackwell: Oxford.

Johnson, B. (1990). Toward a multidimensional model of entrepreneurship: the case of achievement motivation and the entrepreneurs. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 43, 3, 39-54.

Johnson, B. (1992). Institutional Learning. In Lundvall, B.-Å. (Ed.) *National Systems of Innovation: Towards a Theory of Innovation and Interactive Learning*, 23–44. London: Pinter.

Jones, T., Barrett, G. and McEvoy, D. (2000). Market potential as a decisive influence on the performance of ethnic minority business. In Rat, J. (Ed.) *Immigrant Businesses: The Economic, Political and Social Environment*. London: Macmillan.

Jones, T. De Silva, P. and McEvoy, D. (1989). Ethnic business and community needs. *Report for the Commission for Racial Equality*, Liverpool Polytechnic.

Jones, T. and McEvoy, D. (1992). Resources ethniques et egalites des chances: les entreprises, indo-pakistanaïses en Grande-Bretagne et au Canada. *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales*, 8, 107-126.

Jones, T., McEvoy, D. and McGoldrick, C. (2002). The economic embeddedness or immigrant enterprise in Britain. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research*, 8, 11-31.

Jones, T., McEvoy, D. and Barrett, G. (1994). Labour-intensive practices in the ethnic minority small firm. In Atkinson, J. and Storey, D. (Eds.) *Employment, the Small Firm and the Labour Market*, 172–205. London: Routledge.

Jones, G. and Rose, M.D. (1993) *Family Capitalism*. London: Frank Cass.

Jones, G. and Wadhwani, R. D. (2007). *Entrepreneurial Theory and the History of Globalisation*. Available at:
<http://www.thebhc.org/publications/BEHonline/2007/joneswadhvani.pdf> (accessed 25th May 2010).

Katz, J. and Gartner, W.B. (1988). Properties of emerging organizations. *Academy of Management Review*, 13, 429-441.

Kearney, M. (1995). The local and the global: the anthropology of globalization and transnationalism. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 24, 547-65.

Keeble, D., Bryson, J.R. and Wood, P. (1992). Small firms, business services growth and regional development in the United Kingdom. *International Small Business Journal*, 11, 1, 11-22.

Kirby, T. (2006). 750,000 and rising: how Polish workers have built a home in Britain. *The Independent*, Saturday 11th February.

Kiggundu, M.N. (2002) Entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship in Africa: what is known and what needs to be done. *Journal of Developmental Entrepreneurship*, 7,3, 239-259.

Kirzner, I.M. (1973). *Competition and Entrepreneurship*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Kissell, J. (2005) The vulnerability quagmire in international research. *Human Rights and Health Care*, 26, 6, 515-552.

Kitchin, R. and Tate, N.J. (2000). *Conducting Research in Human Geography : Theory, Methodology and Practice*. Harlow: Longman.

Kivisto P. (2001). Theorizing transnational immigration: a critical review of current efforts. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 24, 549–577.

Kloosterman, R. and Rath, J. (2003). *Immigrant Entrepreneurs: Venturing Abroad in the Age of Globalization*. Oxford: Berg.

Knight, F.H. (1921). *Risk, Uncertainty and Profit*. New York: Houghton Mifflin.

Koberg, C. (1987). Resource scarcity, environmental uncertainty and adaptive organizational behavior. *Academy of Management Review*, 30, 4, 798-807.

Koh, H.C. (1996). Testing hypotheses of entrepreneurial characteristics. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 11,3, 12-25.

Krackhardt, D. (1992). The strength of strong ties: the importance of Philos in organisation. In Nohria, N. and Eccles, R. (Eds.) *Networks and Organisations: Structures, Form, Action*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press.

Kristiansen, S. (2004). Social networks and business success. The roles of subcultures in an African context. *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, 63, 5, 1149-1171.

Larson, A. (1991). Partner networks: leveraging external ties to improve entrepreneurial performance. *Journal of Business Venturing*, 6, 173-188.

Lassalle, P., Helinska-Hughes, E. and Hughes, M. (2011). Polish entrepreneurs in the Glasgow area: migratory and business strategies. In *'Studia Migracyjne - Przegląd Polonijny'*, The Polish Academy of Sciences.

Lassalle, P., Helinska-Hughes, E. and Hughes, M. (2011). Polish migrant entrepreneurial strategies in the UK. *Challenges of Europe: Growth and Competitiveness - Reversing the Trends*, Split-Bol.

Leach, P. E. (1991). *The Stoy Hayward Guide to the Family Business*. London: Kogan Page

Lee, R. M. (1993). *Doing Research on Sensitive Topics*. London: Sage.

Lemos, S. and Portes, J. (2008). *The Impact of Migration from the New European Union Member States*. Department for Work and Pensions, Working Paper 52. London: DWP.

Lerner, M., Brush, C.G. and Hisrich, R.D. (1997). Israeli women entrepreneurs: an examination of factor effecting performance. *Journal of Business Venturing*, 12, 315-339.

Levering, R. and Moskowitz, M. (1993). The ten best companies to work for in America. *Business and Society Review*, 85,1, 26–38.

Levinthal, D.A. (1991). `Organizational adaptation and environmental selection-institutional processes of change. *Organization Science*, 2, 1, 140-45.

LGA Research (2007). *Estimating the Scale and Impacts of Migration at the Local Level*. Available at: <http://www.lga.gov.uk/lga/aio/109536> (accessed 25th May 2010).

Liao, Y. (1992). The geography of the Chinese catering trade in Greater Manchester. *Manchester Geographer*, 14, 54-82.

Light, I. H. (1972). *Ethnic Enterprise in America: Business and Welfare among Chinese, Japanese, and Blacks*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Light, I. H. (1984). Immigrant and ethnic enterprise in North America. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 7, 195-216.

Light, I. H. (2007) Globalization, Transnationalism, and Chinese Transnationalism., 89-98. In Fong, E. and Luk, C. *Chinese Ethnic Business: Global and Local Perspectives*. London: Routledge.

Light, I. H. and Bonacich, E. (1988). *Immigrant Entrepreneurs: Koreans in Los Angeles*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Light, I. H. and Gold, S. J. (2000). *Ethnic Economies*. San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Light, I. H. and Rosenstein, C. (1995). Race, Ethnicity and Entrepreneurship in Urban America. New York: Aldine De Gruyther.

Liles, P. R. (1974). *New business ventures and the entrepreneur*. Homewood, IL: Irwin.

Littunen, H. (2000). Entrepreneurship and the characteristics of the entrepreneurial personality. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research*, 6, 6, 295-310.

Lommatzsch, K., Antczak, R., Markiewicz, M., Pietka, K. and Walewski, M. (2004). Poland's economy prior to accession. *Economic Bulletin*, 41, 4, 113-118.

London Development Agency (LDA) (2005). *Redefining London's BME-owned Businesses*. Available at: http://www.ideopolis.info/downloads/ideopolis_r02.pdf (accessed 16th February 2011).

Lopez-Rodriguez, M., Sales, R., D'Angelo, A. and Ryan R. (2010) *Polish Pupils in UK Primary Schools: a Guide for Parents*. Available at: http://www.mdx.ac.uk/research/areas/social_policy/publications/index.aspx (accessed 16th April 2012).

Lowrey, Y. (2003). *The Entrepreneur and Entrepreneurship: a Neoclassical Approach*. Small Business Administration Economic Research, Working Paper. Washington: Office of Advocacy, U.S.

Low, B. and MacMillan, I. (1988). Entrepreneurship: past research and future challenges. *Journal of Management*, 14, 139-161.

Lundvall, B. Å. (Ed.) (1992). *National Systems of Innovation: Towards a Theory of Innovation and Interactive Learning*. London: Pinter.

Lundvall, B. Å. (1995). The learning economy – challenges to economic theory and policy. *EAEPE Conference*, October 1994, Copenhagen.

Lyman, A. R. (1991). Customer service: does family ownership make a difference? *Family Business Review*, 4, 3, 303–324.

Lynn, M. (2009) .The new capitalism. *Sunday Times*, 17th May, 4.

Lyons, T. and Mandaville, P. (2010). Think locally, act globally: toward a transnational comparative politics. *International Political Sociology*, 4, 124-41.

Macdonald, S. (1995). Learning to change: an information perspective on learning in the organization. *Organization Science*, 6, 5, 557-568.

Madge, C. and O'Connor, H. (2004). *The role of small and medium forest enterprise associations in reducing poverty*. Edinburgh, Scotland: International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), Natural Resources Group.

MaMung, E. (1994). L'entreprenariat ethnique en France. *Sociologies du Travail*, 36, 185-209.

March, J.G. and Simon, H.A. (1958). *Organizations*. New York: John Wiley.

Markoczy, L. (1994). Modes of organizational learning: institutional change and Hungarian joint ventures. *International Studies of Management and Organization*, 24, 4, 5-30.

Marlow, S., Henry, C and Carter, S. (2009). Exploring the impact of gender upon women's business ownership. *International Small Business Journal*, 27, 2, 139 – 149.

Marlow, S. and Patton, D. (2005). All credit to men, entrepreneurship, finance and gender. *Entrepreneurship, Theory and Practice*, 29, 6, 699-716.

Maslow, A. (1970). *Motivation and Personality*. New York: Harper.

Mason, J. (1996). *Qualitative Researching*. London: Sage.

Maxwell, J. (1996). *Qualitative Research Design: An Interactive Approach*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

May T., (2001) *Social Research: Issues, methods and process*. Third edition. Berkshire: Open University Press.

McClelland, D. C. (1961). *The Achieving Society*. Princeton, NJ: Van Nostrand.

McDowell, L. (1992). Doing gender: feminism, feminists and research methods in human geography. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 17, 399-416.

McDowell, L. (1997). *Capital Culture: Gender at Work in the City*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

McDowell, L. (2005). *Hard Labour: the forgotten voices of Latvian migrant 'volunteer' workers*. London: UCL Press

McDowell, L., Batnitzky, 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.

McDowell, L., Batnitzky, A. and Dyer, S. (2009). Precarious work and economic migration: emerging immigrant divisions of labour in Greater London's service sector. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 33, 1, 3-25.

McEvoy, D. and Hafeez, K. (2006). The changing face of ethnic minority entrepreneurship in Britain. *Fourth Interdisciplinary European Conference on Entrepreneurship Research*, 22nd – 24th February, University of Regensburg, Germany,

McEwan, C., Pollard, J. and Henry, N. (2005). The 'global' in the city economy: multicultural economic development in Birmingham. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 29, 4, 916-933.

McFarlane, C. (2009). Translocal assemblages: space, power and social movements. *Geoforum*, 40, 4, 561-567.

McKay, D. (2006). Translocal circulation: place and subjectivity in an extended Filipin community. *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology*, 7, 3, 265-278.

McKee, D.O., Varadarajan, P.R, and Pride, W.M. (1989). Strategic adaptability and firm performance: a market contingent perspective. *Journal of Marketing*, 53, 21-35.

McPherson, M. (2011). *An Outsiders' Inside View of Ethnic Entrepreneurship*. Available at: <http://www.isbe.org.uk/ethnicentrepreneurship> (accessed 11th October 2011).

McQueen, R. A. and Knussen, C. (2002). *Research Methods for Social Science: a Practical Introduction*. Harlow: Prentice Hall.

Meardi, M. (2007). *The Polish Plumber in the West Midlands: Theoretical and Empirical Issues*. Available at: <http://www.unigratz.at/sozwww/Dateien/Personen/MigConf07/PaperMeardi.pdf> (accessed 30th January 2008).

Medland, A. (2011). *Portrait of the West Midlands*. London: ONS

Meentemeyer, V. (1989). Geographical perspectives of space, time, and scale. *Landscape Ecology*, 3, 3/4, 163-173.

Merriman, P. (2012), Human geography without time-space. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 37, 13–27.

Michael S. and Robbins D. (1998). Retrenchment among small manufacturing firms during recession. *Journal of Small Business Management*, 36, 3, 35-45.

Millen, D. (1997). Some methodological and epistemological issues raised by doing feminist research on non-feminist women. *Sociological Research Online*, 2, 3, 2-18.

Miles, M.B. and Huberman, A. (1994). *An Expanded Sourcebook: Qualitative Data Analysis*. CA: Sage.

Miles, R. and Phizacklea, A. (1984). *White Man's Country: Racism in British Politics*. London: Pluto Press.

Miles, R.E. and Snow, C.C. (1978). *Organizational Strategy, Structure, and Process*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Minniti, M., and Bygrave, W. (2001). A dynamic model of entrepreneurial learning. *Entrepreneurship: Theory and Practice*, 25, 3, 5-16.

Mitchell, B. (2003). The role of networks among entrepreneurs from different ethnic groups. *The Small Business Monitor*, 1, 1, 78-86.

Mitchell, K. (2000): Transnationalism. In Johnston, R.J., Gregory, D., Pratt, G. and Watts, M.J. (Eds.). *The Dictionary of Human Geography* (4th edition), 853–855. Oxford: Blackwell.

Mohammad, R. (2001). 'Insiders' and/or 'outsiders': positionality, theory and practice. In Limb, M. and Dwyer, C. (Eds.) *Qualitative Methods for Geographers: Issues and Debates*, 101-117. London: Arnold.

Moore, C.F. (1986). Understanding entrepreneurial behaviour. In Pearce II, J.A. and Robinson, R.B. (Eds.) *Academy of Management Best Papers Proceedings*, 46th Annual Meeting of the Academy of Management, Chicago, 1986.

Morawska, E. (2002). Transnational migration in the enlarged European Union: a perspective from the East and Central Europe, 161-191. In Zielonka, J. (Ed.) *Europe Unbound*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Morawska E. (2005). Immigrant transnational entrepreneurs in New York. Three varieties and their correlates. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior and Research*, 10, 325-48.

Morris, M.H. and Kurkatko, D.F. (2002). *Corporate Entrepreneurship*. Mason, OH: South-Western College publishers.

Moscatello, L. (1990). The Pitcairns want you. *Family Business Magazine*, February.

Mostrous, A. and Seib, C. (2008). *Tide Turns as Poles End Great Migration*. Available at: <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/uk/article3378877.ece> (accessed 26th October 2008).

Moszczynski, W. (2008). Why Britain needs Polish migrants. *The Telegraph*, 3 April. Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/3556852/Why-Britain-needs-Polish-migrants.html> (accessed 19th August 2008).

Mullings, B. (1999). Insider or outsider, both or neither: some dilemmas of interviewing in a cross-cultural setting. *Geoforum*, 30, 4, 337-350.

Nast, H. (1994). Women in the field: critical feminist methodologies and theoretical perspectives. *Professional Geographer*, 46, 1, 54-66.

Nee, V. and Sanders, J. (2001). Understanding the diversity of immigrant incorporation: a forms-of-capital model. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 24, 3, 386-411.

Nohria, N. (1992) Is a network perspective a useful way of studying organisations? In Nohria, N. and Eccles, R. (Eds.) *Networks and Organisations: Structures, Form, Action*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press.

Nohria, N. and Eccles, R. (Eds.) (1992). *Networks and Organisations: Structures, Form, Action*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press.

NOMIS (2011). *In Employment Figures for Local Authorities in the West Midlands*. Available at: <http://www.nomisweb.co.uk/> (accessed 22nd September 2011).

Nwankwo, S. (2005). Characterisation of black African entrepreneurship in the UK: a pilot study. *Journal of Small Business and Enterprise Development*, 12, 1, 120-136.

Oakes, T. and Schein, L. (2006). *Translocal China: Linkages, Identities and the Reimagining of Space*. London: Routledge.

Office for National Statistics (ONS) (1991). *1991 Census*. Available at: <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/STATBASE/Product.asp?vlnk=6> (accessed 26th February 2008).

ONS (2008). *Labour Force Survey*. Available at: <http://www.ons.gov.uk/> (accessed 4th April 2010).

Ostgaard, T.A. and Birley, S. (1996). New venture growth and personal networks. *Journal of Business Research*, 36, 37-50.

Parker, D. (1994). Encounters across the counter: young Chinese people in Britain. *New Community*, 20, 621-634.

Peach, C. (1999). London and New York: Contrasts in British and American Models of Segregation (with comment by Nathan Glazer). *International Journal of Population Geography*, 5, 319-351.

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

Penrose, E. (1995). *The Theory of the Growth of the Firm*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Petersen, R. A. (1980) Entrepreneurship and organisation. In Nystrom, P. and Starbuck, W. (Eds.) *Handbook of Organisation Design*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pfeffer, J. (1981). *Power in Organizations*. Boston: Pitman.

Pickles, A. R. and O'Farrell, P. N. (1987). An analysis of entrepreneurial behaviour from male work histories. *Regional Studies*, 21,5, 425-444.

Polish Business News (2007). *600,000 Poles in UK*. Available at: http://pbn.home.pl.pop_print.php?print=true&id=778 (accessed 24th January 2008).

Polit, D. F. and Beck, C. T. (2004). *Nursing Research: Principle and Methods*. Philadelphia: Lippincott and Wilkins.

Pollard, N., Latorre, M. and Sriskandarajah, D. (2008). *Floodgates or Turnstiles? Post-EU Enlargement Migrations Flows to (and from) the UK*. Institute for Public Policy Research, London/ Available at: www.ippr.org/publicationsandreports/publication.asp?id60=3 (accessed 28th January 2010)

Portes, A. (1987). The social origins of the Cuban enclave economy of Miami. *Sociological Perspectives*, 30, 340-372.

Portes, A. (1995). Economic sociology and the sociology of immigration: a conceptual overview. In Portes, A. (Ed.) *The Economic Sociology of Immigration: Essays on Networks, Ethnicity and Entrepreneurship*, 1-42. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Portes, A., Haller, W. and Guarnizo, L.E. (2001). *Transnational Entrepreneurs: The Emergence and Determinants of an Alternative Form of Immigrant Economic Adaptation*. Available at: <http://www.transcomm.ox.ac.uk/working%20papers/WPTC-01-05%20Portes.pdf> (accessed 4th February 2011).

Portes, A. and Jensen, L. (1989). The enclave and the entrants. *American Sociological Review*, 54, 929-949.

Portes, A. and Zhou, M. (1996). Self-employment and the earnings of immigrants. *American Sociological Review*, 61, 219-230.

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. London: DWP.

Pred, A. (1977). The choreography of existence: Comments on Hägerstrand's time-geography and its usefulness. *Economic Geography*, 53, 207-221.

Punch, M. (1986). *The Politics and Ethics of Fieldwork*. London: Sage.

- Quesnay, F. (1988). *Oeuvres Economiques et Philosophiques*. Frankfurt: M.J. Baer.
- Rabikowska, M. (2010). The ritualisation of food, home and national identity among Polish migrants in London. *Social Identities*, 16, 3, 377-398.
- Rae, D. (2000). Understanding entrepreneurial learning: A question of how? *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research*, 6, 3, 145-159.
- Radley, A. and Chamberlain, K. (2001). Health psychology and the study of the case: from method to analytic concern. *Social Science and Medicine*, 53, 3, 321-332.
- Raisch, S. and Birkinshaw, J. (2008). Organisational ambidexterity: antecedents, outcomes, and moderators. *Journal of Management*, 34, 3, 375-409.
- Ram, M. (1993). Unravelling social networks in ethnic minority firms. *International Small Business Journal*, 12, 3, 42-53.
- Ram, M. (1994). Unravelling social networks in ethnic minority firms. *International Small Business Journal*, 12, 42-53.
- Ram, M. (1997). Ethnic minority enterprise: an overview and research agenda. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research*, 3, 3, 149-56.
- Ram, M., Abbas, T., Sanghera, N. and Hillin, G. (2000). Currying favour with the locals: Balti owners and business enclaves. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research*, 6, 41-55.
- Ram, M., Ford, M. and Hilling, G. (1997). Ethnic business development, a case from the inner city. In Deakins, D., Jennings, P. and Mason, C. (Eds.) *Small Firms: Entrepreneurship in the 1990s*. London: Paul Chapman Press.
- Ram, M. and Hillin, G. (1994). Achieving 'break-out': developing mainstream ethnic minority business. *Small Business Enterprise and Development*, 1, 1, 15-21.
- Ram, M. and Holliday, R. (1993). Relative merits: family culture and kinship in small firms. *Sociology*, 27, 4, 629-648.
- Ram, M. and Jones, T. (1998). *Ethnic Minorities in Business*. Milton Keynes: Small Business Research Trust Report.
- Ram, M., T. Jones, T. Abbas and B. Sanghera. (2002). Ethnic minority enterprise in its urban context: South Asian restaurants in Birmingham. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 26, 24-40.
- Ram, M. and Smallbone, D. (2001). *Ethnic Minority Enterprise: Policy and Practice*. Sheffield: Sheffield Business School.

