

## **'New' migrations transforming the city: Central and East European settlement in Glasgow**

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*"Contemporary migrations are literally re-making cities (...) and this is not a banal fact of changing population demographics"*

Nicholas de Genova (2015: 4)

### Introduction

We are living in an 'age of migration' (Castles et al. 2013) within which 'migration and the city can be viewed as two sides of the same coin, having built and accompanied each other's development over the centuries leading to the contemporary global system' (Portes 2000: 154). Over the last 50 years, economic and technological developments in the global North have led to the rise of 'global cities' and created particular demands for migrant labour (Wills et al. 2010). International migration, whilst by no means a new phenomenon, has thus taken on new features and brought new changes to cities such as Glasgow as they become differently embedded in the economic, political and social configurations of the contemporary world.

In the global North, the neoliberal reforms of the 1980s produced a new model of employment. Many industries moved to subcontracting and other flexible employment arrangements. As a result, low-skilled and low-paid jobs no longer came with the benefits of stable employment or strongly unionised workforces able to demand labour rights (Standing 2011). As such they became much less attractive to the local population. At the same time, the service sector has expanded considerably, especially in 'global cities', (Sassen 2001) creating a growing need for cheap and flexible labour. These developments created new opportunities as well as new vulnerabilities and forms of precarity for migrant workers from across the world.

Other political and economic processes in the sending countries have also impacted on the scale and nature of international migration flows. Compared to the mass migrations which followed the Second World War, the 'new migration' from the 1980s onwards has been characterised by increasing diversification in terms of countries of origin but also patterns of migration, length of stay, categories of migrants and their motivations (Pardo 2018: 3). In Europe, this led to the expansion of multicultural urban societies (Castles and Davidson 2000; Koser and Lutz 1998; Thranhardt 1996, Castles et al. 2013), some of which have become 'super-diverse' (Vetrovec 2006).

On the European continent, shifting migration flows and trajectories over the last three decades have also been shaped by geopolitical changes which began with the fall of East European communist regimes in the late 1980s, the end of the Cold War and relaxation of border controls between East and West Europe. Yet it was the introduction of free movement following the European Union enlargements of 2004 and 2007 that most strongly facilitated 'a continent moving West' (Black et al. 2010). The UK, which fully opened its labour market to A8 nationals<sup>1</sup> in 2004, became one of the major destination countries for people migrating from the region. This new migration from Central and East Europe has been described as 'one of the most important social and economic phenomena shaping the UK today' which has 'dramatically changed the scale, composition and characteristics of immigration to the UK' (Pollard et al. 2008: 7).

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<sup>1</sup> The A8 countries which joined the EU in 2004 were: the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia. In 2007 another Eastern EU expansion took place with A2 countries joining: Bulgaria and Romania.

Glasgow has also been affected by these global and regional processes. For much of the preceding century, the city had been marked by emigration, population shrinkage, high levels of worklessness and low levels of economic participation. Now Glasgow has become a city of destination for large numbers of new migrants, the majority of them arriving from the countries of Central and East Europe since 2004. The availability of work, especially in low-skilled sectors, has been key to attracting many of these new arrivals while low-cost housing in the city has significantly supported their settlement. However, neither the sorts of jobs on offer, nor the available housing have been without their difficulties. This chapter explores the relationship between this recent migration and the city. We discuss how 21<sup>st</sup> Century migration from Central and East Europe has impacted on and transformed Glasgow but also how the city has shaped the experiences of its new residents. Our analysis is based mainly on qualitative interviews with 32 Central and East European migrants living in Glasgow in 2014-2015.<sup>2</sup>

### Glasgow as a city of immigration

Glasgow has been home to migrants from across the world, including from Central and East European countries, for many centuries. Migrations from Ireland and Italy are some of the most historically embedded in the city, dating back to the 17<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries and contributing to Glasgow's linguistic, culinary and sporting cultures as well as to its industrial and demographic profiles (Edward 2016: 36, 83). In the period following the end of the Second World War, significant numbers of people came to Glasgow from India, Pakistan and China, bringing new kinds of ethnic and religious diversity to the city and settling predominantly in particular neighbourhoods to the South and West of the city centre (Edward 2016: 136-137). Poles and Lithuanians also arrived (or stayed following wartime service in Scotland) as refugees from the new communist regimes in this period, although their numbers were relatively small. More recently the city council chose to settle asylum seekers and refugees under the UK government's Immigration and Asylum Act 1999. The city's political leaders as well as a wide range of non-governmental and grassroots activist groups have welcomed this growing diversity and sought to develop a new reputation for Glasgow as a welcoming and inclusive city under the slogan 'People make Glasgow' (Phipps and Kay 2014). Nonetheless, levels of ethnic and cultural diversity within Glasgow have remained relatively low by comparison with other large UK cities such as London, Manchester, Birmingham or Liverpool.