Ram, M. Smallbone, D. Deakins, D. and Jones, T. (2003). Banking on 'break-out': finance and the development of ethnic minority business. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 29, 4, 663 – 681.

Ram, M., Theodorakopoulos, N. and Jones, T. (2008). Forms of capital, mixed embeddedness and Somali enterprise. *Work, Employment and Society*, 22, 3, 427-446.

Rath, J. (2002). A quintessential immigrant niche? The non-case of immigrants in the Dutch construction industry. *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development*, 14, 355-372.

Reeves, E.L. and Ward, R. (1984). West Indian business in Britain. In Ward, R. and Jenkins, R. (Eds.) *Ethnic Communities in Business: Strategies for Economic Survival*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Refugee Council (1997). *Asylum Statistics 1986-1996*, London: RC.

Reinharz, S. (1992). *Feminist Methods in Social Research*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Reuber, A. R. and Fischer, E. M. (1993). The learning experiences of entrepreneurs. In Churchill, N.C. et al. (Eds.) *Frontiers of Entrepreneurship Research*. Wellesby: Babson Centre for Entrepreneurial Studies.

Reynolds, P. (1991). Sociology and entrepreneurship: concepts and contributions. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 16, 2, 47–70.

Reynolds, P. (1994). Reducing barriers to understanding new firm gestation: prevalence and success of nascent entrepreneurs. Unpublished paper, presented at the *Meeting of Academy of Management*, Dallas, TX.

Reynolds, P and White, S. (1997). *The Entrepreneurial Process: Economic Growth, Men, Women and Minorities*. Westport, CN: Quorum Books.

Reynolds, P., Hay, M., Bygrave, W. D., Camp, S. M. and Autio, E. (2000). *Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM). 2000 Executive Report*. London: GEM.

Richards, L. and Richards, T. (1991). The transformation of qualitative method: computational paradigms and research processes. In Fielding N. G. and Lee, R. M. (Eds.), *Using Computers in Qualitative Research*, 38-53. London: Sage.

Riddle, L. (2008). Diasporas: Exploring their development potential. *ESR Review*, 10, 2, 28-36.

Robson, C. (1993). *Real World Research: a Resource for Social Scientists and Practitioner-Researchers*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Roediger, D. (2005). *Working Toward Whiteness: How America's Immigrants Became White*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Rones, P. (1981). Response to recession: reduce hours or jobs? *Monthly Labor Review*, October, 3-11.

Rosenberg, N. (1982). *Inside the Black Box: Technology and Economics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rotter, J. B. (1966). Generalized expectancies for internal versus external control of reinforcement. *Psychological Monographs: General and Applied*, 80, 609.

Rumelt, R. (2009). Strategy in a 'Structural Break'. *McKinsey Quarterly*, 1, 35-42.

Ryan, L., Sales, R., Tilki, M., Siara, B. (2008). Social networks, social support and social capital: the experiences of recent Polish Migrants in London. *Sociology*, 42, 4, 672-690.

Ryan, L. and Sales, R. (2011). Family migration: the role of children and education in family decision-making strategies of Polish migrants in London. *International Migration*, early view.

Salaff, J., Greve, A., Wong, S. and Ping, L. (2003). Ethnic entrepreneurship and social networked and the enclave. In Yeoh, B., Kiong, T. and Charney, M. (Eds.) *Approaching Transnationalism: Transnational Societies, Multicultural Contacts and Imaginings of Home*, 61-82. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Sales, R., Ryan, L., Lopez-Rodriguez, M. and D'Angelo, A. (2009). *Polish Pupils in London Schools: Opportunities and Challenges*. Middlesex: Multiverse and Middlesex University.

Salt, J. (1992). Migration processes among the highly skilled in Europe. *International Migration Review*, 26, 2, 484-505.

Salt, J. (2011). *International Migration and the United Kingdom: Report of the United Kingdom SOPEMI Correspondent to the OECD, 2009* UCL, London. Available at: <http://www.geog.ucl.ac.uk/research/mobility-identity-and-security/migration-research-unit/pdfs/Sop11.pdf> (accessed 6th March 2012).

Sanders, J.M and Nee, V. (1996). Immigrant self-employment: the family as social capital and the value of human capital. *American Sociological Review*, 61, 231-349.

Sarasvathy, D., Simon, H., and Lave, L. (1998). Perceiving and managing business risks: differences between entrepreneurs and bankers. *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization*, 33, 207-225.

Saxenian, A. (1999). *Silicon Valley's New Immigrant Entrepreneurs*. The Center for Comparative Immigration Studies, Working Paper 15. Santa Cruz: University of California.

Saxenian, A. (2002). Transnational communities and the evolution of global production networks: the cases of Taiwan, China and India. *Industry and Innovation*, 9, 3, 183-202.

Saxenian, A. (2003). The role of immigrant entrepreneurs in new venture creation. In Steyaert, C. and Hjorth, D. *New Movements in Entrepreneurship*, 68-105. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar

Saxenian, A. and Hsu, J. Y. (2001). The Silicon Valley--Hsinchu connection: technical communities and industrial upgrading. *Industrial and Corporate Change*, 10, 4, 893-920.

Saxenian, A., Keniston, K. and Kumar, D. (Eds.). (2000). The Bangalore boom: from brain drain to brain circulation? In Saxenian, A., Keniston, K. and Kumar, D. (Eds.) *IT Experience in India: Bridging the Digital Divide*, 169-181. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Sayer, A. and Morgan, k. (1985). A modern industry in a declining region: links between method, theory and policy. In Massey, D. and Meegan, R. *Politics and Method*, 147-168. London: Methuen.

Schendel, D. and Hofer, C. (1979.) *Strategic Management: A New View of Business Policy and Planning*. London: Little, Brown and Company.

Schere, J. (1982). *Tolerance of Ambiguity as a Discriminating Variable Between Entrepreneurs and Managers*. New York: Proceedings Academy of Management.

Schindehutte, M. and Morris, M.H. (2009). Advancing strategic entrepreneurship research: the role of complexity science in shifting the paradigm. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 33, 1, 241-276.

Schoenberger, E. (1992). Self-criticism and self-awareness in research: a reply to Linda McDowell. *Professional Geographer*, 44, 2, 215-218.

Schon, D. (1963). Champions for radical new inventions. *Harvard Business Review*, 41, 77-86.

Schumpeter, J. A. (1934). *The Theory of Economic Development: An Inquiry into Profits, Capital, Credit, Interest and the Business Cycles*. Boston: Harvard Business Press.

Scott, W.R. (1981). *Organizations: Rational, Natural, and Open Systems*. Harlow: Peason.

Scott, J. W. (2006). *EU Enlargement, Region Building and Shifting Borders of Inclusion and Exclusion*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Seale, C. (1999). *The Quality of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Seidman, I. (1998). *Interviewing as Qualitative Research: a Guide for Researchers in Education and the Social Sciences*. New York: Teacher's College Press.

Shaffir, W. B., Stebbings, R. A. and Turowetz, A. (1991). *Fieldwork Experience: Qualitative Approaches to Social Research*. New York: St Martin's.

Shama, A. (1993). Marketing strategies during recession: a comparison of small and large firms. *Journal of Small Business Management*, 31, 3, 62-72.

Shane, S., Locke, E. and Collins, C. (2003). Entrepreneurial motivation. *Human Resource Management Review*, 13, 257–279.

Shane, S. and Venkataraman, S. (2000). The promise of entrepreneurship as a field of research. *The Academy of Management Review*, 25, 1, 217-226.

Silberston, A. (1983). Efficiency and the individual firm. In Shepherd, D., Turk, J. and Silberston, A. (Eds.) *Microeconomic Efficiency and Macroeconomic Performance*. London: Philip Allen.

Silverman, D. (1993). *Interpreting Qualitative Data: Methods for Analysing Talk, Text and Interaction*. London: Sage.

Simmel, G. (1950). The stranger. In Wolf, K. (Ed.) *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*. Glencoe: Free Press.

Sirmon, D. G. and Hitt, M. A. (2003). Managing resources: linking unique resources, management and wealth creation in family firms. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 27, 4, 339–358.

Smallbone, D., North, D. and Leigh, R. (1992). *Managing Change for Growth and Survival: The Study of Mature Manufacturing Firms in London During the 1980s*. Planning Research Centre, Working Paper 3. Middlesex: Middlesex Polytechnic.

Sinn, H. W. (2004). EU enlargement, migration and the new constitution. *CESifo Economic Studies*, 50, 4, 685-707.

Smart, A. and George C.S. (2007). Local capitalisms, local citizenship and translocality: rescaling from below in the Pearl River Delta region, China. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 31, 2, 280–302.

Smith, M. P. (2001). *Transnational Urbanism: Locating Globalization*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Smith, K. E. (2006). Problematising power relations in 'elite' interviews. *Geoforum*, 37, 4, 643-653.

Smith, M. P. and Guarnizo, L. E. (Ed.) (1998). *Transnationalism from Below*. Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books.

Sollymossy, E. (2005). Entrepreneurship in extreme environments: building an expanded model. *International Entrepreneurship and Management Journal*, 1, 501-518.

Sombart, W. (1914). *The Jews and Modern Capitalism*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.

Spooner, P. (2000). *Birmingham Voice*, 3.

Srinivasan, S. (1992). The class position of the Asian petty bourgeoisie. *New Community*, 19, 61-74.

Stanworth, J., Stanworth, C., Granger, B. and Blyth, S. (1989). Who becomes an entrepreneur? *International Small Business Journal*, 8, 1, 11-22.

Standing, K. (1998). Writing the voices of the less powerful: research on lone mothers. In Ribbens, J. and Edwards, R. (Eds.) *Feminist Dilemmas in Qualitative Research: Public Knowledge and Private Lives*. London: Sage.

Steier, L. (2009). Where do new firms come from? Household, family capital, ethnicity and the welfare mix. *Family Business Review*, 22, 273-278.

Stenning, A., Champion, A. Conway, C. Coombes, M. Dawley, S., Dixon, L., Raybould, S. and Richardson, R. (2006). *Assessing the Local and Regional Impacts of International Migration*. London: Department for Communities and Local Government.

Stenning, A. and Dawley, S. (2009). Poles to Newcastle: grounding new migrant flows in peripheral regions. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 16, 3, 273-294.

Stewart, H. and Gallagher, C. C. (1985). Business death and firm size in the UK. *International Small Business Journal*, 4, 1.

Stillwell, J. (2009). The ethnic dimension of London's internal migration. Presentation at *UPTAP Annual Workshop*, University of Leeds, 23rd- 25th March 2009. Available at: <http://www.uptap.net/presentations/event090323/stillwell.pdf> (accessed 28th January 2012).

Stinchcombe, A.L. (1965). Social structure and organizations. *Handbook of Organizations*, 171-232.

- Stoica, M. and Schindehutte, M. (1999). Understanding adaptation in small firms: links to culture and performance. *Journal of Developmental Entrepreneurship*, 4, 1, 1-15.
- Storey, D. J. (1994). *Understanding the Small Business Sector*. London: Routledge.
- Strange, S. (1988). *States and Markets*. London: Pinter.
- Strauss, A. L. (1987). *Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sundaramurthy, C. (2008). Sustaining trust within family businesses. *Family Business Review*, 21, 89-102.
- Sutcliffe, A. and Smith, R. (1974) *Birmingham 1939-1970*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Sword, K. (1996a). *Identity in Flux. The Polish Community in Britain*. School of Slavonic and East European Studies Occasional Paper.
- Swinth, R. L., and Vinton, K. L. (1993). Do family owned businesses have a strategic advantage in international joint ventures? *Family Business Review*, 6, 1, 19–30.
- Tagiuri, R. and Davis, J. A. (1996). Bivalent attributes of the family firm. *Family Business Review*, 9, 2, 199–208.
- Tannen, D. (1994). *Talking from 9 to 5: How Women's and Men's Conversational Styles Affect Who Gets Heard, Who Gets Credit, and What Gets Done at Work*. London: Virago.
- Teece, D.J. (1987). Profiting from technological innovation: Implications for integration, collaboration, licensing, and public policy. In Teece, D.J. (Ed.) *The Competitive Challenge*, 185-219. Cambridge, MA: Ballinger Publishing.
- Teece, D. J. (1993). The dynamics of industrial capitalism: perspectives on Alfred Chandler's scale and scope. *Journal of Economic Literature*, 31, 199-225.
- Tellis, W. (1997). Introduction to case study. *The Qualitative Report*, 3, 2.
- Temple, B. (2010). Feeling special: language in the lives of Polish people. *The Sociological Review*, 58, 2, 286-304.
- Temple, B. and Edwards, R. (2002). Interpreters/translators and cross-language research: reflexivity and border crossings. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 1, 2, 20.

Thomas, A.S. and Mueller, S.L. (2000). A case for comparative entrepreneurship: assessing the relevance of culture. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 31, 2, 287-301.

Thomas, H. and Willard, G. (1995). Conclusions and reflections. In Bull, I., Thomas, H. and Willard, G. (Eds.) *Entrepreneurship: Perspectives on Theory Building*, 167-173. Oxford: Pergamon.

Thornton, P. H. (1999). The sociology of entrepreneurship. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 25, 19-46.

Thornton, P. H. and Flynn, K. H. (2005). Entrepreneurship, networks and geographies. In Acs, Z. J. and Audretsch, D. B. (Eds.) *Handbook of Entrepreneurship Research: an Interdisciplinary Survey and Introduction*, 401-434. New York: Springer.

Thrift, N. (1981). Owners time and own time: the making of capitalist time consciousness, 1300-1880. In Pred, A. (Ed.) *Space and Time in Geography: Essays dedicated to Torstion H  gerstrand*. Lund: Lund Studies in Geography Series B, No. 48

Thrift, N. (1983). On the determination of social action in space and time. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 1, 23–57.

Thrift, N. and May, J. (eds.) (2001) *Timespace: Geographies of Temporality*. London: Routledge

Thurik, R. Wennekers, S. and Uhlaner, L.M. (2002). Entrepreneurship and economic performance: a macro perspective. *International Journal of Entrepreneurship Education*, 1, 1, 25-64.

Tokarczyk, J., Hansen, E., Green, M. and Down, J. (2007). A resource-based view and market orientation theory examination of the role of ‘familiness’ in family business success. *Family Business Review*, 20, 17-31.

Tracy, K., Locke, E., and Renard, M. (1998). Conscious goal setting versus subconscious motives: longitudinal and concurrent effects on the performance of entrepreneurial firms. Paper presented at the *Meeting of the Academy of Management*, Boston, MA.

Tseng, Y. F. (2002). From ‘us’ to ‘them’: diasporic linkages and identity politics. *Global Studies in Culture and Power*, 9, 382-404.

Tucker, J. (2011). Keeping the business in the family and the family in business: “What is the legacy?” *Journal of Family Business Management*, 1, 1, 65 – 73.

Turgot, A. R. J. (1776). *Reflections on the Formation of and Distribution of Wealth*. London: Spraaag.

Tushman, M. L. and O'Reilly, C. A. (1996). Ambidextrous organisations: managing evolutionary and revolutionary change. *California Management Review*, 38, 4, 8-30.

Uzzi, B. (1996). The sources and consequences of embeddedness for the economic performance of organisation: 'the network effort'. *American Sociological Review*, 61, 674-698.

Van Praag, C. M. (1999). Some classic views on entrepreneurship. *De Economist*, 147, 311-335.

Van Vuuren, J. and Boshoff, A. (1994). Entrepreneurs: are they different? A re-analysis of a South African dataset. In Klandt, H., Mugler, J. and Bohling, D. (Eds.) *Internationalising Entrepreneurship, Education and Training*. Koln-Dortmund, Forderkreis- Grundunfsforschung.

Velayutham, S. and Wise, A. (2005). Moral economies of a translocal village: obligations and shame among South Indian transnational migrants. *Global Networks*, 5, 1, 27-47.

Venkataraman, S. (1997). The distinctive domain of entrepreneurship research: an editor's perspective. In Katz, J. and Brockhaus, R. (Eds.), *Advances in Entrepreneurship, Firm Emergence, and Growth*, 119-138. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Venkataraman, S. and Van de Ven, A. H. (1998). Hostile environmental jolts, transaction set, and new business. *Journal of Business Venturing*, 13, 231-55.

Vershinina, N., Barrett, R. and Meyer, M. (2009). Researching immigrant entrepreneurial development: an ethnographic study of Polish entrepreneurs in Leicester. *Research in Entrepreneurship and Small Business Conference*, 19th – 20th November, Budapest, Hungary.

Vertovec, S. (2001). Transnationalism and identity. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 27, 4, 573- 582.

Vertovec, S. (2006). *The Emergence of Super-diversity in Britain*. University of Oxford, Working Paper 25. Oxford: University of Oxford.

Vinogradov, E. (2011). Ethical Aspects of Research on Ethnic/Immigrant Entrepreneurship. *Entrepreneurship Research Journal*, 1, 3.

Volery, T. (2007). Ethnic entrepreneurship: a theoretical framework. In Dana, L. P. (Eds.), *Handbook of Research on Ethnic Minority Entrepreneurship: a Co-evolutionary View on Resource Management*, 30-41. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Waldinger, R. D. (1986). *Through the Eye of the Needle: Immigrants and Enterprise in New York's Garment Trade*. New York: New York University Press.

Waldinger, R. (1988). The Ethnic Division of Labour Transformed: Native Minorities and New Immigrants in Post-Industrial New York. *New Community*, 14, 3, 318-332.

Waldinger, R.H, Aldrich, H. and Ward, R. (1990). Opportunities, group characteristics, and strategies. In Waldinger, R., Aldrich, H., Ward, R. and Associates (Eds.), *Ethnic Entrepreneurs: Immigrant Business in Industrial Society*. London: Sage.

Ward, J. L. (1988). The special role of strategic planning for family businesses. *Family Business Review*, 1, 2, 105–117.

Ward, J. L. (1997). Growing the family business: special challenges and best practices. *Family Business Review*, 10, 4, 323–337.

Waters, J. L. (2002). Flexible families? ‘Astronaut’ households and the experiences of lone mothers in Vancouver, British Columbia. *Social and Cultural Geography*, 3, 2, 117 – 134

Watson, J. (1977). The Chinese: Hong Kong villagers in the British catering trade. In Watson, J. (Ed.) *Between Two Cultures*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Weber, M. (1930). *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. London: Allen and Unwin.

Welsh, E. (2002). Dealing with data: using NVivo in the qualitative data analysis process. *Forum Qualitative Social Research*, 3, 2, Art 26.

Wennekers, S. Uhlaner, L.M. and Thurik, R. (2002). Entrepreneurship and its conditions: a macro perspective. *International Journal of Entrepreneurship Education*, 1, 2, 157-179.

Werbner, P. (1984). Business on trust: Pakistani entrepreneurship in the Manchester garment trade. In Ward, R. and Jenkins, R. (Eds.) *Ethnic Communities in Business: Strategies for Economic Survival*, 166-188. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Werbner, P. (1990). Renewing the industrial past: British Pakistani entrepreneurship in Manchester. *Migration*, 8, 17-41.

White, A. (2010). *Polish Families and Migration in Poland since EU Accession*. Bristol: Policy Press.

White, A. (2011). The mobility of Polish families in the West of England: translocalism and attitudes to return’ *Studia Migracyjne – Przegląd Polonijny*, 1 (Spring).

White, A. and Ryan, L. (2008). Polish ‘temporary’ migration: the formation and significance of social networks. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 60, 9, 1467-1502.

Wickham, P.A. (1998). *Strategic Entrepreneurship: a Decision-Making Approach to New Venture Creation and Management*. London: Financial Times Management.

Williamson, O.E. (1975). *Markets and Hierarchies: Analysis and Antitrust Implications*. London: Macmillan.

Wills, J., J. May, K. Datta, Y. Evans, J. Herbert and C. McIlwaine. 2009. London's migrant division of labour. *European Urban and Regional Studies* 16(3): 257-71.

Wilson, K. L. and Portes, A. (1980). Immigrant enclaves: an analysis of the labour market experiences of Cubans in Miami. *American Journal of Sociology*, 88, 135-160.
Wong, B., McReynolds, B.S., Wong, W. (1992). Chinese family firms in the San Francisco Bay area. *Family Business Review*, 5, 4, 355-372.