Following the EU expansions of 2004 and 2007, Glasgow, like many other cities across the UK, experienced a rapid increase in the number of people arriving from the East European new member states, and from Poland in particular. The Scottish Censuses of 2001 and 2011 show the effect of these new arrivals on Glasgow's population in terms of its ethnic composition: the 'other White' population in Glasgow, the overwhelming majority of whom are nationals of the Central and East European EU member states, increased from 10,344 (1.79% of the overall population) in 2001 to 22,938 (3.87% of the overall population) in 2011 (Freeke 2013). 1.3% of the city's overall population declared themselves to be Polish in the 2011 Census, which closely reflects the national average of 1.2% Poles within the population of Scotland as a whole (NRS 2013).

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<sup>2</sup> The primary data which we draw on for this chapter was gathered as part of a large ESRC-funded research project 'Social Support and Migration in Scotland' (SSAMIS). For further information on the project see [www.glasgow.ac.uk/research/az/gramnet/research/ssamis](http://www.glasgow.ac.uk/research/az/gramnet/research/ssamis). We are grateful to our colleagues in the SSAMIS project team: Moya Flynn (University of Glasgow); Sergei Shubin (Swansea University); Holly Porteous (Swansea University); Claire Needler (Swansea University). This work was supported by the UK Economic and Social Research Council (November 2013-November 2018, ESRC ref: ES/J007374/1). The underlying data is available from the UK data archive DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN852584>.

Significantly, most of these migrants are young, of working age (Scottish Government 2017a: 9), adding to Glasgow's workforce and helping address the issue of an ageing population. The overall employment rate for A8 migrants in Scotland as a whole is very high, indeed, at 82.4% it is higher than the rate for UK citizens, which is 73.3% (Scottish Government 2017a: 9). However, in keeping with the wider trends of globalisation and neoliberalism outlined above, these new arrivals have mainly taken up employment in low-skilled, low-paid and often precarious jobs, for example in the service sector, manufacturing and food processing. The overwhelming majority are working in jobs for which they are significantly overqualified, both in terms of formal education and previous work experience: in 2016 nearly a third (31.7%) of those EU citizens in employment in Scotland who held degree qualifications worked in medium-low or low skill level occupations, compared to 18.8% of employed UK nationals with similar qualifications (Scottish Government 2017a: 10).

Migration from Central and East Europe has changed the landscape of the city in a number of ways. In the sections that follow we focus in particular on workplaces, housing, neighbourhoods and social connections.

### Employment and the workplace

*It is very dirty (laughs). Edinburgh is 100% better, but I have work here ... It's easier to find work here.*  
(Vavrinec, 46 year-old man from Slovakia, bakery operative)

The demise of state socialist regimes in the late 20<sup>th</sup> Century produced lasting economic and social insecurities in Central and East European countries, which were further compounded by global economic crises in the early 21<sup>st</sup> Century. As discussed in the introduction to this book there is no singular experience of 'the post-industrial city'. The forms of deindustrialisation and sudden exposure to global markets and movements of people which Central and East European cities experienced in the 1990s and early 2000s created strong incentives for many to leave in search of better opportunities elsewhere. The majority of the people who left countries such as Poland, Hungary or the Baltic States following their accession to the EU did so first and foremost in the hope of finding better paid and more stable employment in West European countries.