Wong, L.L. and Ng, M. (2002) The emergence of small transnational enterprise in Vancouver: the case of Chinese entrepreneur immigrants. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 26, 3, 508-30.

Woo, C.Y., Cooper, A.C., Nicholls-Nixon, C., and Dunkelberg, W.C. (1990). Adaptation by start-up firms, *Frontiers of Entrepreneurship Research*, 306-19.

Yeung, H.W.C. (2002). Entrepreneurship in international business: an institutional perspective. *Asia Pacific Journal of Management*, 19, 29-61.

Yeung, H.W.C. (2007). Transnationalizing entrepreneurship: a critical agenda for economic-geographical research. *Annual Conference of the Royal Geographical Society*, 28th - 31st August, Institute of British Geographers, London.

Yeung, H. W. C. and Olds, K. (eds.) (2000), *Globalization of Chinese Business Firms*, London: Macmillan.

Yin, R. K. (1981). The case study crisis: some answers. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 26, 58-65.

Yin, R. K. (1994). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods* (2nd edition). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publishing.

Yin, R. K. (2003). *Case Study Research : Design and Methods* (3rd edition). London: Sage.

Yu, E. and Liu, W. (1986). Methodological problems and policy implications in Vietnamese refugee research. *International Migration Review*, 20, 10, 483-501.

Zachary, R. K. (2011). The importance of the family system in family business. *Journal of Family Business Management*, 1, 1, 126 – 136.

Zahra, S. and George, G. (2002). International entrepreneurship: the current status of the field and future research agenda. In Hitt, M., Ireland, D. Sexton, D. and Camp, M. (Eds.) *Strategic Entrepreneurship: Creating an Integrated Mindset*, 255-288. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Zhou, Yu, and Tseng Y. F. (2001). Immigrant economy in a Pacific Rim context: Chinese businesses in Los Angeles. In Alvion Y. S., Lin, N. and Poston, D. (Eds.) *The Chinese Triangle of Mainland-Taiwan-Hong Kong: Comparative Institutional Analyses*. West port, CN: Greenwood.

APPENDIX

Appendix A Characteristics of respondents and business information.....	424
Appendix B Interview schedules.....	427
Appendix C Interview transcript extract and using NVivo.....	431

Appendix A Characteristics of respondents and business information

Coded name	Gender of owner	Age	Business location (county)	Business type	Business sector	Services or products supplied/produced	Mig date
Adrian	Male	42	West Midlands	Nightclub	Retail/service	Leisure	200
Agata	Female	36	West Midlands and Staffordshire	Bakery	Retail/service	Bread supplied and produced	200
Alina	Female	28	West Midlands	Nursery	Retail/service	Childcare	200
Anna	Female	37	West Midlands	Delicatessen	Retail/service	Polish food and products supplied	200
Arek	Male	38	Staffordshire	Construction	Retail/service	Building services	200
Aron	Male	29	Warwickshire	Delicatessen	Retail/Service	Polish food and products supplied	200
Artur	Male	23	Worcestershire	Car garage	Retail/service	Car repair services	200
Borys	Male	23	Warwickshire	Car garage	Retail/service	Car repair services	Jan-200
Beata	Female	29	West Midlands	Graphic design	Professional	Graphic design services	200
Casper	Male	31	West Midlands	Delicatessen	Retail/service	Polish food and products supplied	200
Cyryl	Male	35	Staffordshire	Delicatessen	Retail/service	Polish food and products supplied	200
Dawid	Male	39	Worcestershire	Accountant	Professional	Financial services	May 200
Felix	Male	24	Herefordshire	Delicatessen	Retail/service	Polish food and products supplied	Jan-200
Florian	Male	32	Staffordshire	Butcher	Retail/service	Supplier of meat	200
Henryk	Male	30	Shropshire	Plumber	Retail/service	Plumbing services	200
Iwona	Female	29	West Midlands	Hair salon	Retail/service	Hairdressing	200
Jacek	Male	31	West Midlands	Plumber	Retail/service	Plumbing services	200
Janek	Male	23	Staffordshire	Delicatessen	Retail/service	Polish food and products supplied	200
Jania	Female	33	West Midlands	Travel agent	Retail/service	Travel services	Jan-200
Jedrik	Male	36	Herefordshire	Recruitment agency	Professional	Recruitment	200
Kasia	Female	23	Shropshire	Delicatessen	Retail/service	Polish food and products supplied	200
Katrine	Female	27	West Midlands	Marketing and PR	Professional	Marketing and PR	200
Kolby	Male	34	Warwickshire	Restaurant	Retail/service	Catering	200
Krysta	Female	29	Staffordshire	Tanning salon	Retail/service	Health and beauty	200
Kuba	Male	34	Staffordshire	Car garage	Retail/service	Car repair services and car washing	200
Lidia	Female	26	Worcestershire	Delicatessen	Retail/service	Polish food and products supplied	200
Lila	Female	24	West Midlands	Communication services	Professional	Communication services	200
Magdalena	Female	32	West Midlands	Delicatessen	Retail/service	Polish food and products supplied	200
Marc	Male	46	Staffordshire	Mortgage advice	Professional	Mortgage advice	May 200

Marta	Female	24	Herefordshire	Beauty salon	Retail/service	Health and beauty	Jan-200
Mela	Female	33	Herefordshire	Restaurant	Retail/service	Catering	200
Michal	Male	31	Warwickshire	Delicatessen	Retail/service	Polish food and products supplied	200
Milek	Male	40	Warwickshire	IT consultancy	Professional	IT consultancy	May 200
Nelek	Male	23	Herefordshire	Delicatessen	Retail/service	Polish food and products supplied	200
Oles	Male	34	Worcestershire	Delicatessen	Retail/service	Polish food and products supplied	200
Piotr	Male	23	Staffordshire	Plumber	Retail/service	Plumbing services	200
Rahel	Female	23	West Midlands	Hair salon	Retail/service	Hairdressing	200
Roza	Female	32	West Midlands	Delicatessen	Retail/service	Polish food and products supplied	200
Sebastian	Male	37	West Midlands	Restaurant	Retail/service	Catering	200
Selina	Female	31	Staffordshire	Recruitment agency	Professional	Recruitment	May 200
Slywia	Female	24	Herefordshire	Delicatessen	Retail/service	Polish food and products supplied	Jan-200
Stefan	Male	39	West Midlands	Delicatessen	Retail/service	Polish food and products supplied	200
Tolek	Male	33	Warwickshire	Construction	Retail/service	Building services	200
Tomasz	Male	27	West Midlands	Butcher	Retail/service	Supplier of meat	200
Truda	Female	32	West Midlands	Delicatessen	Retail/service	Polish food and products supplied	200
Violet	Female	29	Staffordshire	Hair salon	Retail/service	Hairdressing	200
Wicus	Male	32	West Midlands	Business consultancy	Professional	Business services	200
Zyta	Female	23	Shropshire	Marketing	Professional	Marketing	200

Appendix B Interview schedules

These are the questions used during interviews with Polish entrepreneurs and business organisations/ key informants. They acted as a series of prompt questions, rather than a script that was worked through in order. They were modified as the data collection proceeded due to new information and ideas being obtained.

Entrepreneur interview schedule

- Where do you live?
- How old are you?
- When did you arrive in the UK?
- Why did you choose to leave Poland?
- What was your occupation in Poland?
- What type of business are you involved in?
- Why did you choose this type of business?
- When did you set up your business?
- Did you enter into employment when arriving in the UK or move straight to self-employment?
- Where is your business located?
- Why did you choose to set up your business in the UK rather than another country?
- How did you set up your business? What processes did you go through?
- How did you acquire the knowledge to set up this business?
- How did you apply for a National Insurance Number?
- Do you employ Polish immigrants or are your employees another nationality?
- Do you employ family members?

- What nationality do your customers tend to be?
- What makes your business Polish?
- Do you intend for your migration to be a short-term or long-term experience? Why?
- Where do your parents live?
- Do you have any family in the UK/ West Midlands?
- Do you have any friends from Poland who now live in the UK/ West Midlands?
- Do you have interactions with people or businesses in Poland? Are these for your personal needs or for the needs of the business?
- Do you have an involvement in your local community and life in the UK/ West Midlands?
- Are there knowledge networks that operate between the different waves of Polish migrants to offer business support? If so, do you rely on these?
- Are there supporting institutions available within the Polish community to assist businesses? If so, do you rely on these?
- Do you get your business services (i.e. solicitor, accountant, etc) from other Polish businesses or from elsewhere?
- Do you think that Poles returning to their homeland, as a result of the UK recession and improving economic conditions in Poland? Or is it due to other reasons?
- Has your business suffered as a result of the UK recession?
- How have you adapted your business to the UK recession?
- Are you aware of any Polish businesses in the area which have recently closed or made adaptations?
- Are you trying to grow your business, if so how?
- What are your plans for the future?
- Can you recommend any other entrepreneurs who might be interested in participating in this research?

Supporting organisation/ key informant interview schedule

- What is your name?
- What is the name of the organisation that you are associated with?
- What is the purpose of the organisation that you are involved in?
- When was the organisation established?
- What is your role within the organisation?
- How long have you been involved in the organisation?
- What involvement do you have with Polish entrepreneurs?
- What types of entrepreneurs do you assist?
- Where do Polish businesses tend to be located?
- Do Polish entrepreneurs see their migration to be a short-term or long-term experience?
- When did most of the Polish entrepreneurs you assist migrate to the UK?
- Why did most of the Polish entrepreneurs you assist choose the UK/ West Midlands as their destination?
- When did most of the Polish entrepreneurs you assist establish their businesses?
- What strategies do Polish entrepreneurs use to establish their businesses?
- Did most Polish entrepreneurs enter employment when arriving in the UK or move straight into self-employment?
- Do Polish entrepreneurs maintain links to family, friends or businesses in Poland?
- Are there knowledge networks that operate between the different waves of Polish migrants to offer business support?
- Do Polish entrepreneurs get their business services (i.e. solicitor, accountant, etc) from other Polish businesses or from elsewhere

- What do you think are the key issues facing Polish entrepreneurs in the West Midlands?
- Do Polish entrepreneurs discuss turbulent times for their businesses?
- What factors present a challenge to Polish businesses?
- Do Polish entrepreneurs express a desire for more support from organisations and institutions?
- Do Polish entrepreneurs have an involvement in the local communities?
- What are the future plans of Polish entrepreneurs?
- Can you recommend any Polish entrepreneurs or relevant supporting institutions that might be interested in participating in this research?

Appendix C Interview transcript extract and using NVivo

Using NVivo

This research engaged in qualitative data analysis, seeking to “make sense of the data produced through categorisation and connection” (Kitchen and Tate, 2000: p.229). The software NVivo was used as it provides a set of tools that assist researchers in the data analysis process (Bazeley, 2007). For example, NVivo enables researchers to efficiently manage data and ideas, query the data by grouping, comparing, contrasting and linking data, graphically model data relationships (Bazeley, 2007: p.3; Kitchen and Tate, 2000: p.257) and generate reports including statistical summaries (Kitchen and Tate, 2000: p.257). The data analysis process was recorded in a research journal in NVivo to enable me to document how I “moved from initial forays” in the project to arrival at the conclusion (Bazeley, 2007:p.29).

The data analysis process began with transcribing as this “facilitated the close attention and the interpretative thinking that is needed to make sense of the data” (Bird, 2005: p.230). Memos were created to record theoretical and methodological issues that arose during transcribing (Bazeley, 2007: p.31). The transcripts were imported into NVivo, as well as additional sources including research instruments, field notes and external links to relevant newspaper articles and websites (Bazeley, 2007). The individuals interviewed were coded as ‘cases’ (Bazeley, 2007: p.42). Descriptive analysis involved assigning attribute values to these cases, for example how many employees (Bazeley, 2007: p.42; Kitchen and Tate, 2000) and ‘auto-coding’ the transcripts by assigning broad topic headings to develop an initial idea of themes emerging from the data (Bazeley, 2007). Coding is the process of “tagging text with codes” and “an abstract representation of an object or phenomenon” (Bazeley, 2007: p.66). The coding process began by reading each transcript and identifying the main themes and key concepts (for instance migration, motives for establishing a new business, barriers, family, finance and business networks, to name a few) which were sorted into categories of similar or related phenomena through the process of coding. These codes were labelled and became the nodes in NVivo. Node is the term used by NVivo to represent a code, theme, or idea about

the data in question. NVivo has several types of nodes available for users. Free nodes are freestanding and are not associated with a structured framework of themes or concepts. I began using only free nodes, as this was a good way to become familiar with the key concepts of the transcripts.

As transcription continued this resulted in an excessive number of nodes. Consequently, I sub-divided these into tree nodes. Tree nodes are codes that are organised in a hierarchical structure. For example, the node of 'family' was subdivided into tree nodes including parents, siblings, finance, and advice, which previously had formed free nodes. The analysis of the transcripts was then continued by coding using tree nodes. A large number of sections of the transcripts were coded for more than one node as many of the themes overlapped. These nodes were merged, rearranged and refined as I revised and critiqued the nodes developed through (re)reading the transcripts (Bazeley, 2007). The coding process is critically important as coding is "a way of linking data to ideas and from ideas back to supporting data" (Bazeley, 2007: p.66). Models of the coding process were developed to illustrate the hierarchical links between the nodes.

I used NVivo for this research to assist me in the process of qualitative data analysis and to explore the opportunities and limitations of this software (May, 2001). A key advantage of NVivo is that it enables researchers to manage data more efficiently in comparison to dealing with "mountains of paper" and attempting to "develop links between sometimes disparate materials (notes, interview transcripts, diary entries, newspaper cuttings, etc)" (Hinchliffe et al., 1997: p.1111). The software tools enable memos, external sources and data collection to be linked together and specifically linked to interview participants (Bazeley, 2007) that can be retrieved instantly and systematically (Hinchliffe et al., 1997). This reduces "data management time" and increases the time to "think more clearly and deeply about the material" (Crang et al., 1997: p.784). The use of a research journal also enabled me to document the analytical process development (Hinchliffe et al., 1997). However, it is important to note, researchers control the organisation and management of information in NVivo,

for example the use of the research journal can record data analysis actions and thoughts but only if the researcher has manually kept the journal updated.

A second key advantage of NVivo is that it assists researchers in the coding process by enabling researchers to retrieve “lists of codes, search for keywords and phrases, and view them in context” (Bird, 2005: p.237) in comparison to coding by hand which “can be messy, confusing and time consuming” (Kitchen and Tate, 2000: p.257). However, computer assisted qualitative data analysis can cause researchers to distance themselves from the data, due to the ability to manipulate the data by “moving chunks of text, slicing up people’s words, and reconfiguring organisational code trees at a frightening rate” (Hinchliffe et al., 1997:1115). Despite this, the research experienced that rapid access to the original context of node segments enabled the problem of disconnection to be overcome (Bazeley, 2007: p.9).

During the analysis of the data for this research NVivo encouraged “a slow and meticulous reading and coding of materials...moving through the texts with a systematic tooth comb” (Hinchliffe, 1997: p.1117), instead of randomly picking interesting quotes to insert into the analysis. The use of querying the data without having to store all of the texts enabled me to explore the data and begin to develop relationships between nodes. However, performing queries can become complex and limit the results obtained due to the use of the ‘and’ operator which “tends to produce ‘results’ which reduce the set of possible hits” (Hinchliffe, 1997: p.1116). For example, a query of the nodes ‘children’ and ‘wages’ produced no results. I had to query these separately to explore their association.

The use of NVivo and the coding process enabled the analysis to become more thorough and rigorous as a result (Bazeley, 2007). The limitations were overcome by developing a critical awareness that “a computer can help us analyse our data, but it cannot analyse our data... we must do the analysis” (Dey, 1993, in Kitchen and Tate, 2000: p.257). Users of NVivo must “ensure they remain in control of the processes they are engaging in and are getting the results they think they asked for” (Gilbert, 2002, in Bazeley, 2007: p.10).

Interview transcript extract with NVivo coding

Interviewer:
What type of business are you involved in?

Sebastian:
I run a Polish restaurant. So we have Polish... How do you say it? Decorations? Like furniture and pictures. And we have a menu with Polish food. Traditional Polish dishes.

Interviewer:
What was your occupation in Poland?

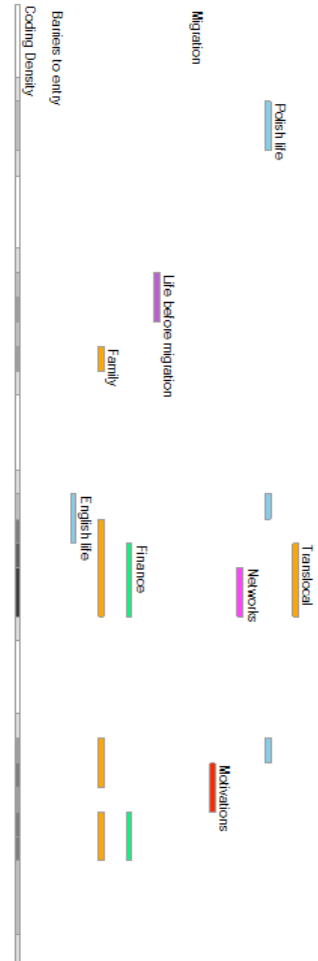
Sebastian:
I worked as a Sales Manager before I left Poland for a company that sold technical equipment. It was a good job...good status. I enjoyed it. But it was very hard work for not enough money. I went to university and did a business degree so working in a job like this used my education but sometimes that is not enough. Especially when you have a family... children to support.

Interviewer:
Why did you choose to leave Poland?

Sebastian:
The economy in Poland was not good at this time. England was a better option... more money to be made. My father had money to invest, but investing in Poland was not sensible. By me coming here [the UK] with his money it has spread the risk for him. It means he can continue to run his restaurant in Poland, and I can run mine here. We split the profit so we are both happy.

Interviewer:
Why did you choose to open a restaurant?

Sebastian:
To be honest it was my parents' idea. My father has his own restaurant in Poland so it was always a logical option for me. He didn't want to leave [Poland] so he asked if I would. It was planned for a few months that this is what I should do. He thought that arriving in 2003 would mean that we would beat the competition. He provided some of the money so that I could come then rather than waiting and saving. We did all the research before I came to England and then did the paperwork and applications when I got here. But we had a couple of trips beforehand to choose the premises and things like that.



Interviewer:

Did you ever have any involvement in your father's restaurant?

Sebastian:

Oh yes... When I was younger, a teenager, I was always working in the business. Working in the kitchen, waiting on customers, helping my dad however he needed. Even when I wasn't working I was always around the restaurant. Then when I got older and had my own life and own job I gradually had less interest and involvement [in the restaurant]. But I did help if he [his father] needed and it [his father's restaurant] has always been a big part of my life. I've never known my father without it [the restaurant].

Interviewer:

Did you enter into employment when arriving in the UK or move straight to self-employment?

Sebastian:

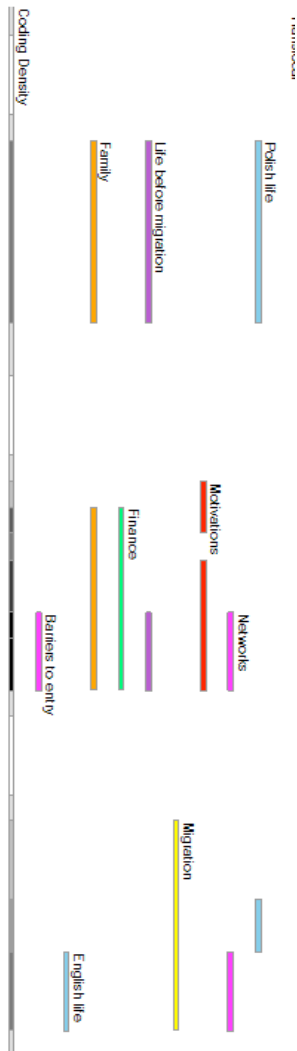
I opened my business within a couple of months of coming to the UK so I didn't have another job here first. My business is why I came here so that is what I wanted to do. I was quite lucky though because of my father's money helping me and because of his restaurant and business ideas. That saved a lot of time. And... as I said before... we came here [England] before setting up the business to get things started... paperwork done... things like that. So that saved a lot of time too. I have friends here... business people like me... who came here and did have to work before starting the business. They needed to get out of Poland but they were not in the position to get their business going straight away. I guess I was quite lucky like that.

Interviewer:

Why did you choose to set up your business in the UK rather than another country?

Sebastian:

Well it had to be one of the EU countries that was allowing accession migration. Even though I came on a business visa before accession the big reason I came was because of EU enlargement and the number of Poles I thought would be migrating here [England] because of that. England had the least restrictions. Poles had come here after the war so I thought there may be some Polish communities already... especially in Birmingham. And I had friends talking of coming to the UK too. Not when I was... but in 2004. So that was important to me. As much as I wanted to build a life here [the West Midlands], it was nice knowing there may be some familiar faces around too.



PUBLICATIONS

Harris, C., Moran, D. and Bryson J.R. (2012). EU accession migration: national insurance number allocations and the geographies of Polish labour immigration to the UK. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 103, 2, 209–221.

Harris, C., Moran, D. and Bryson, J.R. (forthcoming). Polish labour migration to the UK: data discrepancies, migrant distributions and entrepreneurial activity. Under review at *Growth and Change* (accepted with minor revisions, on 5th April 2012)

EU ACCESSION MIGRATION: NATIONAL INSURANCE NUMBER ALLOCATIONS AND THE GEOGRAPHIES OF POLISH LABOUR IMMIGRATION TO THE UK

CATHERINE HARRIS, DOMINIQUE MORAN & JOHN R. BRYSON

School of Geography, Earth and Environmental Sciences, University of Birmingham, UK.

E-mails: ceh638@bham.ac.uk; d.moran@bham.ac.uk; j.r.bryson@bham.ac.uk

Received: September 2010; accepted July 2011

ABSTRACT

This paper addresses the challenge of measuring the extent of immigration to the UK following EU Accession in 2004, and argues that the most commonly used databases (UK Census, Labour Force Survey and Worker Registration Scheme) can be supplemented by the National Insurance Number (NINo) Allocations database, and demonstrates the utility of this data for future research by outlining the geography of immigration derived from NINo. The paper makes three important contributions through the thorough analysis of a data source currently underexploited in migration studies; first that the NINo, when used as an indicator of migration per se offers some interesting insights into migration in the UK, and secondly that as a tool for comprehensively measuring the registration of migrants working legally in the UK, it offers a means of constructing an internal geography of (legal) labour migration, as the paper demonstrates. Third, the analysis also identifies self-employment as a potentially important missing driver behind EU Accession Migration.

Key words: UK, migration, National Insurance Number (NINo) registrations, Accession Countries, New Member States (NMS), Polish migrants

Measuring EU Accession Migration: National Insurance Number Allocations and the Geographies of Polish Labour Immigration to the UK.

Abstract

This paper addresses the challenge of measuring the extent of immigration to the UK following EU Accession in 2004, and argues that the most commonly used databases (UK Census, Labour Force Survey and Worker Registration Scheme) can be supplemented by the National Insurance Number (NINo) Allocations database, and demonstrates the utility of this data for future research by outlining the geography of immigration derived from NINo. The paper makes three important contributions through the thorough description of a data source currently underexploited in migration studies; first that the NINo, when used as a indicator of migration *per se* offers some interesting insights into migration in the UK, and secondly that as a tool for comprehensively measuring the registration of migrants working legally in the UK, it offers a means of constructing a internal geography of (legal) labour migration, as the paper demonstrates. Third, the analysis also identifies self-employment as a potentially important missing driver behind EU Accession Migration.

Key words: UK, migration, National Insurance Number (NINo) registrations, Worker Registration Scheme (WRS), Accession Countries, New Member States (NMS), Polish migrants.

Word Count 4,253

Measuring EU Accession Migration: National Insurance Number Allocations and the Geographies of Polish Immigration to the UK.

Introduction

EU enlargement and the accession of ten new member states (NMS) in 2004 (Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Malta, Slovakia and Slovenia) and 2007 (Bulgaria and Romania) has caught the public imagination, with concerns in host countries about a potential influx of low-paid workers sweeping in and “taking their jobs” (Whitehead 2009). In the UK at least, the reality is much more complex. Considering Polish migrants, British employment agencies and the Polish media all believe that the tide of immigration has now turned; “a combination of tightening economic conditions in the UK, a comparatively weak pound and an unprecedented surge in the Polish economy has made it unattractive for Poles to remain” (Mostrous and Seib, 2008).

Research has struggled to keep pace with media interest in accession migration, and academic attention has largely focussed on the costs and benefits of migration to the host nations, (e.g. Düvell 2004, Sinn 2004, Drinkwater *et. al* 2006), and the experiences of labour migrants (e.g. McDowell *et al* 2007). Debates about the methodological implications for economic geography and migration studies are still only beginning to emerge (see Meardi 2007, Drinkwater 2008), and fundamentally, the statistics upon which research into UK accession migration is based are open to dispute.

This paper explores immigration to the UK with a focus on labour immigration, regional patterns of immigration and an estimation of self employment. The analysis explores the data sources currently used to measure immigration to the UK, and given the topicality of EU accession labour migration, i.e. individuals moving between EU countries in search of work, it focuses specifically on datasets which can be used to assess the labour market characteristics of migrants from the NMS. Many of the conventionally used datasets which seek to measure all migrants rather than simply labour migrants, have deficiencies, either in terms of their sampling methodology, or their temporal range, that hinder the measurement of immigration. Techniques which target labour migrants specifically also have flaws, based on comprehensiveness and sampling. As a result there is a ‘measurement gap’ in relation to intra-EU migration, with the result that researchers, the media and importantly policy-makers find it difficult to make a satisfactory estimate of the flows both of migrants *per se* and of labour migrants entering the UK since 2004.

The UK Office of National Statistics confirms that the UK has no compulsory registration of migration and there are no comprehensive administrative sources. Although no single dataset provides definitive information, therefore, National Insurance Number (NINo) allocations to adult overseas (non-UK) nationals entering the UK seem to be both a useful indicative measure for migration, and importantly a means of accessing data about the migrant workforce. Since all individuals engaged in formal work in the UK must by law obtain a NINo, allocations give an indication of the number of migrants legally working in the UK. The allocation of a NINo is a firm indicator that an individual is likely to be employed, or seeking employment (DWP 2007), and the date of allocation can be used to monitor migrant flows into the country. This dataset has until now remained unexploited by geographers, and in this paper we demonstrate its utility, by showing the ways in which it can be used to indicate migration flows within the UK. In the paper, we use NINo to identify migration from the 12 NMS, including the place of allocation, which we use as a proxy to construct an intra-geography of accession immigration for the Polish migrants – the largest component of accession migration. We also compare NINo to the Worker Registration Scheme (WRS) data, and contrast the multiple geographies that these sets of data provide.

The paper is structured as follows. First, we examine the data sources currently used to measure migration; secondly, we describe in detail the use of NINo as an indicator of migration, thirdly, we compare the data generated by WRS with the NINo dataset for accession migration using the example of Poland, and finally we discuss the issues raised by the analysis and the potential future uses of NINo data both in migration and accession research, and for policymaking. An interesting issue is the identification of self-employment as an important element in the migration of NMS migrants to the UK. The paper makes two important contributions through the identification and description of a data source currently underexploited in migration studies; firstly that the data source, when used as a indicator of migration *per se* offers some interesting insights into migration in the UK, and secondly that as a tool for comprehensively measuring the registration of migrants working legally in the UK, it offers a means of constructing a internal geography of (legal) labour migration. Like all measures of migration there are problems with the NINo, but this dataset provides another interesting tool to explore labour migration to the UK.

Measuring Migration

The enlargement of the European Union (EU) to the East in 2004 and 2007 has fuelled both debates over immigration, and the demand for better statistics. The EU is a free trade area, with ‘free movement of workers’ (FMOW) for all its citizens, without visas or work permits (Portes and French

2005, p.3). Previous accessions had caused EU Member States (the 'EU-15') considerable concern about the impact of complete liberalisation on their labour markets, and the Accession Treaties gave the EU-15 the option to delay implementation of full FMOW for up to seven years. Most, including France, Germany, and Spain, imposed restrictions on movement in one form or another; the United Kingdom was one of only three countries (along with Ireland and Sweden) to allow migrants from the NMS to enter their labour markets more or less without restriction.

International migration has exposed the weaknesses of existing methods of measuring migration; governmental and administrative processes have not kept up with the political changes in the EU, and there is a general recognition that official statistics on migration are inadequate, particularly at the local level (LGA Research 2007). In essence, the problem is both the lack of a single, all-inclusive system to measure the movement of people into and out of the UK as a whole, and the infrequency of measurement of the actual location of migrants once they have settled in the UK. Although the data problems are widely recognised, especially in the context of accession migration, (see Meardi, 2007; Abel 2010, de Beer et al 2010), few alternative measurements are suggested or analysed. Garapich asserts that "this can perhaps be attributed to the fast-moving and complex nature of the migration phenomenon which develops quicker than the research can follow" (2008, p.735), and perhaps also at a faster rate than EU border changes and the development of national statistics.

Existing measures of migration include the UK Census, the Labour Force Survey, the International Passenger Survey, and the Worker Registration Scheme (Boden and Rees 2010), and each is explored in turn.

The UK Census - The census, "a massive continuing national enquiry" and "a key anchor for much of the official statistical system" (Cook 2004, p.111) ought to be the most reliable data source for detailed information on the characteristics of immigrants to the UK. By law every UK resident must feature on a census return. However, an unknown proportion of the country's resident population are not counted by the census. There are also drawbacks in using census data for migration research because immigrant respondents are not asked about their year of arrival in the UK. They are asked to state their residence one year prior to the census date, so only recent immigration is located in time. More significantly, though, since the census is carried out only once every ten years, it provides a rather static account of the UK's population. The most recent census took place in April 2001, too long ago to capture the migration flows associated with EU enlargement, and it recorded less than 61,000 Polish-born individuals living in the UK (Drinkwater *et. al* 2006, 4). Although current

estimates vary widely, in 2007 Barbara Tuge-Erecinska, the Polish ambassador to the UK suggested that there may be ten times as many of her compatriots living in the UK (Polish Business News 2007).

The Labour Force Survey (LFS) - All EU member states are required to conduct this statistical survey, and in the UK it is a quarterly sample survey of households living at private addresses. According to the Office for National Statistics (ONS), the purpose of the LFS “is to provide information on the UK labour market that can then be used to develop, manage, evaluate and report on labour market policies” (ONS, 2008). As a sample survey, the LFS is subject to sampling variability and cannot make absolute statements about the size or distribution of immigrant populations, but it has been effectively used to examine the labour characteristics of recent immigrants (e.g. Drinkwater *et al* 2006, Sumption 2009).

The International Passenger Survey - Headline data for the number of migrants entering and leaving the UK are largely based on information compiled by the ONS’ International Passenger Survey (IPS), a random sample survey derived from a quarter of million face-to-face interviews annually with passengers at the main airports, seaports and the Channel Tunnel. The IPS has been the main source for migration studies for over 30 years, but there are well known problems related to the purpose of the survey and small sample sizes. This survey is extrapolated to estimate the number and characteristics of migrants into and out of the UK, but only those intending to stay for a year or longer. Although the survey provides valuable insight into migrants’ journeys, its extrapolations should be treated with caution in relation to *labour migration*, since the IPS also covers non-working migrants, such as non-working students, family members, and asylum seekers.

The Worker Registration Scheme - The UK Home Office’s Worker Registration Scheme statistics are available as a series of 18 quarterly Home Office Accession Monitoring Reports, from May 2004 to September 2009, but covering A8¹ arrivals only. A8 nationals are legally allowed to work in the UK, but must register with the WRS within one month of starting a new job, paying £90 to do so. They should also re-register if they change employer (but do not pay another fee). Application forms are available online and are submitted to the UK Border Agency by post. Each application to WRS therefore represents one job, not one applicant, and applicants are only represented once in the data. After 12 months’ work without interruption of more than 30 days in total, migrants acquire full Worker Treaty rights, are free from the requirement to register, and are able to apply for a European Economic Area (EEA) residence permit to confirm their right to reside in the UK as a worker (Home Office *et al* 2008).

The WRS, however, only captures a fraction of A8 accession migration to the UK. It is estimated that relatively high proportions of migrants, between around a quarter and a third, have not registered on the scheme at all (Drinkwater 2008, Fife Research Coordination Group 2008, Surrey 2006) and critically, the self-employed are not required to register; the right of establishment in the EU allows self-employed citizens to move between member states to establish businesses; according to the LFS, 14 per cent of A8 migrants are self-employed. Pollard et al's (2008, 18) survey of A8 migrants suggested that more than 40% of Poles who worked in the UK since 2004, before returning to Poland, had never registered on the WRS.

Despite these drawbacks, the WRS and LFS datasets have been widely used in research into accession migration (Portes and French 2005), particularly research into the geographical distribution of migrants. Traditionally, immigrants to the UK have gravitated towards London and the South East, towards conurbations and to a relatively small number of larger towns and cities (Dobson et al 2001). Research into accession migration, and particularly Polish migration, (e.g. Düvell 2004, Garapich 2005, Garapich 2006, Eade et al 2006) seems to have been influenced by this immigration history, and follows the pattern of migration research more widely, by focussing on the capital city of London (e.g. Peach 1999 and 2006, McDowell et al 2007, and Wills et al 2009). However, successive rounds of recent LFS data have suggested that the overall regional distribution of A8 immigration might reflect a much broader geographical spread (Salt 2007). Smaller scale, local studies incorporating an analysis of WRS confirm that the geographical distribution of AB migrants extends way beyond the 'traditional' immigrant destinations (Stenning et al 2006, Bauere et al 2007, Green et al 2007a, Green et al 2007b, CRC 2007, Chappell et al 2009).

Bauere et al (2007, p.8) map A8 nationals' WRS registrations per thousand population for each UK local authority (LA), showing that the A8 population is widely spread across the UK, with high figures in Northern Ireland, Eastern England, and North Norfolk, scattered concentrations in the Midlands, the South West and South East, and relatively low rates in Wales, the North East and North West. Their ranking of registrations places the City of London top, with the City of Westminster (central London) in third place. The East Midlands localities of Boston, Northampton, and South Holland rank second, fourth and fifth. Registration rates are also high in the East of England, in Peterborough, Fenland and East Cambridgeshire (Bauere et al, *ibid*)

Similarly, Green et al (2007a&b) have used WRS data to study recent waves of A8 migration into the UK's East and West Midlands labour markets, identifying the highest levels of migration in food

growing, processing and packaging regions; a summer peak in WRS applications suggested seasonal work undertaken by NMS migrants. This rural migration is also identified in other research using WRS which argues that a key feature of the A8 migration appears to be a greater orientation towards rural areas than has been the case for previous immigrations (Stenning et al. 2006, CRC 2007, Chappell et al. 2009). High levels of Polish migrants in rural areas may reflect a geography of legal work - migrants working legally in agricultural regions of the UK may register with WRS whereas those engaged in informal work in urban areas may not, although more research is needed to establish the factors involved in WRS registration decisions.

The National Insurance Number (NINo) dataset and labour migration

The statistical series discussed above provide useful measures, but there are sufficient drawbacks to suggest that other tools should be explored. We argue here that perhaps one of the most useful alternative sources is National Insurance Number (NINo) allocations to adult overseas (non-UK) nationals entering the UK, collected by the UK Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) (DWP 2007, 2008). Although Drinkwater (2008) has suggested that the most reliable information on the number of labour migrants entering the UK might come from this dataset, it remains unutilised by geographers.

Registrations for a NINo give an indication of the number of working migrants in the UK, since having a NINo indicates that an individual is highly likely to be employed, or seeking employment (Boden and Rees 2010, DWP 2007). This dataset is valuable as an indicative measure of immigration, in that it provides an indication of migrants' geographical distribution. A similar migration dataset is the UK National Health Service's 'Flag 4' data, which records registrations with General Practitioners (local doctors) from individuals previously resident outside the UK. However, unlike the NINo, Flag 4 and the GP patient register is a 'snapshot' taken annually, rather than a comprehensive record of each registration, and GP registration is unconnected to the working status of migrants. NINo data is provided by country of origin and disaggregated by Government Office Region (GOR)², Local Authority (LA) and Parliamentary Constituency (PC). Unlike the census, it covers much shorter and more recent time periods, from 2002/03 to 2008/09, therefore capturing the EU enlargements of 2004 and 2007.

In the UK, National Insurance Contributions (NIC) are paid by employers and employees (aged 16 to state pensionable age) to build up an individual's entitlement to social security benefits including the state pension. The type and level of NIC paid depends upon income level and employment/self-

employment. A National Insurance Number (NINo) is assigned as a personal account number, to ensure that NIC contributions and tax paid are properly recorded. A NINo is required by any overseas national intending to work or claim welfare benefits in the UK, including the self-employed or students working part-time. NINo data pertaining to migrants reflect all adult overseas nationals allocated a NINo through the adult registration scheme. NINo data is therefore a 100% sample held at case level, not subject to sampling error, and suitable for merging with other case-level data sources (DWP 2007, p.12).

Despite the utility of this dataset, it is not without limitations. Although a useful tool for exploring overall migration, it is only an indicative and partial measure, but there are some interesting insights that comes from NINo that provide an agenda for further research. NINo captures only migrants working legally, and not any unemployed accompanying family, or illegal workers. NINo relates to an individual's place of registration, rather than place of residence or employment (although these may of course coincide), and although an individual must obtain a NINo to undertake paid legal employment, they retain one NINo for life, meaning that this dataset can only be used to identify the geography of new migrants rather than step or return migration, and cannot reflect emigration, nor show length of stay in the UK, or movement within the UK.

To appreciate this dataset it is necessary to understand the process of NINo allocation. Overseas nationals entering the UK apply for a NINo initially via telephone, and then face-to-face interview. The NINo application is made to the DWP through Jobcentre Plus, a government agency supporting unemployed people of working age, and helping employers to fill vacancies. Applicants attend their interview at a local Jobcentre Plus office, showing proof of identity (i.e. passport or National Identity card), and in an employment-related application, prove that they have the right to work in the UK (DWP 2007, 5). A check is made to ensure that a NINo has not been previously allocated. The NINo allocated by Jobcentre Plus is registered in the National Insurance Recording System (NIRS), and the allocation date referred to in the DWP report represents the date the information on the registered individual was processed by Her Majesty's Revenue and Customs' (HMRC)³. The NINo allocation date does not, therefore, necessarily coincide with arrival in the UK – immigrants may apply immediately on arrival, or may wait several weeks, month or even years, before applying, if they wait to register until they seek or find work. Similarly, although the NINo allocation date is sometimes thought to be an indication of when migrants become active in the labour market, they can legitimately seek and take up employment before being allocated a NINo - once employed it is the duty of the employee to apply for a NINo at the earliest opportunity.

NINo allocations are recorded spatially, but an important consideration is the distribution of Jobcentre Plus Offices which perform the necessary NINo allocation interviews. Not all Offices conduct interviews, and Jobcentre Plus does not publish the location of interviewing offices on a national scale. It is likely that such offices are unevenly dispersed, and that rural and remote areas lacking interviewing offices may therefore undercount NINo allocations to their residents who have to travel out of region for interview. The logistical restriction of NINo allocation is quite different to registration for the WRS, which can be completed remotely, online and by post.

Recent changes have improved NINo data collection. Since 2007/08 the use of fixed datasets eliminates any retrospection in future reports, and the reporting year has been changed from the tax year (6th April to 5th April) to the financial year (31st March to 1st April). Improvements have also been made to the area allocation process and more frequent scans provide a more accurate account of individuals' locations at the point of allocation.

NMS migration to the UK

Immigration to the UK from the EU's New Member States has become a hot political topic, with the arrival of unexpectedly large numbers of migrants generating considerable political pressure on the UK government to 'regulate' immigration. As Boden and Rees (2010) point out, the UK Home Office's and Border Agency's new Points-Based System for controlling non-EU immigration to the UK by assessing migrants on the basis of their skills, experience, age and the demand for their skills in the UK labour market, is a response to the rising levels of uncontrolled migration within the EU. There is considerable pressure for methods to assess migration flows both to and within the UK. Boden and Rees (2010) discuss the New Migrant Databank which collects together administrative data sources such as NINo, and NHS Flag 4 data, for migration for the UK for 2001-2008, demonstrating the value of these data in describing migration at the local level.

The NINo dataset captures accession migration at a number of geographical scales. Data collected by world area of origin and year of allocation from 2002/03 to 2008/09 illustrates annual increases in allocations of NINos to NMS nationals entering the UK, with particularly marked rises from 2004/05 following EU enlargement. From 2004/05 onwards allocations are highest for NMS nationals, increasing from 29,000 in 2003/04 to 117,000 in 2004/05 (Table 1), and over 332,000 by 2007/08. Although the number of NINo allocations to NMS nationals fell to 257,000 in 2008/09, this figure remains higher than the pre-accession level. Since the NINo data does not provide exit figures or

information on length of stay in the UK, falling NINo allocations does not mean that NMS migrants are leaving the UK.