In keeping with this wider trend, the city of Glasgow has been attractive to new migrants like Vavrinec, who is quoted above, primarily as a place where they could find work. Vavrinec's job in a bakery was neither very well paid, nor highly skilled. It offered few opportunities for promotion or personal development. Nonetheless, by comparison to the difficulties experienced by Vavrinec and others like him in their home countries, jobs like this offered better material circumstances and a greater sense of security for the future. For Zenon and his wife Kornelia, both of whom worked as cleaners in Glasgow, their income here was better and more reliable than it had been in Poland:

In Poland there were three of us working, because I was working and my wife was working and our son was working. And we lived in one house, three working adults! So what? There still wasn't enough to cover all our costs. The earnings were such that it was simply a joke. You'd simply go to work and somehow exist and that was all.  
(Zenon, 56 year old man from Poland, cleaner)

Yet, achieving a more 'normal life' (Galasińska and Kozłowska 2009) has not been without difficulties. Many people have become 'stuck' in low-skilled employment, unable to move on to better paid or higher skilled jobs even after many years. Vavrinec, for instance, had been working in low-skilled jobs for 9 years, despite having a degree in economics and business studies, and over 10 years' experience as a skilled professional.

This may to some extent reflect the ‘hourglass’ labour market which Glasgow shares with many other cities in the globalised economy (Sissons 2011). However, migrants have also been steered into certain sectors by employment agencies, or personal networks (Trevena 2010). Employment agencies played a crucial role in initiating migration from particular countries and sub-regions of Central and East Europe to Glasgow (Trevena et al. 2013; Sporton 2013; Napierała and Trevena 2010). Following the 2004 EU accession, many agencies set up branches or partnerships in the region, predominantly recruiting to hard-to-fill vacancies in low-skilled and low-paid sectors. However, while the availability of a new, cheap and reliable workforce has largely benefitted employers, working through agencies can be a key reason why people find it particularly difficult to improve their employment status and escape the poverty or instability they had hoped to leave behind (Sporton 2013: 450-3). The sheer nature of agency work is highly precarious: workers usually learn if they are needed for work on a day-to-day basis and are completely dependent on employer demand, which is subject to constant change. They are paid exclusively for hours worked so if work is not available, or if they are unable to work due to ill-health, childcare obligations or other circumstances, they have no earnings. Typically it is the most vulnerable workers, those with little English and/or no qualifications, who are employed through agencies longer-term. Nonetheless, following the economic crisis of 2008, people who had previously progressed to more stable contracts were often placed back onto agency-based terms of employment as factories sought to minimise their financial commitments (Guma 2015: 81-3). This shedding of risk from the factory to individualised, precarious workers is part of much wider processes of economic globalisation and neoliberal restructuring affecting both migrant and resident workers in post-industrial cities (Guma 2015: 79). Migrant workers with poor levels of English, little understanding of employment rights or awareness of social support structures, and limited personal support networks are a particularly vulnerable workforce. In such a context it is often very difficult for people to find a way out of precarious employment with many becoming ‘trapped’ in insecure employment longer-term (Guma 2015: 94-101).

Aside from agency working, one of the biggest barriers to occupational mobility for Central and East European migrants in Glasgow (and other parts of the UK) is workplace segregation. As many as 90% or more of assembly line workers in some of the city’s factories come from the region, mainly from Poland. They have transformed the ethnic composition and linguistic environment of such workplaces, especially in factories on the outskirts of the city. Boleslav, who came to Glasgow from Slovakia in 2006 and had been working in a food processing factory for 8 years commented:

There are Hungarians there, the guys from Russia, Lithuanians, Latvians... There was this guy from Costa Rica, I think he has a visa. There’s a lot of Poles there. I won’t tell you how many percent, I don’t know. There are some Scots, there were some Irish guys, Slovaks... those countries...I stand by this table with this guy from Poland, Tomek, and we cut the fish heads off. And we have a chat and a laugh...

(Boleslav, 45 year-old man from Slovakia, factory worker)

Here Boleslav mentions working alongside and chatting to a Polish colleague most of the time. What is less obvious from the quote, but worth drawing attention to, is that they actually chat in Polish rather than English, even though Boleslav’s native language is Slovakian. The fact that people from Central and East European countries have tended to find themselves clustered in low-skilled jobs and working alongside a mix of other migrants, more so than local Scottish workers, has led to unexpected linguistic ‘side-effects’. In our wider research we found a significant number of people from countries such as Slovakia, Bulgaria or the Czech Republic who had learned, or reactivated their previous knowledge of other Slavonic languages, mainly Polish or Russian, through conversing with their co-workers.

This feature of the way in which workforces have been organised in factories and other workplaces in Glasgow, and across Scotland and the UK in general, raises broader issues relating to social integration. Many people who arrived from Central and East Europe with relatively poor levels of English and then took up work in environments dominated by non-English speakers have been unable to improve their English significantly over time. These forms of segregation in the workplace have in some instances fed into wider forms of social isolation from the native population. In certain areas of Glasgow the larger national and/or linguistic groups (Poles and Russian-speakers in particular) have established fairly self-contained communities with their own ethnic shops, press, Facebook groups and friendship circles and limited interactions with other parts of the wider community. This process is additionally strengthened by common housing pathways, places of residence and neighbourhood characteristics, which we will discuss in more detail below.

### Housing pathways of Central and East European migrants: hypermobility and the struggle to find secure housing

*'You move to one end of the city, then come back to the other, then you move to yet another... I don't know, I must have moved flats around 12 times'.*

(Tadas, 28 year-old man from Lithuania, private rental sector)

Despite the difficulties and vulnerabilities associated with low-paid work, the continued availability of employment in Glasgow, combined with access to welfare under EU free movement regulations, have been crucial factors enabling the longer-term settlement in the city of many people from Central and East Europe. Low wages have been offset by in-work benefits, such as tax credits, child tax credits or housing benefit and by the availability of affordable housing within the city, in both the private rented and social sectors. Whilst many East Europeans have not been able to find more highly skilled or personally and professionally rewarding jobs in Glasgow, the availability of relatively stable employment coupled with welfare support and affordable housing has provided them with a much needed and appreciated safety net. For the majority, achieving such security and a feeling of 'normality' was impossible in their countries of origin (McGhee et al. 2012). As Mirka explained:

I would never be able to afford a flat of this quality in Poland ... And to live in a big city, almost in the city centre ... So I do not regret living here even though it is not easy.

(Mirka, 25 year-old woman from Poland, housing association flat)

Nonetheless, in the experience of the overwhelming majority of migrants from the region, achieving housing stability takes time. As mentioned earlier, in the years immediately following the 2004 EU Enlargement, many East Europeans were recruited for work in Glasgow through overseas employment agencies. Often, these would also provide accommodation or, in some cases, this was provided directly by the employer. While some migrant workers had rather positive experiences of employer or agency-tied accommodation, others were housed in sub-standard conditions and/or significantly overcharged. Ladislav came to Glasgow from Slovakia through one such work agency. He described his experience as difficult and felt that he and his co-tenants had been badly exploited, but that nonetheless others had been much worse off:

[T]hey used us for good money, doing work making good money. For example, I've paid £200 for a bed and we were two in one room. And we were four in one two-bed flat, sorry three-bed flat but the other two rooms were very small. And our situation was very good because I know that some others, some guys were, I don't know, eight, ten in one flat.

(Ladislav, 51 year-old man from Slovakia, private rental sector)

This trend of employer- or agency-provided accommodation became less typical over time. As workers from Central and East Europe became more established in Glasgow, the role of networks in the process of migration increased and the role of agencies diminished. People began to arrive through personal networks and would initially stay with friends, relatives or acquaintances already settled in the city. This phase could last anything between a few days and a few months, after which the newcomers would move on to either private rented accommodation or social housing. This is now the most typical housing pathway of Central and East European migrants arriving in Glasgow (Robinson et al. 2007).

While this pathway may sound relatively simple and secure, it rarely is. For most new arrivals the first few years in Glasgow are characterised by highly instable housing arrangements and frequent moves. Some of our interviewees had moved as many as 10 times or more within the first few years of living in the city before achieving housing stability. Such residential 'hypermobility' appeared to result from a number of factors, including: financial insecurities and issues of affordability; job changes and seeking accommodation closer to work; problems with landlords; problems with neighbours; changing living arrangements, for example flatmates moving out; changing personal and family circumstances, for example the birth of a child or breakdown of a relationship. Tadas from Lithuania explained just how difficult achieving housing stability could be:

I wouldn't count them all on my fingers [laughs], because to be honest I lived in four different places in Ibrox alone. It was like: you move to one end of the city, then come back to the other, then you move to yet another. ... I don't know, I must have moved flats around 12 times. ... One of the flats was broken into twice, so I simply didn't trust the neighbours and moved out. Then I've got a girlfriend, so we moved in together. Then we broke up, so I had to move again [laughs]. (...) I moved to a friend's flat for now. I lived close to this building [in Ibrox], but there wasn't much work, and it started to be too expensive for me to live there on my own, paying £800/month. So I moved out. I stay over at my friend's place and looking for a new flat.