Table 1 NINo allocations to adult overseas nationals entering the UK, by year of allocation and world region of origin

World Region of Origin	Thousands						
	2002/3	2003/4	2004/5	2005/6	2006/7	2007/8	2008/9
All	346,23	373,50	435,35	663,06	705,84	733,09	686,11
Europe-EU excluding Accession Countries	80,09	85,54	80,71	97,84	102,75	107,47	120,14
Europe-EU Accession Countries	17,67	28,72	116,84	276,68	317,50	332,44	257,04
Europe-non-EU	14,66	15,87	14,04	15,50	16,14	17,21	16,10
Africa	65,98	70,71	64,08	74,03	60,72	59,63	63,31
Asia and Middle East	113,56	116,03	109,39	134,40	143,79	149,87	163,04
The Americas	26,33	31,41	26,52	31,53	31,50	32,64	36,45
Australasia and Oceania	27,13	24,49	23,16	32,51	32,98	33,35	29,53
Others and unknown	0,80	0,72	0,61	0,56	0,46	0,49	0,50

Source: 100% extract from NIRS, DWP 2009.

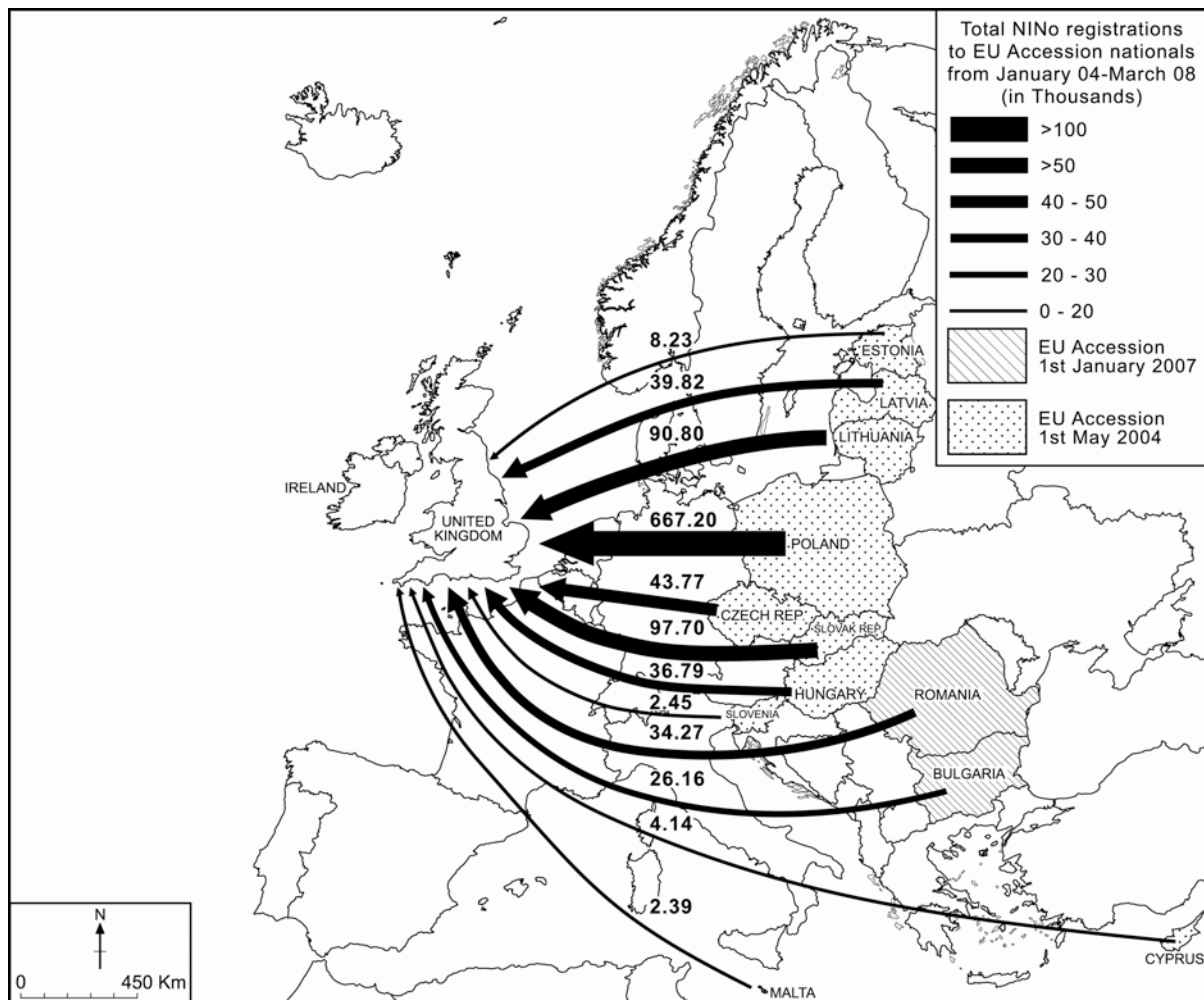
Having established that NMS make up the majority of NINo allocations to migrants, we can disaggregate NMS migrants by country of origin and this analysis shows that between 2004/05 and 2008/09 that Polish nationals were the largest group of migrants from the accession states (Table 2 . By 2006/07 over 220,000 allocations had been made to Poles. Other NMS in the top ten included Lithuania, Slovakia, Latvia, and recently Romania. With Polish nationals not only receiving the majority of NINos amongst NMS nationals, but also amongst all overseas nationals applying for a NINo, they are the most significant recently-arrived ethnic minority group currently working in the UK.

Table 2 NINo allocations to adult overseas nationals entering the UK, top ten countries by year of allocation

Thousands									
2004/05		2005/06		2006/07		2007/08		2008/09	
Poland	61,12	Poland	171,08	Poland	220,43	Poland	210,66	Poland	134,36
India	32,47	India	45,93	India	48,82	India	49,76	India	59,39
Pakistan	20,19	Lithuania	30,94	Slovakia	28,60	Slovakia	29,99	Slovakia	24,09
South Africa	19,19	Slovak Rep	27,51	Pakistan	25,01	Pakistan	24,83	France	24,01
Australia	16,47	South Africa	24,03	Australia	24,21	Australia	24,10	Romania	23,95
Lithuania	15,54	Australia	23,83	Lithuania	23,92	Romania	22,95	Pakistan	23,46
France	13,18	Pakistan	22,29	France	20,01	France	21,77	Australia	21,39
China	12,55	France	17,23	South Africa	16,80	Lithuania	19,03	Italy	18,63
Portugal	12,20	Latvia	14,40	Germany	15,07	Germany	15,53	Lithuania	17,62
Slovak Rep	11,11	Germany	13,39	China	13,00	Italy	15,40	Nigeria	17,46

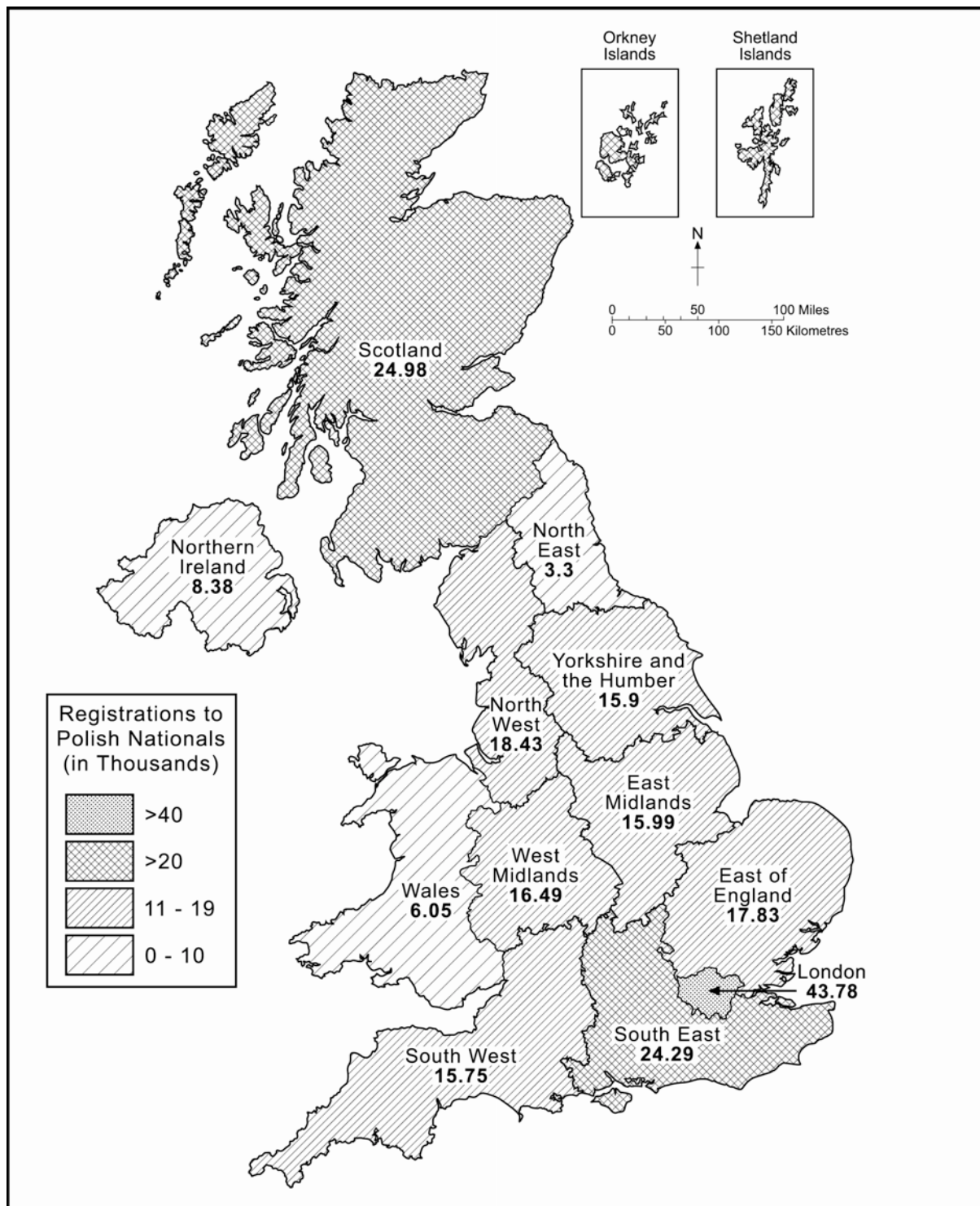
Source: Source: 100% extract from NIRS, DWP 2009, 11

Figure 1. NiNo registrations to NMS nationals entering the UK.



These annual figures can be unpacked further. NiNo allocation data are available by nationality and quarter of allocation from 2004 to 2009, and show that allocations to Polish nationals peaked between January and March 2007 at 81,000, accounting for 70% of the total made to all NMS nationals during this period. More recently, allocations to Poles have declined significantly, and in January-March 2009 just 31,000 registered. NiNo data allow cumulative totals to be calculated, and Figure 1 shows that Polish registrations (January 2004-March 2009) are the highest among NMS (Figure 1), although registrations made by Romanian and Bulgarian nationals increased noticeably after their EU accession in 2007.

Figure 2. NiNo registrations to Polish nationals entering the UK by Government Office Region.



The numerical significance of Polish NiNo registrations in the UK raises questions of geographical dispersal. Here the NiNo dataset is particularly useful, and we would argue that its value is best demonstrated in comparison with the spatial data generated by the WRS, the most commonly used means of assessing labour migrant distribution in the UK. Analysis of the NiNo dataset shows that at

the sub-national (GOR) level from 2002-09 there were high absolute numbers of Polish allocations right across the UK. London saw the greatest number in this period (almost 195,000), followed by Scotland and the South East (Figure 2).

Multiple geographies of accession migrant workers

A comparison of the number of Polish NINo allocations with WRS registrations between May 2004 and March 2009 suggests that the NINo dataset captures a different and perhaps a more comprehensive dataset. During this period over 820,000 NINo allocations were made to Polish nationals, compared to just under 600,000 WRS registrations (Table 3). The greatest difference between NINo and WRS is in the GOR of London, where NINo data counts over 100,000 more than WRS; a difference of 55 per cent. There could perhaps be an association between WRS registration counting and rural areas (Green *et al.* 2007b); in the more rural GORs of the East of England, East Midlands and Yorkshire and the Humber, the differences are smaller (5,350/7%, 2,840/4% and 6,720/12% respectively). Although studies using the WRS show very significant proportions of NMS populations in rural areas (Stenning *et al.* 2006, CRC 2007, Chappell *et al.* 2009), NINo allocation data question this perceived rural bias in the location of migrants.

Table 3 NINo allocations and WRS applications to Polish nationals entering the UK by Government

Office Region

Government office region	NINo allocations to Polish nationals (in thousands)	WRS registrations to Polish nationals	Difference between NINo and WRS	Difference between NINo and WRS as a percentage of NINo
Total	821,21	597,51	223,71	27%
London	186,82	83,17	103,65	55%
East Midlands	64,12	61,29	2,84	4%
East of England	74,55	69,21	5,35	7%
West Midlands	64,24	53,22	11,03	17%
South East	96,33	77,38	18,96	20%
South West	58,55	49,63	8,92	15%
Yorkshire and the Humber	56,54	49,83	6,72	12%
North West	70,74	54,20	16,55	23%
Wales	23,94	17,12	6,83	29%
North East	12,36	7,90	4,46	36%
Scotland	77,36	54,97	22,40	29%
Northern Ireland	28,21	19,53	8,69	31%
Overseas Residents/Not stated	7,46	0,10	7,36	99%

Source: NINo registrations are 100% extract from NIRS, DWP 2009. WRS applications are authors' own calculations from WRS data.

Rather than necessarily relating to a rural/urban issue of WRS registration, some of the discrepancy between WRS and NINO data could originate in self-employment; many of those who have not registered for the WRS are self-employed migrants, who although required to have a NINO, are not required to register with WRS. This is a critical point. Further research is required into understanding the geographies and processes behind migration that is either driven by a desire to establish a firm or leads rapidly to the formation of a new enterprise. The 27% difference between the the NINO and the WRS needs to be explored through detailed research as it may go some way towards indicating the size, and/or the geographical distribution, of the self-employed Polish population in each GOR. The political and media debate concerning Polish immigration to the UK has focussed on employment rather than the role of migrants as entrepreneurs and job creators rather than job takers. The NINO provides one perspective on migrant entrepreneurs, but there are problems that require further research.

It must be emphasized that the proportion of the discrepancy between the datasets which may be attributed to the self-employed is unknown. Another potential source of discrepancy is in migrants registering for a NINO and WRS in different places; migrants could arrive and receive a NINO in a city, and later register for the WRS in a rural area on employment. Further research into migrant labour activity is needed to explore these possibilities and especially the activities and geographies of self-employed migrants. Much of the political debate regarding migrant workers to the UK has revolved around discussions that assume that migrants 'displace' British residents in local labour markets. Polish migrant entrepreneurs are extremely visible in British towns and cities. They provide a range of retail and supporting services to local Polish communities, but also to the wider population. Further research is urgently required as these migrant entrepreneurs may only be based around employment of members of the same family, employ only other Polish migrants or provide employment opportunities for the wider population. Polish entrepreneurs might be competing with established local businesses and could even out-compete them on the basis of family labour or the provision of services from a location in Poland. Their markets may be restricted to the local Polish community and this could limit their ability to grow.

Conclusion

This paper identifies and addresses the deficiencies in migration data in the UK, suggesting that National Insurance Number data can be used as an indicator of migration flows, and more specifically to illustrate the geography of accession migration and potentially to investigate its impact on employment in the UK.

The inadequacies of national migration data have implications for UK government policy. Central government grants to local authorities, financed from national taxation, are adjusted to reflect population changes, and therefore rely on accurate population data. However, there are few grounds for confidence in the estimates or projections of populations on which these grant calculations are based. Local allocation is ultimately based on the 2001 census (LGA Research 2007, 3-4), and thus excludes accession migration. Not only is administrative data such as NINo allocations useful for academic research, but it provides a tool that can be deployed to explore the geographies of accession migration in the UK; incorporating this data into population measurement would allow UK local authorities to “understand the composition and needs of their local populations to plan and deliver services and deal with potential cohesion issues” (LGA Research 2007, p.4).

The example of Polish allocations highlights the utility of the NINo dataset, which until now has not been fully explored by geographers. Furthermore, Polish data illustrate the discrepancy between the geography of NINo allocations and WRS registrations for the UK as a whole and each GOR, questioning some of the analysis of the geography of immigration based on WRS. Further analysis could be conducted by Local Authority and Parliamentary Constituency to more closely examine the distribution of NMS registrations, and to propose reasons behind their patterns of dispersal since the experiences of different local authorities and different NMS groups may differ considerably from one another in terms of “social networks... being created which may result in new local cultural mixes” which could impact on local schooling, housing, healthcare and so on (Bauere et al. 2007, p.18).

Neither NINo nor WRS are comprehensive, and the discrepancies between them open up further interesting questions about migrant behaviour, self-employment and internal labour migration in relation to EU enlargement. The 2011 UK census will provide much more comprehensive data on migrant residence, but NINo and WRS can help to fill the ten-year data gap. The discrepancies between the NINo and WRS highlights that detailed intensive research is required to explore accession immigration entrepreneurship. The flow of accession migrants to the UK and elsewhere has been an extremely topical issue for politicians and journalists. This paper has highlighted the regional geography of Polish immigration to the UK, but more importantly emphasised that some accession migrants were also entrepreneurs. These Polish entrepreneurs require further detailed research. They may only be providing employment for members of the same family or for other Polish migrants. Some of these Polish firms may also be trading on their established relationships with businesses and family based in Poland.

Notes

1. The A8 countries are Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia.
2. In 1994 Government Offices for the Regions were established across England. This administrative sub-division were intended to enable government departments to work in partnership with local people and organisations in order to maximise regional prosperity and the enhance the quality of life. In 1996 the Government Office Regions (GOR) became the primary classification for the presentation of regional statistics.
3. HMRC ensures the correct tax is paid at the right time.

References

- ABEL, G.J. (2010), Estimation of international migration flow tables in Europe. *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society A* 173, 4, Pp797-825
- BAUERE, V., P. DENSHAM, J. MILLAR & J. SALT (2007), Migrants from Central and Eastern Europe: Local Geographies. *Population Trends* 129, Pp. 7-19.
- BODEN, P. & P. REES (2010) Using administrative data to improve the estimation of immigration to local areas in England, *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society A* 173, 4, pp. 707–731
- CHAPPELL L., M. LATORRE, J. RUTTER & J. SHAH (2009), *Migration and Rural Economies: Assessing and Addressing Risks*. London: Institute for Public Policy Research.
- COOK, L. (2004), The Quality and Qualities Of Population Statistics, and the Place of the Census. *Area* 36, 2, Pp. 111-123
- COMMISSION FOR RURAL COMMUNITIES (CRC) (2007), A8 Migrant Workers in Rural Areas. Available at:
<<http://www.ruralcommunities.gov.uk/publications/migrantworkersinruralareas>>.
- DE BEER, J., J. RAYMER, R. VAN DER ERF, L. VAN WISSEN (2010) Overcoming the Problems of Inconsistent International Migration data: A New Method Applied to Flows in Europe, *European Journal of Population* 26, Pp 459-481
- DEPARTMENT FOR WORK & PENSIONS (2007), National Insurance Number Allocations to Overseas Nationals Entering the UK (Previously Migrant Worker Statistics). Available at:
<http://www.dwp.gov.uk/asd/asd1/niall/niall_report.pdf>.
- DEPARTMENT FOR WORK & PENSIONS (2009), National Insurance Number Allocations to Adult Overseas Nationals Entering the UK 2008/09. Available at:
<http://www.dwp.gov.uk/asd/asd1/tabtools/nino_allocations_0809.pdf>.

DOBSON, J., K. KOSER, G. MCLAUGHLAN & J. SALT (2001), *International Migrations and the United Kingdom: Recent Patterns and Trends*. RDS Occasional Paper 75. London: Home Office.

DRINKWATER, S., J. EADE & M. GARAPICH (2006), Poles Apart? EU Enlargement and the Labour Market Outcomes of Immigrants in the UK. Available at:
<<http://ftp.iza.org/dp2410.pdf>>.

DRINKWATER, S. (2008), Recent Immigration to the UK. Available at:
<<http://www.parliament.uk/documents/upload/EA206%20Drinkwater.doc>>.

DÜVELL, F. (2004), *Polish Undocumented Immigrants, Regular High-Skilled Workers and Entrepreneurs in the UK*. Institute for Social Studies Working Paper No. 54. Warsaw: Warsaw University.

EADE, J., S. DRINKWATER & M. GARAPICH (2006), Class and Ethnicity- Polish Migrants in London. Guildford: University of Surrey. Available at:
<www.surrey.ac.uk/Arts/CRONEM/polish/reports.htm>.

FIFE RESEARCH & COORDINATION GROUP (2008), Migrant Workers in Fife Survey 2007. Available at:
<www.fifedirect.org.uk/uploadfiles/publications/c64_MigrantWorkersSurveyKnowFifeFindingdV1_2.pdf>.

GARAPICH, M. (2005), Soldiers and Plumbers. Immigration Business and the Impact of EU Enlargement on Polish Migrants. Paper presented at the International Conference *New Patterns of East West Migration in Europe*, November 18-19 2005. Hamburg: Migration Research Group, Institute of International Economics.

GARAPICH, M. (2006), London's Polish Borders: Class and Ethnicity Among Global City Migrants, CRONEM: University of Surrey. Available at:
<<http://www.surrey.ac.uk/Arts/CRONEM/LONDON-Polish-Borders-interim-report.pdf>>.

GARAPICH, M. (2008), The Migration Industry and Civil Society: Polish Immigrants in the United Kingdom Before and After EU Enlargement. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 34, 5, pp. 735-52.

GREEN A., P. JONES & D. OWEN (2007a), *Migrant Workers in the East Midlands Labour Market*. Report for the East Midlands Development Agency. Nottingham: EMDA.

GREEN A., D. OWEN, P. JONES, C. OWEN & J. FRANCIS (2007b) *The Economic Impact of Migrant Workers in the West Midlands*. Report for a consortium of organizations in the West Midlands. Birmingham: West Midlands Regional Observatory.

HENNELL, T. (2004), Have We Learned to Count Yet? A Health Services Perspective on the 2001 Census. *Area* 36, 2, pp. 124-135.

HOME OFFICE UK BORDER AGENCY (2006), *Accession Monitoring Report May 2004- June 2006*. London: Home Office.

HOME OFFICE UK BORDER AGENCY (2008), Worker Registration Scheme (WRS) Application Form-Guidance Notes. Available at:

<<http://www.ukba.homeoffice.gov.uk/sitecontent/applicationforms/wrs/englishwrs.pdf>>.

LGA RESEARCH (2007), Estimating the Scale and Impacts of Migration at the Local Level. Available at: <<http://www.lga.gov.uk/lga/aio/109536>>.

MCDOWELL, L., A. BATNITKZKY A & S. DYER (2007), Division, Segmentation, and Interpellation: The Embodied Labors of Migrant Workers in a Greater London Hotel. *Economic Geography* 83, 1, pp. 1-25.

MEARDI, M. (2007), The Polish Plumber in the West Midlands: Theoretical and Empirical Issues. Available at:

<<http://www.unigraz.at/sozwww/Dateien/Personen/MigConf07/PaperMeardi.pdf>>.

PEACH, C. (1999), London and New York: Contrasts in British and American Models of Segregation (with comment by Nathan Glazer). *International Journal of Population Geography* 5, pp. 319-351.

PEACH, C. (2006), Islam, Ethnicity and South Asian Religions in the London 2001 Census. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 31, 3, pp. 353-370.

POLISH BUSINESS NEWS (2007) 600,000 Poles in UK. Available at:

<http://pbn.home.pl.pop_print.php?print=true&id=778>.

POLLARD, N., M. LATORRE & D. SRISKANDARAJAH (2008), *Floodgates or Turnstiles? Post-EU Enlargement Migrations Flows to (and from) the UK*. London: Institute for Public Policy Research. Available at: <www.ippr.org/publicationsandreports/publication.asp?id60=3>.

PORTES, J. & S. FRENCH (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 No. 18*. London: Department for Work and Pensions.

SALT, J. (2009) *International Migration and the United Kingdom: Report of the United Kingdom SOPEMI Correspondent to the OECD, 2009*. London: UCL. Available at:

<http://www.geog.ucl.ac.uk/research/mobility-identity-and-security/migration-research-unit/pdfs/Sop09_fin.pdf>.

SINN, H. W. (2004), EU Enlargement, Migration and the New Constitution. *CESifo Economic Studies* 50, 4, pp. 685-707.

STENNING, A., A. CHAMPION, C. CONWAY, M. COOMBES, S. DAWLEY, L. DIXON, S. RAYBOULD & R. RICHARDSON (2006), *Assessing the Local and Regional Impacts of International Migration*. London:

Department for Communities and Local Government. Available at:
<<http://www.ncl.ac.uk/curds/publications/pdf/A8Final.pdf>>.

SUMPTION, M. (2009), *Social Networks and Polish Immigration to the UK*. London: Institute for Public Policy Research. Available at:

<<http://www.ippr.org.uk/publicationsandreports/publication.asp?id=662>>.

MOSTROUS, A. & C. SEIB (2008), Tide Turns as Poles End Great Migration. Available at:
<<http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/uk/article3378877.ece>>.

UNIVERSITY OF SURREY (2006), *Polish Migrants' Survey Results*. Commission by BBC Newsnight. Guildford: University of Surrey.

<www.surrey.ac.uk/Arts/CRONEM/CRONEM_BBC_Polish_survey%20_results.pdf>.

WHITEHEAD T. (2009) Thousands of foreign workers exploiting British jobs market. Available at:
<<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/jobs/4781831/Thousands-of-foreign-workers-exploiting-British-jobs-market.html>>

WILLS J., J. MAY, K. DATTA, Y. EVANS, J. HERBERT & C. MCILWAINE (2009), London's Migrant Division of Labour. *European Urban and Regional Studies* 16, 3, pp. 257-71.

POLISH LABOUR MIGRATION TO THE UK: DATA DISCREPANCIES, MIGRANT DISTRIBUTIONS AND ENTREPRENEURIAL ACTIVITY

Abstract

This paper contributes to a growing body of work on labour market migration to the UK from the New Member States of the EU, particularly the migration of Polish nationals to the UK, drawing attention to the weaknesses of existing datasets which attempt to quantify these migration flows and in particular to map the geographical distribution of migrants. The analysis of Worker Registration Scheme (WRS) and National Insurance Number Allocation (NINo) data, demonstrates that NMS migration has focused on urban and rural locales rather than having a predominantly rural or 'peripheral' area bias. The paper also argues that the discrepancies between WRS and NINo data potentially reveal a 'hidden' geography of self-employment and entrepreneurial activity amongst NMS migrants which merits further investigation.

Key words: West Midlands, South East, NINo registrations, New Member States (NMS), spatial distribution, Polish migrants, entrepreneurship, self-employment.

POLISH LABOUR MIGRATION TO THE UK: DATA DISCREPANCIES AND MIGRANT DISTRIBUTIONS.

Introduction

There is a growing body of research into international, and particularly EU, migration, which has focused on either research on macro-level flows and impacts at the national and international scales, such as the economy of the receiving country (Blanchflower *et al.* 2007), and migrant employment opportunities (Anderson *et al.* 2006; Drinkwater *et al.* 2007), or to studies of individual migrant communities at the local level, such as literature focusing on large cities (GAWC 2009), migration hotspots (Leapman 2007), or on the place of migrant labour in London's economy (e.g. Evans *et al.* 2005; May *et al.* 2007; Wills *et al.* 2009). The two are of course interconnected, with the macro level data commonly informing the selection of local case studies, and local case studies explaining wider migration trends (Stenning and Dawley 2009; Harris *et al.* 2011).

The enlargement of the European Union and the accession of ten new member states (NMS) in 2004 (Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Malta, Slovakia and Slovenia) and 2007 (Bulgaria and Romania) led to new migration flows across Europe. Understanding these flows are complicated by imperfect datasets making it difficult to identify and explore trends and to select places for in depth research. This paper argues that the selection of locations for future case studies of NMS migrant labour needs to be informed by a better understanding of the geography of immigration at the national, regional and local level, which is itself reliant on a better understanding of the imperfect datasets available and discrepancies between them. This is important for two reasons; first because to appropriately interpret the data provided by these datasets is critical in

the selection of locales for in depth research, and second because the process of exploring the discrepancies between different datasets can in itself generate research questions for further enquiry.

This article explores Polish migration to the UK by examining two datasets: the Worker Registration Scheme (WRS) and National Insurance Number Allocations (NINo) in relation to NMS. The analysis calls into question the emphasis that has been placed on NMS migration as predominantly focussed on rural or 'peripheral' areas of the UK, and suggests that an exploration of the differences between the migrant distribution data generated by the WRS and NINo generates some potentially fruitful avenues for future research. An important point is that the differences between these datasets suggest that a significant proportion of Polish migrants were entrepreneurs who established their own businesses rather than employees.

The enlargement of the EU in 2004 has had a profound impact on migration patterns and the movement of accession migrants to the United Kingdom. Since the initial arrival of EU labour migrants including those from Poland, who account for 60-70% of all registered UK migrant workers, researchers have tried to track these migration flows (Anderson *et al.* 2006; Scott 2006; Blanchflower *et al.* 2007; Burrell 2008; Currie 2008), in parallel with media attention, which initially concentrated on the perceived negative impacts of immigration on welfare benefits and labour markets, but which by 2008 had shifted emphasis to suggest that Polish migrants were leaving the UK in the wake of the financial crisis. Nevertheless, a significant Polish immigrant population remains in the UK, and we argue that their participation in local labour markets, and their impact on local and regional development, merit greater

academic and policy attention, not least because early evidence has shown that Accession 8 (A8)¹ migrants, in particular those from Poland, have a more diverse geography of employment and residence than do previous waves of migrants (Stenning *et al.* 2006).

Further in-depth place-based research on NMS migration to the UK is required guided by an analysis that informs the identification of specific locations. In this paper, we argue that this selection process could be usefully informed by the analysis of the database of annual National Insurance Number (NINo) allocations to adult overseas (non-UK) nationals entering the UK. This database provides a particularly useful set of data pertaining specifically to the intended economic activity of migrants, since it directly reflects their intention to work in the UK. The paper also highlights that the database can be used to identify self-employment as a potentially important missing driver behind EU accession migration. We have previously outlined the utility of this data source (self reference), and we briefly summarise this discussion here before comparing the WRS and NINo datasets, as they pertain to NMS and Polish migrants, at the national, regional and local level. The analysis highlights differences between these dataset and explores some possible reasons for these discrepancies, and identifying directions for future research. This article explores these datasets to show that the geography of NMS migration to the UK is complex and includes a focus on both urban and rural location and labour market participation that includes employment as well as self-employment.

¹ The A8 countries are Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia.

The paper is organised as follows. First we summarise the respective strengths and weaknesses of data sources which have thus far informed the study of NMS and Polish labour migration, and examine the differences between two of these in terms of the trends that can be identified. Next previous studies of labour migration from the NMS are explored since 2002. A sub-national analysis of the geography of Polish immigrants is undertaken based on two Government Office Regions (GOR)² (the South East and the West Midlands). In so doing, a complex geography of NMS migration is developed that draws attention to places which seem to be significant as destinations for Polish migrants seeking to work in the UK, but which have so far been overlooked in local and regional studies of their labour market participation and impact on local and regional economic development. Self-employment or entrepreneurship is identified as an important element in Polish immigration to the UK. The conclusion identifies future avenues for research.

Polish Immigration to the UK: Datasets and Discrepancies

Previous studies of Polish labour migration to the UK have relied to a greater or lesser extent on national level data pertaining to accession migration and the destinations of migrants in the UK. Our contention is that the weaknesses of the data sources most commonly used, in terms of their frequency of collection or publication, their sample survey nature or their geographical scale of data collection, may have portrayed an unbalanced or misleading picture of immigrant distribution, which may have led to potentially interesting sites of study being overlooked.

The enlargement of the European Union (EU) to the East in 2004 and 2007 fuelled debates over immigration, and the demand for better statistics, particularly since the

² The government office region (GOR) is currently the largest administrative level in England.

United Kingdom was one of only three countries (along with Ireland and Sweden) to allow migrants from the NMS to enter its labour markets more or less without restriction. There is a general recognition that official statistics on migration are inadequate, particularly at the local level (LGA Research 2007) with no single, all-inclusive system to measure the movement of people into and out of the UK as a whole, and only infrequent measurement of the actual location of migrants once they have settled in the UK. Existing data sources include the UK Census, the Labour Force Survey, the International Passenger Survey, and the Worker Registration Scheme (Boden and Rees 2010). Each is explored in detail in a previous paper (self reference), and we briefly summarise that discussion here, along with a summary of the comparative strengths of the NINo dataset.

The *UK Census* ought to be the most reliable data source for detailed information on the characteristics of immigrants to the UK, requiring, as it does, every UK resident to feature on a census return. An unknown proportion of residents remain uncounted. The census has particular weaknesses for immigration research; it provides a static snapshot of the UK's population every ten years which misses the accession migration which took place largely between census dates.

All EU member states are required to conduct a *Labour Force Survey* (LFS). In the UK this is a quarterly sample of households, whose purpose "is to provide information on the UK labour market that can then be used to develop, manage, evaluate and report on labour market policies" (ONS 2008). Although used effectively to examine the labour characteristics of recent immigrants (e.g. Drinkwater *et al.* 2006; Sumption 2009), as a sample survey, the LFS cannot make absolute statements about either the size or the distribution of immigrant populations.

Data for migrants entering and leaving the UK are largely based on the *International Passenger Survey (IPS)*, a random sample survey based on c250,000 face-to-face interviews with passengers at airports, seaports and the Channel Tunnel. As the main source for migration studies for over 30 years, the IPS' problems, based on small sample sizes, are well known. Extrapolations from IPS estimate the number and characteristics of migrants intending to stay for a year or longer, and although these insights are valuable, they should be treated with caution in relation to the labour migration of Accession migrants, since the IPS also covers non-working migrants, such as non-working students, family members, and asylum seekers.

Data from the *Worker Registration Scheme* are widely used, and should in theory capture most economic activity undertaken by migrants. The scheme requires migrants to register within one month of starting a new job, and to re-register if they change employer. Each WRS application represents one job, not one applicant, and applicants are only represented once in the data. After 12 months' uninterrupted work migrants acquire full Worker Treaty rights and are free from the requirement to register (Home Office *et al.* 2008). It is estimated that relatively high proportions of migrants, between around a quarter and a third, do not register on the scheme (Drinkwater 2008; Fife Research Coordination Group 2008; Surrey 2006) and the self-employed are not required to register. Pollard *et al.*'s (2008: 18) survey of A8 migrants suggested that more than 40% of Poles who worked in the UK since 2004 had never registered on the WRS.

By comparison, the *National Insurance Number (NINo)* dataset for NINo allocations to adult overseas (non-UK) nationals entering the UK, collected by the UK

Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) (DWP 2007: 2008) has been described as the most reliable information source on the number of labour migrants entering the UK (Drinkwater 2008; self-reference). NINo registrations give an indication of the number of *working* migrants in the UK, since having a NINo indicates that an individual is highly likely to be employed, or seeking employment (Boden and Rees 2010; DWP 2007). The NINo indicates an individual's entitlement to social security benefits including the state pension³. This dataset is valuable as a proxy measure of immigration, in that it provides an indication of migrants' geographical distribution⁴. While the dataset can only be used to identify the geography of new migrants rather than step or return migration, and cannot reflect emigration, nor show length of stay in the UK, or movement within the UK, its significant strengths are that data is provided by country of origin, is disaggregated by Government Office Region (GOR), Local Authority (LA) and Parliamentary Constituency (PC) and is published annually.

The WRS is the dataset most frequently used by researchers investigating the spatial distribution of NMS migrants in the UK (Blanchflower *et al.* 2007; Coombes *et al.* 2007; Stenning and Dawley 2009). Although its drawbacks are acknowledged, it continues to be the main source of data and its indications of migrant distributions are seriously regarded. The NINo dataset provides a useful comparator for WRS, since although the measures are different they essentially measure the same thing and should, in theory at least, capture a similar set of processes; differences between these measures highlight trends and related geographies that need to be explored and explained. Migrant workers must register with WRS when they first

³ For a detailed discussion of the process of NINo application and the precise nature of data collection and analysis, see Harris *et al* (forthcoming).

⁴ A similar migration dataset is the UK National Health Service's 'Flag 4' data, which records registrations with General Practitioners (local doctors) from individuals previously resident outside the UK. However, unlike the NINo, Flag 4 and the GP patient register is a 'snapshot' taken annually, rather than a comprehensive record of each registration, and of course GP registration is unconnected to the working status of migrants.

take a job in the UK, and one might assume that at the same time, they would register for the NINo to work legally in the UK. These two processes are not formally connected, but could be reasonably assumed to be part of the same process of becoming a legal worker in the UK, entitled to state benefits and a state pension based on NI contributions. With some exceptions, most notably the self-employed, (who do not have to register for WRS) the WRS and NINo should therefore broadly capture the same migrant worker populations, although the actual registrations for each scheme may take place in different places, depending on place of residence, place of work, and the movement between these at the time of registration for both NINo and WRS. However, this is not what we find when we compare the two datasets.

Comparing the absolute numbers of NINo registrations made to Polish nationals, with WRS applications from the same group for the period May 2004-June 2011 reveals that the NINo dataset has captured far more migration activity than the Worker Registration Scheme. During this period over 965,000 allocations of a NINo were made to Polish nationals, compared to just 677,120 Polish registrations with the WRS (Table I), a difference of over 228,000, or almost 43%. Almost half of this WRS 'undercount' comes from the GOR region of London, where the difference between NINo and WRS data was greatest, at just over 128,000 incidences (NINo counted 224,000 allocations, WRS 95,880 registrations), suggesting that WRS might have captured less than half of the Polish labour migrants in London. The magnitude of difference between NINo and WRS varies between other GORs, with the smallest differences in the East Midlands and the East of England, but on average the WRS 'undercount' is still high, at 48.0%. We stress here that we do not consider this

‘undercount’ to be precisely that, for the reasons discussed above – this is simply a convenient shorthand.

Table I: NINo and WRS applications to Polish nationals entering the UK by Government Office Region 2004/05- 2010/2011

Government Office Region	NINO registrations to Polish nationals (000)	WRS applications by Polish nationals (000)	Difference between NINO and WRS (000)	% difference between NINO and WRS
London	224.00	95.88	128.12	133.6
East Midlands	76.20	69.04	7.16	10.4
East of England	88.18	78.80	9.38	11.9
West Midlands	76.72	59.83	16.90	28.2
South East	114.81	87.42	27.40	31.3
South West	68.34	56.24	12.11	21.5
Yorkshire and the Humber	67.22	56.42	10.81	19.2
North West	81.93	60.74	21.20	34.9
Wales	28.64	19.95	8.70	43.6
North East	22.50	8.74	13.76	157.4
Scotland	85.21	62.60	22.61	36.1
Northern Ireland	31.65	21.49	10.17	47.3
				Average= 48.0
Total	965.40	677.12	288.28	42.6

Source: NINo registrations are 100% extract from NIRS, DWP 2011. WRS applications are author's own calculations from WRS data obtained by contact with the UK Border Agency

There are at least four possible explanations for the difference between these datasets, both of which should in theory represent comprehensive, ‘absolute’, rather than sample survey data. These explanations could operate in isolation or in combination in any given region, but in each case they raise questions both about the activities of migrants and their interface with formal registration schemes.

First, existing studies have identified an apparent 'rural bias' in flow of Polish migrants to the UK, but this analysis is based on the Worker Registration Scheme (Stenning and Dawley 2009). If the evidence from the city of London is extrapolated to other large cities, then this might indicate a widespread undercounting of Polish migrant workers in urban areas. If this is the case, then it calls into question some conclusions already drawn about the geographical distribution of Polish workers which, based on WRS data, show disproportionately high levels of migrants in rural areas (Stenning and Dawley 2009).

Second, and connectedly, is the importance of London as a migrant destination, which could be being significantly underestimated in research informed by the relatively low levels of Polish migrant workers recorded in the capital by the WRS. If this is the case, then rather than constituting a significantly different migrant distribution, as suggested by Stenning and Dawley (2009), Polish migrants to the UK as part of the NMS immigration stream could in fact be mirroring far more closely the geographical distributions of previous waves of immigrants to the UK.