(Tadas, 28 year-old man from Lithuania, private rental sector)

Another common housing strategy in the first months or years following arrival has been for individuals, couples or small groups of friends to share accommodation, often renting rooms informally from acquaintances or relatives. As people become more established, for example once they have secured permanent employment, they may decide to start a family, or to encourage spouses and children still living in their home countries to join them in Glasgow. At this point, securing stable housing often becomes a priority. While some Central and East European migrants attempt to purchase their own property, this option is out of reach for the majority due to their low earnings and lack of savings for a deposit. As a consequence, social housing, which is seen as a guarantor of stability, has been a popular option amongst people from Central and East Europe. Many have been able to apply successfully for social housing in Glasgow. Since the allocation of such housing is based on an assessment of housing need, the instability and insecurity of initial housing trajectories, as outlined above, has often helped migrant households to gain a degree of priority on housing lists. However, this option has mainly been available to families with children and much harder for single people or childless couples to access.

Since their arrival in Glasgow, many Central and East European migrants have accepted 'hard-to-let' properties in areas of high social deprivation offered to them by social housing providers. The security which such housing association tenancies offer, as well as their cheaper and more stable rental costs have been attractive for many. Significantly, a number of Glasgow housing associations have actively sought to attract migrants from the region into areas of low demand, or even 'steer' them towards particular areas. For instance, in the years immediately following EU accession when

many businesses were actively recruiting workers from A8 countries and Poland in particular, some, such as First Bus, made deals with specific housing associations to accommodate their workers. Other strategies of 'attracting' Central and East European tenants included special advice sessions facilitated by interpreters at which strategic advice on how to access housing more quickly was provided. Thus, it seems that certain housing associations may have 'channelled' Central and East European migrants into certain areas of Glasgow as part of a wider 'regeneration and revitalisation' project (McGhee et al. 2013; Kay and Morrison 2012). This alongside other networked housing pathways have contributed to a rapid increase in numbers of people from Central and East Europe living in deprived neighbourhoods of Glasgow: between 2001 and 2010, the ratio of 'white other' (mainly Central and East European) residents in deprived areas of Glasgow increased from 0.9% to 4% respectively (Freeke 2012: 8). This concentration of people from the region in particular neighbourhoods has been furthered by the availability of low cost, but often poor condition private rental housing in the same, 'bad' areas of the city. In consequence, the security of a housing association tenancy or the availability of relatively cheap privately rented accommodation in such areas has often come at the price of a compromised sense of personal safety. Clashing cultural practices and expectations between migrant populations and host communities, especially in areas of high social deprivation, have often been an issue. In some cases, this has led people to reject social housing offered to them.

We registered [for social housing] and got it. But when we went there [to the flat], frankly, I didn't want to get out of the car. There was a group of some kind of addicts standing outside the building. The neighbours didn't look very friendly, so we didn't even leave the car. We refused the flat and I have never asked for a council housing again.  
(Tadas, 28 year-old man from Lithuania, Ibrox)

In the following section, we explore in more detail the ways in which people from Central and East Europe have experienced specific areas of the city, as well as considering how their growing presence has contributed to processes of urban regeneration in some of these neighbourhoods.

### Neighbourhood and feelings of belonging

The impact of Central and East European migration on Glasgow is felt particularly strongly not only in certain workplaces but also in the neighbourhoods surrounding them. Whilst people from the region have come to live in almost all parts of the city, they have settled in much larger numbers in neighbourhoods where jobs and/or low-cost private accommodation and social housing is available. As such they have in large part come to the East End of Glasgow, for example Tollcross and Shettleston, and to areas such as Govan, or Govanhill<sup>3</sup> on the Southside. These areas have a strong working-class Scottish tradition and have experienced issues of multiple social deprivation over many years. Some also have longer histories of housing migrants from Ireland, Italy and South-East Asia. New arrivals from Central and East Europe have significantly changed the ethnic and demographic composition of these neighbourhoods. The rapid appearance of a new variety of ethnic businesses, such as Polish or East European shops, hairdressers or restaurants form a new aspect of the physical and linguistic landscape. Moreover, these are often set up in previously unused or underused spaces, spurring, or adding to, the urban regeneration of these areas. East European ethnic businesses thus complement, but also sometimes compete with or even replace longer