Thirdly, and alternatively, it could be the case that rather than WRS applications being artificially low in London, NINO registrations are artificially high. This might be because Polish migrants could be arriving first into London, registering for a NI number there, and then dispersing to other regions of the UK, where they might later register for the WRS. In the absence of research which traces the geographical trajectories of Polish migrants within the UK, and the timing of their engagement with official schemes such as NINO and WRS, we cannot speculate about the accuracy of this explanation, but it undoubtedly requires further research.

Finally, the discrepancy between WRS and NINo could be explained by something other than either a rural WRS bias or a quirk of migrant movement into and through London and possibly other urban centres. A significant difference between the operation of the WRS and NINo dataset is in the type of workers that they reflect. WRS only targets employees, those taking existing jobs in the UK, who must register when they obtain a job, and if they change job within 12 months of arrival in the UK. The self-employed, however, are not required to apply for registration through WRS. By contrast, the NINo dataset should include *all* those working legally in the UK, whether employed or self-employed. In order to qualify for UK social welfare benefits and the state pension, both the employed and the self-employed must register for a National Insurance number. An unspecified but potentially significant proportion of the discrepancy between WRS and NINo is caused by the numbers of Poles who are self-employed, acting entrepreneurially to establish businesses in the UK, and who are therefore excluded from the Worker Registration Scheme.

Regional and Local Geographies of Polish Migration to the UK

Putting the absolute differences between WRS and NINo and the possible reasons for them to one side, there are also comparisons to be drawn between the relative levels of data recorded by both schemes at the regional and local levels. In this section some recent studies are explored, largely based on WRS data, which seek to identify the location of A8 labour migrants, and compare their findings both with each other and with an analysis based on the NINo.

Using the Worker Registration Scheme at the national level, Bauere et al (2007) mapped the numbers of A8 nationals (including Poles) registering for a WRS per thousand of the total population for each Local Authority in the UK. Their results

showed that the A8 population had spread widely across the UK, with the highest ratios of A8 to 'background' population in Northern Ireland, Eastern England, and North Norfolk, and in scattered local concentrations in the Midlands, South West and South East. By contrast, they found low ratios in Wales, and in the North East and North West (Bauere *et al.* 2007: 8). The local authority with the highest ratio was the City of London, with the City of Westminster (central London) third. The East Midlands authorities of Boston, Northampton, and South Holland were second, fourth and fifth, and the East of England authorities of Peterborough, Fenland and East Cambridgeshire also ranked highly (Bauere *et al.* 2007: 8).

Also using WRS data, Green *et al.* (2007a&b) focussed their analysis on the East and West Midlands in their study of the impacts of recent waves of NMS migration on labour markets. Using the UK Department for the Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA) urban/rural classification scheme to ascertain the types of settlement to which migrants had located (Green *et al.* 2007b), they found that the most significant levels of accession migration were in rural areas with concentrations of food growing, processing and packaging industries; a summer peak in WRS applications suggesting that seasonal work was being undertaken by NMS migrants in these areas. This finding is supported by other research which argues that a key feature of the A8 migration to the UK appears to be a greater orientation towards rural areas than in previous migrations (Stenning *et al.* 2006, CRC 2007, Chappell *et al.* 2009, Trade Union Congress 2004).

Using WRS alongside 2001 Census data, Stenning and Dawley's (2009, 279) research supports the thesis that it is not only core cities which are attracting A8 migrants: "they are living and working in everyday, small-town, peripheral Britain". They argue that the geography of recent migrants is "quite different to that of the early years"

(ibid 275), suggesting that these recent migrants are targeting 'peripheral' regions of the UK, such as the North East and East of England. They use WRS and Census data to calculate Location Quotients (LQs) for each UK local authority, to indicate the under- or over- representation of A8 migrant groups. All five of their highest LQs are in the Fens region of Eastern England, and two Government Office Regions – East of England and East Midlands – dominate the results. Other rural authorities in Scotland, Northern Ireland and the South West are also strongly represented, showing that they are home to disproportionate numbers of A8 populations (Stenning and Dawley 2009: 277). In this study the authors define neither "peripheral Britain" nor the meaning of 'peripherality' for the migrants themselves, leaving these terms open to an interpretation that might reasonably include an element of rurality rather than location in major urban centres.

In summary, these studies which predominantly use WRS data identify a similar set of regions in the UK to which A8 immigrants appear to have been attracted. London, the East of England, the East Midlands, and Northern Ireland are highlighted by these studies, and Stenning and Dawley (2009) additionally identify Scotland and the South West of England. Both Green et al (2007a&b) and Stenning and Dawley (2009) draw particular attention to the more rural areas as destinations for A8 migrants.

Comparing studies using the WRS dataset with an analysis of the NINo dataset as it pertains to Poles shows some interesting similarities. At the national level, during the period 2002-09 there were high absolute numbers of Polish registrations right across the UK (Table II), with the majority in London, the South East, Scotland, the East of England and the North West GORs (Figure 1). Considering Polish registrations as a proportion of the working population of each GOR, however, while London remains

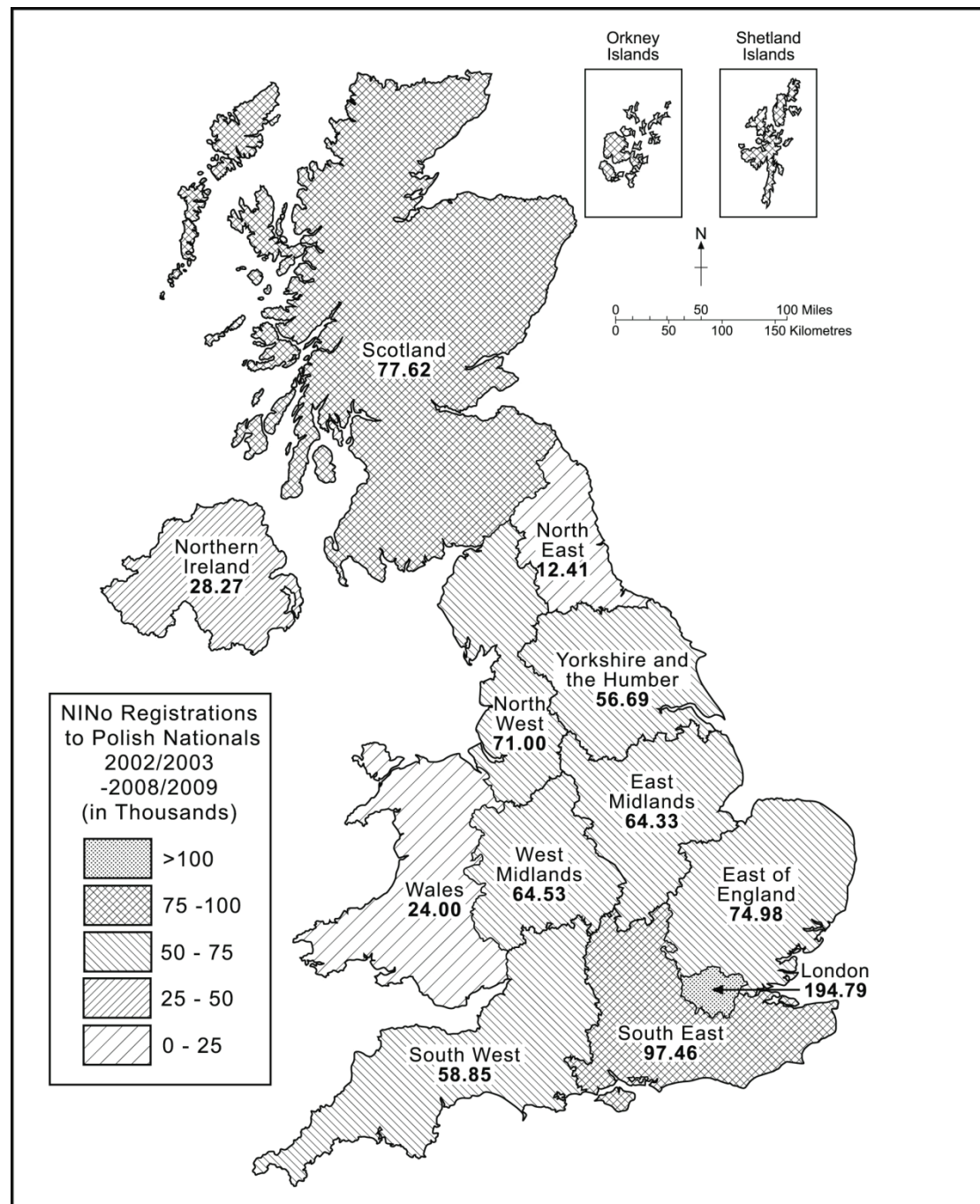
dominant, the NINo results echo the findings of Bauere (2007) and Stenning and Dawley (2009), in also identifying Northern Ireland, the East Midlands, Scotland and the West Midlands as regions with high relative levels of migrants. However, whereas Stenning and Dawley (2009) described this distribution as migrants living in 'peripheral' regions, in terms of their location in predominantly rural local authorities within these GORs, the NINo data indicates a slightly different pattern.

Table II: NINo registrations to Polish nationals entering the UK by Government Office Region 2002/2003- 2010/2011

Government Office Region	NINo registrations to Polish nationals (000)	Total regional employment (000)	Poles as a Percentage of the working population	Standard deviation	Rank
London	231.97	3850.33	6.02	2.48	1
Northern Ireland	31.71	803.11	3.95	0.6892	2
Scotland	92.52	2506.14	3.69	0.46427	3
East Midlands	76.41	2152.60	3.55	0.34316	4
West Midlands	77.01	2412.48	3.19	0.03172	5
East of England	88.61	2845.77	3.11	-0.03749	6
Yorkshire and the Humber	67.37	2398.87	2.81	-0.29702	7
South East	115.84	4198.33	2.76	-0.34027	8
South West	68.64	2494.07	2.75	-0.34893	9
North West	82.19	3121.09	2.63	-0.45274	10
Wales	28.70	1338.22	2.14	-0.87664	11
North East	14.23	1144.17	1.24	-1.65524	12
Total	743.23	25414.85			

Source: NINo Time Series- Financial Year of Registration Date= 2002/2003- 2010/2011. In employment Times Series- April 2011- June 2011. NINo registrations are 100% extract from NIRS, DWP 2011. In employment figures are from ONS, 2011

Figure 1: NINo registrations to Polish nationals 2002/2003- 2008/2009 for the Government Office Regions of the UK



Source: Author's own calculations from NINo dataset 2002/2003- 2008/2009.

The NiNo dataset can be analysed to identify local and regional geographies of NMS migrations and also localised ‘hotspots’ of Polish NiNo registrations. Choosing for closer analysis two regions which fall in the middle of the NiNo ranking table by both absolute and relative number of NiNo registrations to Poles, the South East and the West Midlands, and which each include a variety of ‘types’ of places in terms of the level of urban and rural population as defined by DEFRA, we can identify specific areas in which high levels of registrations have occurred.

The South East

The South East Government Office Region of the UK stretches from Kent in the east, the Isle of Wight in the south, West Berkshire in the west and Milton Keynes in the north, and contains cities and large towns, small towns and also rural areas (Table III). In the South East GOR the highest NiNo registrations for Poles as a proportion of the working population were in local authorities classified as ‘urban’ areas, specifically in the large conurbations of Slough, Southampton, Reading, Arun and Oxford (Table IV). In Slough, Polish allocations comprised almost 18% of those for the total working population. This significant presence of Polish labour migrants in ‘urban’ areas is reinforced by location quotients (LQs) for each of the local authorities considered, indicating the over-representation of Polish migrants in each local authority (using the number of people employed at workplaces in each local authority (NOMIS 2011) as the comparator statistic. According to the LQs, Polish labour migrants are very strongly represented in Slough, and strongly represented in Southampton and Reading- all being urban areas⁵. Nevertheless, this is not a straightforward urban distribution of registrations: the lowest proportions of Polish

⁵ Location quotients are a useful technique for identifying a concentration in a region or area. Here location quotients compare the share of local employment of Polish migrants to the share of national employment of Polish migrants. A location quotient of 1 indicates the local share of employment of Polish migrants is equal to the national share. A location quotient of less than 1 indicates that the local area has less Polish migrants than the national share, and a value greater than 1 indicates that the local area has a higher concentration of Polish migrants relative to the nation. Location quotients of over 1.5 indicate strong localisation.

NINo registrations is also in urban areas, specifically Havant (between Portsmouth and Chichester) and Adur (in West Sussex). Similarly, scattered both towards the top and the bottom of the list of local authorities are 'rural' areas such as Chichester towards the top, and Wealden towards the bottom. In short, the NINo analysis reveals that there is not a pronounced 'rural' distribution of Polish migrants in the South East.

Given the possible significance of London for Polish migrants and in the light of its proximity to the South East GOR, it might be anticipated that the distance from London would be a key factor in the distribution of Polish registrations in the South East, with those authorities closer to London having a higher proportion of registrations than those further away. This is not the case as the average distance from London for the top ten and bottom ten Local Authorities is similar (Table IV). Thus proximity to London does not appear to be an important driver in influencing the locational decisions of Polish migrants (Evans *et al.* 2005; May *et al.* 2007; Wills *et al.* 2009).

Table III: The DEFRA urban/rural categorisation

Classification	Definition
Major Urban (MU)	Districts with either 100,000 people or 50% of their population in urban areas with a population of more than 750,000.
Large Urban (LU)	Districts with either 50,000 people or 50 percent of their population in one of 17 urban areas with a population between 250,000 and 750,000.
Other Urban (OU)	Districts with fewer than 37,000 people or less than 26% of their population in rural settlements and larger market towns.
Significant Rural (SU)	Districts with more than 37,000 people or more than 26% of their population in rural settlements and larger market towns.
Rural-50 (R50)	Districts with at least 50% but less than 80% of their population in rural settlements and larger market towns.
Rural-80 (R80)	Districts with at least 80% of their population in rural settlements and larger market towns.

Source: DEFRA 2009a

Table IV: NINo registrations to Polish nationals in the local authorities of the South East region of the UK 2002/2003- 2010/2011

Local authority	NINo registrations to Polish nationals (000)	Total local authority employment (000)	Poles as a percentage of the working population	Standard deviation	Rank	Location Quotients (LQ)	DEFRA classification	Distance from London (miles)
Top ten local authorities								
Slough	10.83	61.1	17.73	2.47316	1	5.2092	Other Urban	22.4
Southampton	12.17	115.7	10.52	0.81857	2	3.0913	Large Urban	80.5
Reading	5.99	79.7	7.52	0.13012	3	2.2088	Large Urban	41.7
Arun	4.45	65.5	6.79	-0.03741	4	1.9967	Large Urban	65.2
Oxford	4.6	76.2	6.04	-0.20952	5	1.7741	Other Urban	59.4
Tunbridge Wells	2.66	51	5.22	-0.3977	6	1.5328	Significant Rural	39.4
Cherwell	3.17	70.8	4.48	-0.56752	7	1.3159	Significant Rural	80.9
Crawley	2.39	54.2	4.41	-0.58358	8	1.2959	Other Urban	30.7
Chichester	2.1	56.9	3.69	-0.74881	9	1.0847	80+% Rural	65
Eastbourne	1.46	46.7	3.13	-0.87732	10	0.9188	Other Urban	72.6
Bottom ten local authorities								
Worthing	0.51	49.1	1.04	1.34559	59	0.3053	Large Urban	61
Gosport	0.37	36.4	1.02	1.23252	60	0.2987	Large Urban	97.3
Mid Sussex	0.65	67	0.97	0.94983	61	0.2851	80+% Rural	38.5
Horsham	0.56	64.2	0.87	0.38445	62	0.2564	50-80% Rural	40.1
Tandridge	0.34	42.6	0.8	-0.01131	63.5	0.2346	50-80% Rural	21.5
Rother	0.29	36.4	0.8	-0.01131	63.5	0.2341	50-80% Rural	58.1
Wealden	0.46	63.3	0.73	-0.40707	65	0.2136	80+% Rural	53.1
Fareham	0.39	57.4	0.68	-0.68976	66	0.1997	Large Urban	92.3
Adur	0.17	29	0.59	-1.19859	67	0.1723	Large Urban	57.3
Havant	0.29	55.5	0.52	-1.59435	68	0.1536	Large Urban	69.6

Source: NINo Time Series- Financial Year of Registration Date= 2002/2003- 2010/2011. In employment Times Series- Jan10-Dec 10. NINo registrations are 100% extract from NIRS, DWP 2011. In employment figures are from NOMIS 2011. Classification figures are from DEFRA 2009b.

The West Midlands

The same variable picture emerges in the West Midlands. Like the South East, the region is geographically diverse, with two major conurbations (Birmingham and the Black Country and Stoke-on-Trent), cathedral cities and market towns and rural areas in the western counties of Shropshire and Herefordshire which border Wales. The region includes Britain's second city, Birmingham, part of the West Midlands conurbation. As is the case in the South East GOR, in the West Midlands, both urban and rural areas occupy positions throughout the ranking of local authorities by Polish NINo registrations as a proportion of the workforce (Table V). In this GOR, the list is headed by the rural area of Herefordshire, where Polish allocations comprise almost 9% of those for the entire working population, which is a significant representation according to the LQs. Herefordshire is closely followed by the town of Rugby with Polish allocation comprising 6.58% of the entire working population. At the bottom of the list are the major 'urban' area of Dudley, very close to the city of Birmingham, and the more rural areas of Cannock, Bromsgrove and Southern Staffordshire.

Table V: NINo registrations to Polish nationals in the local authorities of the West Midlands region of the UK 2002/2003- 2010/2011

Local authority	NINo registrations to Polish nationals (000)	Total local authority employment (000)	Poles as a percentage of the working population	Standard deviation	Rank	Location Quotients (LQ)	DEFRA classification
Herefordshire, County of	7.05	82.20	8.58	2.49567	1	2.5206	50-80% Rural Significant
Rugby	2.75	41.80	6.58	1.59789	2	1.9335	Rural
Coventry	9.17	139.90	6.55	1.58443	3	1.9263	Large Urban
Sandwell	6.82	111.60	6.11	1.38692	4	1.7960	Major Urban
Redditch	2.32	39.50	5.87	1.27918	5	1.7261	Other Urban
Wychavon	3.01	58.70	5.13	0.94701	6	1.5070	80+% Rural Significant
East Staffordshire	2.65	53.50	4.95	0.86621	7	1.4557	Rural
Stratford on Avon	2.77	57.70	4.80	0.79887	8	1.4109	80+% Rural
Worcester	2.15	47.10	4.56	0.69114	9	1.3415	Other Urban
Telford and Wrekin	2.81	74.00	3.80	0.34998	10	1.1160	Other Urban
Birmingham	15.33	407.00	3.77	0.33652	11	1.1070	Major Urban
Wolverhampton	3.43	91.90	3.73	0.31856	12	1.0969	Major Urban
Tamworth	0.88	31.00	2.84	-0.08095	13	0.8343	Other Urban Significant
Stafford	1.47	57.90	2.54	-0.21562	14	0.7461	Rural
Stoke on Trent	2.37	101.90	2.33	-0.30988	15	0.6835	Large Urban Significant
Warwick	1.51	69.90	2.16	-0.38619	16	0.6349	Rural
Nuneaton and Bedworth	1.10	54.50	2.02	-0.44904	17	0.5932	Other Urban
Malvern Hills	0.66	33.50	1.97	-0.47148	18	0.5790	50-80% Rural
Walsall	1.83	100.90	1.81	-0.54331	19	0.5330	Major Urban Significant
Wyre Forest	0.79	45.60	1.73	-0.57922	20	0.5091	Rural
Lichfield	0.78	47.30	1.65	-0.61513	21	0.4846	50-80% Rural
North							
Warwickshire	0.44	29.30	1.50	-0.68246	22	0.4413	50-80% Rural
Shropshire	2.04	138.40	1.47	-0.69593	23	0.4332	50-80% Rural
Newcastle Under Lyme	0.57	55.70	1.02	-0.89793	24	0.3007	Large Urban
Solihull	0.61	88.50	0.69	-1.04606	25	0.2026	Major Urban
Staffordshire							
Moorlands	0.31	47.70	0.65	-1.06402	26	0.1910	50-80% Rural
Dudley	0.82	134.80	0.61	-1.08197	27	0.1788	Major Urban Significant
Cannock Chase	0.24	49.50	0.48	-1.14033	28	0.1425	Rural Significant
Bromsgrove	0.16	43.90	0.36	-1.19419	29	0.1071	Rural Significant
South							
Staffordshire	0.17	47.90	0.35	-1.19868	30	0.1043	Rural

Source: NINo Time Series- Financial Year of Registration Date= 2002/2003- 2010/2011. In employment Times Series- Jan 2010- Dec 2010. NINo registrations are 100% extract from NIRS DWP (2011). In employment figures are from NOMIS (2011). Classification figures are from DEFRA (2009b).