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<sup>3</sup> Govanhill is a specific case here. Over the last decade Govanhill has experienced a sudden and large increase in immigration of Roma people from Central and East Europe, as well as lower numbers of other East Europeans. This has raised a wide range of specific social, economic and intercommunity issues in the area, including overcrowding, extreme housing and work precarity, child poverty and community tensions. A detailed discussion of the case of Govanhill is beyond the scope of this chapter.

established, and perhaps more familiar, Asian corner stores, Italian ice-cream parlours and cafes. Areas such as Shettleston or Tollcross have developed into Central and East European migrant 'hubs', with ethnic businesses and cultural organisations, providing East Europeans with a feeling of familiarity but also with practical support from co-ethnic networks. Such trends are a common phenomenon shaping migration to and concentrated settlement in particular neighbourhoods within cities (Fong and Berry 2017: 16), and Glasgow is no exception. However, in Glasgow the settlement of larger numbers of people from Central and East Europe in areas of urban decline, such as the East End or Govan, has largely increased their attractiveness as a place to live (not only for people from the same region) and has often attracted further investment into the area.

The visibility of ethnic businesses or social institutions in a particular neighbourhood does not always indicate that this is a popular location of settlement. The presence of Poles is reflected in the landscapes of both the East and West End of Glasgow by such markers as shops and other ethnic businesses (e.g. hairdressers, beauty parlours) or institutions (such as Polish Saturday Schools or clubs). In the West End, however, this is more a reflection of historic ties than contemporary settlement: this is where the post-World War Two wave of migrants from Poland established their institutions (such as the Sikorski Club and the Polish Church). Still, while the combination of availability of work and affordable housing has brought many Poles to the East End of Glasgow, the more affluent West End is seen as unaffordable and has relatively few Central and East European residents. As Hanna, who lives in the area, observes:

This part of the city is rather expensive, so you don't have many Polish people over here, families especially [not].  
(Hanna, 33 year-old woman from Poland, West End)

Although the West End is rarely chosen as a place to live among the 'new' Polish migrants, it remains a community hub for Poles across the city, mainly those with a more traditional and patriotic outlook.

When it comes to understanding day-to-day experiences of life in Glasgow, neighbourhoods and people's sense of comfort and belong within them play an important role. Boleslav from Slovakia, for example, noted the importance of living close to his place of work, but also picked up on a wider theme of the convenience of city life, which he experienced at the level of his neighbourhood, where public amenities and public transport were all close by.

I'm really living in the east side, basically close to my work. ... So it's good for me. Sometimes I use bicycle, sometimes I use taxi, sometimes by car, a couple of us, you know. ... That's why I'm choosing to be living there. There's parks, there's an international swimming centre next street, a lot of shops, everything is around. ... It's very good, I like the area ...  
(Boleslav, 45 year-old man from Slovakia, Tollcross)

This sense of comfort and convenience can be important in establishing a sense of longer-term commitment to an area, an ability to 'put down roots' and settle more permanently. As Kornelia, a resident of Govan explained, this was not just about access to amenities, but also importantly to friends and acquaintances who provide a more emotional sense of belonging and security:

We've been living in this flat for 8 years now. And there are bad things which annoy you but there are also good things. It's very near to my workplace, near to the underground, near to the church... And close to friends, we live here together. So if we changed this flat and it would be a few stops by underground that would be difficult as well.  
(Kornelia, 57 year-old woman from Poland, Govan)

Kornelia was referring here primarily to other Polish and East European friends, and as such was typical of many of our interviewees. As discussed earlier in this chapter, in some areas of Glasgow, people from the region have established rather self-contained communities, and relationships with other local residents are sometimes more ambiguous, or even rather strained.

Amongst the people we interviewed, fears about personal safety and negative interactions with 'locals' were often reported as a major concern, particularly for those more newly arrived to the city. This was quite often about Glasgow's reputation as 'dangerous' and 'hard' as much as actual experiences. Such perceptions can change over time as people grow more accustomed to and embedded in local patterns of behaviour, knowledgeable of local norms etc.

I had heard a lot of stories ... how Glasgow is a very dangerous city, in fact the most dangerous in the entire UK, it made me anticipate the worst. I was simply scared seeing all those people with their scars – it somewhat terrified me. Yet it did change with time and as I met many nice people too it kind of balanced things for me here. I was advised what to say and how to behave.