In neither the South East nor the West Midlands is there a significant weighting of Polish migrants towards either 'urban' or 'rural' areas. Instead, a patchwork or mosaic exists of both high and low levels of registrations in proportion to the workforce as a whole across the entire range of classifications of local authority, from the most urban to the most rural in terms of population distribution. In both regions, there are locations with very significant concentrations of Polish workers, as measured by the proportion of all NINo allocations being made to Poles, such as Slough, Southampton and Rugby. Since these locally high levels appear against an average level for the respective GORs which is relatively low at the national scale (see Table II) such locally anomalous places might be argued to merit further investigation. It is worth noting that these places have been completely overlooked by earlier studies⁶.

The identification of Slough, Southampton and Rugby as 'hotspots' of Polish immigration raises some interesting questions regarding the emerging geography of Polish migration, but the analysis of the NINo dataset also raises another set of interesting issues that require further detailed investigation. First, by conducting the same process demonstrated here for these two mid-ranking GORs, researchers could, for example, identify disproportionately high or unusually low levels of NMS migrants from any of the A8 states in any of the GORs, either GORs with high or low 'background' levels of NINo allocations to NMS nationals, or select a range of levels of NINo allocations across a variety of 'types' of place according to the DEFRA classification of urban/rural places. Secondly, the analysis highlights the difference

⁶ Studies into Polish migrant workers in the UK at the local focus on London (Garapich 2006), Newcastle (Stenning and Dawley 2009), and Scotland (Helinska-Hughes *et al.* 2009) with some work on the West Midlands region (Meardi 2007) but not at the local authority level.

between the NINo and the WRS datasets which may be explained by the self-employed Polish migrants that are captured by the NINo but not the WRS.

Explorations and Entrepreneurialism

The analysis of the distribution of NINo registrations to Poles differs from the distributions of A8 migrants which might be anticipated based on the findings of previous studies using WRS data, it is worth exploring what these differences are and why they might have occurred. Based on WRS data, Stenning and Dawley (2009) suggested that A8 migrants to the UK have been attracted to and have settled in 'peripheral' areas, which correspond broadly to rural areas. In the West Midlands Green et al (2007a&b) suggested a similar rural distribution of A8 migrant workers. Albeit focussing on different regions of the UK, but with the overlap of the West Midlands, the NINo data does not bear this distribution out. The differences could be due to the 'rural bias' of the WRS which seems to undercount migrant workers in urban areas. This could explain why we see more urban areas towards the tops of NINo tables of Polish NINo registrations in these two regions than the arguments advanced by Green et al and Stenning and Dawley (2009) might anticipate.

An alternative explanation might be found in the intrinsic difference between the two datasets; the difference may be explained by the additional group of self-employed Polish migrants that are captured by the NINo but not the WRS. It could be that in these two GORs, the unexpectedly high levels of Polish NINo registrations are attributable, in part, to a WRS rural bias, but also that they might reflect a significant occurrence of Polish self-employment in urban areas. We do not suggest here that self-employment amongst Poles is so widespread as to account for the

whole of the discrepancy between WRS and NINo, but we do contend that there is sufficient indication here of its magnitude; entrepreneurialism amongst Poles and potentially other A8 migrants should be afforded more academic and policy attention.

The literature on immigrant entrepreneurship suggests that entrepreneurial activity tends to be located in urban, rather than rural areas (Light 1972; Borjas 1986; Aldrich *et al.* 1990; Rath 2000; Masurel *et al.* 2002; Wang 2010; Lashner Dayanim 2011), in part to service the usually urban immigrant population distribution, but also because urban areas provide the highest levels of passing trade, regardless of its nationality or ethnicity, and therefore yield the greatest likelihood of achieving 'break-out' for the business from catering purely to this limited co-ethnic market .

Entrepreneurialism and self-employment amongst long-standing immigrant groups in the UK has been intensively researched (Werbner 1984; Ram *et al.* 2002; Bagwell 2008; Gomez and Cheung 2009), but thus far, this kind of activity amongst A8 migrants, including Poles, has remained under-researched, perhaps in part because of the initial impression generated by the UK press in the early years of EU Accession, when the popular discourse was that Poles were 'taking our jobs' rather than making their *own* jobs, and creating others, through entrepreneurial activity. Arrivals from the NMS, and particularly those from Poland have often been presumed to be 'job takers' working in low-paid industries (see Portes and French 2005; McDowell *et al.* 2007; Meardi 2007) rather than job makers. Consequently, accession entrepreneurs have been largely absent from academic and media debates. This omission is surprising as Polish entrepreneurship has become a very

visible presence in Britain's urban areas (Figures 2 and 3). Polish retail businesses can be found in many cities and towns and are easily identified by their shops fronts and signs. Polish migrants have established businesses in many sectors including Polish restaurants, delicatessens, supermarkets, night clubs, hairdressers, employment agencies, plumbers, builders, painters and decorators and cheque cashing agencies.

Figure 2. Polish Delicatessen in Birmingham, West Midlands



Source: Author's own photograph

Figure 3. Eastern European Supermarket in Wolverhampton, West Midlands



Source: Author's own photograph

Accession migrants settle in different places for different reasons; cheap housing, low living costs, an abundance of work, availability of good schooling for foreign national children, the prior establishment of a supportive community of co-ethnics, and so on (see Ross 2006) may all act to encourage immigration and settlement. We argue here, based on the indication drawn from the comparison between the WRS and NINo datasets that self-employment may be a significant economic activity for Poles, that the local environment for business start-up should also be considered a migrant magnet. By extension, we would also argue that future research into the labour market experiences of Polish and other NMS migrants should not be restricted to the analysis of NMS migrants as employees, but also to the analysis of NMS migrants as entrepreneurs and job creators. The intra-urban geography of NMS

entrepreneurship requires further research as it would appear to have an interesting geography related to peripheral locations adjacent to central shopping districts. In the UK Polish entrepreneurs appear to be playing an important role in transforming vacant, peripheral and relatively low cost retail space into niche retail spaces that are contributing to urban revitalisation.

In response, we are conducting intensive research into Polish Entrepreneurship in the West Midlands to explore the form that this takes in relation to accession. We have identified 48 Polish firms operating in the West Midlands that are associated with accession. The 48 firms do not represent the complete population of such firms. Thirty-six of these firms were established prior to accession between December 2002 and 30th April 2004 whilst 12 were established after accession between 1st May 2004 and June 2009. The firms established prior to EU enlargement stressed the importance of migrating before May 2004 so that their businesses would be able to capitalise immediately on accession migration flows. This raises a series of questions regarding migration that is linked to major geopolitical transformations, such as accession. The driver behind the migration of Polish entrepreneurs was, unlike many other migrations, not a push related to war, but an alteration in the structure of relationships between countries driven by negotiations over a treaty. This means that for many of these migrants their migration was carefully planned around the geopolitics of accession.

Conclusion

The accession of ten new member states to the European Union is associated with new migration flows that have led to much media discussion and political comment. The analysis of NMS migration to the UK is difficult as there are problems with available national datasets; migration is always a difficult process to track effectively.

The paper makes two significant contributions to existing research into labour migration from the NMS to the UK, and in particular that from Poland. First, it explores the differences between the widely used Worker Registration Scheme (WRS) dataset and the more recently recognised National Insurance Number allocation (NINo). On the basis of this analysis, the article calls into question the conclusions drawn about the location of NMS migrants in the UK that are based on the analysis of the WRS dataset. Existing studies have identified a rural or peripheral bias in the intra-geography of Polish migration to the UK. Our analysis suggests that NMS migration has focussed on both urban and rural locations.

Second, the discrepancies observed between the WRS and NINo datasets potentially reveal a geography of self-employment and entrepreneurial activity amongst Polish and potentially other NMS migrants. Entrepreneurial activity amongst NMS migrants is under-researched and merits further investigation. The drivers behind this process of new firm formation must be explored. Our preliminary research into this activity suggests that two waves of Polish entrepreneurs responded to the business opportunities associated with EU enlargement – pre-accession migrants who established businesses in anticipation of EU enlargement and post-accession

migrants. It is this issue that is the current focus of our research into the geography of accession migrants to the UK.

References

Aldrich, H. E. and R. Waldinger. 1990. Ethnicity and entrepreneurship. *Annual Review of Sociology* 16: 111-135.

Ambroziak, Z. 2007. *Poles apart* 19 October. http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/politics_show/7043955.stm (accessed on 23 December 2007).

Allen, J., D. Massey, and A. Cochrane. 1998. *Rethinking the region*. New York: Routledge.

Anderson, B., M. Ruhs, B. Rogaly, and S. Spencer. 2006. *Fair enough? Central and East European migrants in low-wage employment in the UK*. COMPAS. <http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/changingstatus/index.shtml#fair> (accessed on 22 June 2009)

Bagwell, S. 2008. Transnational family networks and ethnic minority business development: The case of Vietnamese nail-shops in the UK. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour & Research* 14 (6): 377 – 394.

Bauere V., P. Densham, J. Millar and J. Salt. (2007) Migrants from central and Eastern Europe: Local Geographies. *Population Trends* 129: 7-19

Betjeman, J. 1937. *Slough in continual dew: a little book of bourgeois verse*. London: J Murray.

Blanchflower, D. G., J. Saleheen, C. Shadforth. 2007. *The impact of the recent migration from Eastern Europe on the UK Economy*. IZA Discussion Paper No. 2457. <http://www.bankofengland.co.uk/publications/speeches/2007/speech297.pdf> (accessed 9 July 2009)

Borjas, G. 1986. The self-employment experience of immigrants. *Journal of Human Resources* 21: 485-506.

Burrell, K. 2008. Materialising the border: spaces of mobility and material culture in migration from post-socialist Poland. *Mobilities* 3(3): 353-73

Burrell, K. (eds). 2009 *Polish migration to the UK in the 'new' European Union*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Chappell, L., M. Latorre, J. Rutter and J. Shah. 2009. *Migration and rural economies: assessing and addressing risk*. Institute for Public Policy Research, London.
<http://www.ippr.org.uk/publicationsandreports/publication.asp?id=670> (accessed 28 January 2010).

Coombes, M., T. Champion and S. Raybould 2007. Did the early A8 in-migrants to England go to areas of labour shortage? *Local Economy* 22(4): 335-348.

Commission for Rural Communities (CRC). 2007. *A8 migrant workers in rural areas*
<http://www.ruralcommunities.gov.uk/publications/migrantworkersinruralareas>
(accessed 22 June 2009).

Currie, S. 2008. *Migration, work and citizenship in the enlarged EU*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

DEFRA. 2009a. *Classification of local authority districts and unitary authorities in England: an introductory guide*.
https://statistics.defra.gov.uk/esg/rural_resd/rural_defn/LAClassifications_introguide.pdf (accessed 13 November 2009)

DEFRA. 2009b. *Rural definition and local authority classification*.
<http://www.defra.gov.uk/evidence/statistics/rural/rural-definition.htm> (accessed 13 November 2009)

Department for Work and Pensions (DWP). 2007. *National insurance number allocations to overseas nationals entering the UK (previously migrant worker statistics)*. http://www.dwp.gov.uk/asd/asd1/niall/niall_report.pdf (accessed 11 February 2008)

Department for Work and Pensions (DWP). 2009. *National insurance number allocations to adult overseas nationals entering the UK 2008/09*. http://www.dwp.gov.uk/asd/asd1/tabtools/nino_allocations_0809.pdf (accessed 6 December 2009).

Dobson, J., K. Koser, G. McLaughlan and J. Salt. 2001. *International migrations and the United Kingdom: recent patterns and trends*. RDS Occasional Paper 75. London: Home Office.

Doughty, S. 2007. Poles 'push British graduates to back of the jobs queue'. *The Daily Mail* 30 December. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-505294/Skilled-highly-motivated-Poles-push-British-graduates-jobs-queue.html> (accessed 26 November 2009).

Drinkwater, S., J. Eade, and M. Garapich. 2006. *Poles apart? EU enlargement and the labour market outcomes of immigrants in the UK*. <http://ftp.iza.org/dp2410.pdf>. (accessed 14 December 2007).

Drinkwater, S. 2008. *Recent Immigration to the UK*. <http://www.parliament.uk/documents/upload/EA206%20Drinkwater.doc> (accessed 14 December 2007).

Düvell, F. 2004. *Polish undocumented immigrants, regular high-skilled workers and entrepreneurs in the UK*. Institute for Social Studies working paper no. 54. Warsaw: Warsaw University.

Eade, J., S. Drinkwater and M. Garapich. 2006. *Class and ethnicity- Polish migrants in London*. Guildford: University of Surrey. <http://www.surrey.ac.uk/Arts/CRONEM/polish/reports.htm>. (accessed 8 January 2008).

Evans, Y., J. Herbert, K. Datta, J. May, C. McIlwaine, and J. Wills. 2005. *Making the city work: low paid employment in London*.

http://www.geog.qmul.ac.uk/globalcities/reports/docs/research_report.pdf

(accessed on 22 June 2009).

Fife Research and Coordination Group. 2008. *Migrant workers in Fife survey 2007*.

www.fifedirect.org.uk/uploadfiles/publications/c64_MigrantWorkersSurveyKnowFifeFindingdV1_2.pdf (accessed 28 January 2010).

Garapich, M. 2005. *Soldiers and plumbers. Immigration business and the impact of EU enlargement on Polish migrants*. Paper presented at the international conference 'New Patterns of East West Migration in Europe' November 18-19 2005. Hamburg: Migration Research Group, Institute of International Economics.

Garapich, M. 2006. *London's Polish Borders: class and ethnicity among global city migrants*, CRONEM: University of Surrey. <http://www.surrey.ac.uk/Arts/CRONEM/LONDON-Polish-Borders-interim-report.pdf> (accessed 22 June 2009).

Garapich, M. 2008. The migration industry and civil society: Polish immigrants in the United Kingdom before and after EU enlargement. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 34(5): 735-752.

Globalization and World Cities (GAWC). 2009. *Research network*. <http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/index.html> (accessed 13 September 2009).

Gomez, E.T. and G.C.K. Cheung. 2009. Family firms, networks and 'ethnic enterprise': Chinese food industry in Britain. *East Asia* 26(2): 133-157.

Gordon, I. 1995. Migration in a segmented labour market. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 20(2): 139-55.

Green, A., P. Jones and D. Owen. 2007a. *Migrant workers in the East Midlands labour market*. Report for the East Midlands Development Agency. Nottingham: EMDA.

Green A., D. Owen, P. Jones, with C. Owen and J. Francis. 2007b. *The economic impact of migrant workers in the West Midlands*. Report for a consortium of organisations in the West Midlands. Birmingham: West Midlands Regional Observatory.

Helinska-Hughes, E., M. Hughes, P. Lassalle and I. Skowron. 2009. *The trajectories of Polish immigrant businesses in Scotland and the role of social capital*. Paper presented at Entrepreneurship and Growth of Family Firms. Cracow University of Economics, June 2009.

Lashner Dayanim, S. 2011. Do minority-owned businesses face a spatial barrier? Measuring neighborhood-level economic activity differences in Philadelphia. *Growth and Change* 42(3): 397-419.

Light, I. 1972. *Ethnic enterprise in America: business and welfare among Chinese, Japanese and blacks*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Leapman, B. 2007. Immigration is changing England rural life. *The Telegraph* 5 August. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1559489/Immigration-is-changing-rural-England-life.html> (accessed 16 November 2009).

Learning and Skills Council (LSC). 2007. *Migrant workers and the labour market*.

Learning and Skills Council reports. <http://readingroom.lsc.gov.uk/lsc/National/nat-migrantworkersandthelabourmarket.pdf> (accessed 21 October 2009)

Masurel, E., Nijkamp P., Tastan M. and G. Vindigni. 2002. Motivations and Performance Conditions for Ethnic Entrepreneurship. *Growth and Change*. 33(2): 238-260.

May, J., J. Wills, K. Datta, Y. Evans, J. Herbert and C. McIlwaine. 2007. Keeping London working: global Cities, the British state and London's new migrant division of labour. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*. 32(2): 151-167.

McDowell, L., A. Batnitzky and S. Dyer. 2007. Division, segmentation, and interpellation: the embodied labors of migrant workers in a Greater London hotel. *Economic Geography* 83(1): 1-25.

Meardi, M. 2007. *The Polish plumber in the West Midlands: Theoretical and empirical issues*. <http://www.unigraz.at/sozwww/Dateien/Personen/MigConf07/PaperMeardi.pdf> (accessed 24 January 2008).

Morris, N. 2008. Tide of migration turns as Polish workers return. *The Independent* 27 February. <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/tide-of-migration-turns-as-polish-workers-return-787914.html> (accessed 15 May 2009).

Moszczyński, W. 2008a. *Poles in UK House of Commons report*. <http://www.zpwb.org.uk/4> (accessed 18 December 2009).

Moszczyński, W. 2008b. Why Britain needs Polish migrants. *The Telegraph* 3 April. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/3556852/Why-Britain-needs-Polish-migrants.html> (accessed 26 October 2009).

Office for National Statistics (ONS). 2009a. *Emigration reaches record high in 2008*.

<http://www.statistics.gov.uk/CCI/nugget.asp?id=260> (accessed 2 December 2009).

Office for National Statistics (ONS). 2009b. *Neighbourhood statistics*.

<http://www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/dissemination/LeadHome.do;jessionid=ac1f930d30d6cb33e8632eec40198478f11d92bec473?m=0&s=1253107582500&enc=1&nsjs=true&nsck=true&nssvg=false&nswid=1280> (accessed 22 June 2009).

Peach, C. 1999. London and New York: contrasts in British and American models of segregation (with comment by Nathan Glazer). *International Journal of Population Geography* 5: 319-351.

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

Pollard, N., M. Latorre and D. Sriskandarajah. 2008. *Floodgates or turnstiles? post-EU enlargement migrations flows to (and from) the UK*. London: Institute for Public Policy Research.

<http://www.ippr.org/publicationsandreports/publication.asp?id60=3> (accessed 28 January 2010).

Portes, J. and S. French. 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 no. 18*. London: Department for Work and Pensions.

Ram, M., T. Jones, T. Abbas and B. Sanghera. 2002. Ethnic minority enterprise in its urban context: South Asian restaurants in Birmingham. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 26: 24-40.

Rath, J. 2000. *Immigrant businesses: the economic, political and social environment*. London: Macmillan.

- Ross, A. (eds) 2006. *Citizenship education: Europe and the world*. London: CiCe.
- Salt, J. 2009. *International migration and the United Kingdom: report of the United Kingdom. SOPEMI Correspondent to the OECD, 2009*. London: UCL.
http://www.geog.ucl.ac.uk/research/mobility-identity-and-security/migration-research-unit/pdfs/Sop09_fin.pdf (accessed 28 January 2010).
- Scott, J. W. 2006. *EU enlargement, region building and shifting borders of inclusion and exclusion*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Stenning, A., A. Champion, C. Conway, M. Coombes, S. Dawley, L. Dixon, S. Raybould and R. Richardson. 2006. *Assessing the local and regional impacts of international migration*. London: Department for Communities and Local Government.
<http://www.ncl.ac.uk/curds/publications/pdf/A8Final.pdf> (accessed 22 June 2009).
- Stenning, A. and S. Dawley. 2009. Poles to Newcastle: grounding new migrant flows in peripheral regions. *European Urban and Regional Studies* 16(3): 273-294.
- TUC (Trades Union Congress). 2004. *Propping up rural and small town Britain*. London: TUC.
- University of Surrey. 2006. *Polish migrants' survey results*. Commission by BBC Newsnight.
www.surrey.ac.uk/Arts/CRONEM/CRONEM_BBC_Polish_survey%20_results.pdf
 (accessed 18 March 2008).
- Wang, Q. 2010. Immigration and ethnic entrepreneurship: a comparative study in the United States. *Growth and Change* 41(3): 430–458.
- Werbner, P. 1984. Business on trust: Pakistani entrepreneurship in the Manchester garment trade, in *Ethnic communities in business: strategies for economic survival* edited by R. Ward and R. Jenkins. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wills, J., J. May, K. Datta, Y. Evans, J. Herbert and C. McIlwaine. 2009. London's Migrant Division of Labour. *European Urban and Regional Studies* 16(3): 257-71.