(Donata, 35 year-old woman from Poland, Shettleston)

This is not to say that no-one in our study had experienced personal insecurity, indeed Donata was attacked on a bus, but such experiences were more rarely reported than anxieties were. As Donata explained over time, newcomers have learnt to 'navigate' their neighbourhoods in order to mitigate such risks, for example by avoiding certain streets and learning how to manage their own appearance and behaviour.

The mixed nature of Glasgow neighbourhoods typically came as a surprise to East Europeans who are not accustomed to such environments:

[My area is] not great, not great but it's improved. There's a lot of junkies, people who've never worked in their lives, you know. Here [two streets away] it's a bit better. This is really strange in Glasgow that you've got a good part [of a neighbourhood], bad part, good part, it's all mixed up.

(Vavrinec, 46 year-old man from Slovakia, Denniston)

Moreover, it has to be underlined that experiences of living in deprived neighbourhoods were, like the neighbourhoods themselves, mixed rather than entirely negative or positive. In our research we found that many people reported satisfaction with their flats and living conditions rather than with the neighbourhood itself. People also mentioned good neighbourhood relations in some cases, though typically with a few selected neighbours rather than the wider local community.

Those who had been living in deprived neighbourhoods over a longer period of time sometimes experienced the positive effects of local regeneration projects. Angelika moved to Govan with her parents as a young teenager and had been living there for seven years. Discussing the regeneration that had taken place over that period she pointed out that while the physical environment had improved considerably, this change was not necessarily reflected in the social environment:

There are changes, new things are appearing, lots of new developments, new roads, new lights... This place is improving for sure but still lots of work needs doing. And maybe people's attitude has to change. There are a lot of dodgy characters staying here. So the [social] environment has to change for sure. Maybe it's people that need more support, not just putting in new street lights.

(Angelika, 20 year-old Polish woman, Govan)

Angelika's feeling that her neighbourhood was characterised by anti-social behaviour, was reflected in the experiences and concerns of many of the people we interviewed and it was not uncommon for them to express a preference for keeping a moral and social distance from other local residents. This raises wider issues around social integration which typically occurs at local level, within local communities (Penninx 2009). It also raises questions about the mid- to longer-term impacts of living in the more deprived areas of Glasgow on the lives of people from Central and East Europe and vice versa. Living in such areas, by comparison to other more affluent parts of the city, implies worse housing, worse schools, lower quality personal networks, less informal information on access to the labour market, worse physical amenities, and more exposure to criminal activity. Studies in other cities have found that migrants settling in more deprived neighbourhoods are likely to face greater social and economic challenges in the long term, including with wider integration (Fong and Berry 2017: 7). Will the 'new' East European residents of Glasgow experience similar effects? Will their children be prone to poor educational attainment and/or 'assimilating' into dominant local (sub)cultures? Or will they become agents of wider social, educational and even economic change in these neighbourhoods? These questions are so far unanswered.

## Conclusions

This chapter has discussed the effects of recent migration from Central and East Europe on Glasgow as well as the impact of the city on its new residents' experiences of settlement. Migration from Central and East Europe to Glasgow is part of globally and regionally occurring phenomena and geo-political developments: the collapse of state socialist regimes at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century and the opening of the UK's market to new EU citizens in 2004, as well as wider processes of globalisation and neoliberalism affecting labour markets around the world. Demand for low-skilled labour to fill vacancies in the UK's economy triggered economic migration from Central and East Europe and recruitment agencies played a crucial role in channelling significant numbers to Glasgow in particular.

Migrants from Central and East Europe have predominantly filled vacancies in the lower echelons of the labour market, which has long been typical of economic migration to countries with more developed economies (Piore 1979, Sassen 2001, Trevena 2010). East Europeans are largely clustered in low-skilled, low-paid employment, often of a rather precarious nature, especially if carried out through agencies. Clustering in certain employment sectors has resulted in high degrees of workplace segregation with many East Europeans working predominantly among compatriots or other migrants from the region. This, in turn, has significantly impacted on their ability to progress with language learning and build wider social networks. Moreover, many migrants from the region are overqualified for the type of jobs they carry out but have limited prospects of occupational mobility. Nevertheless, the fact that Glasgow offers more work and housing opportunities than were available in their home countries makes it an attractive place to live. These opportunities, and the social support currently available to them in Britain, allow Central and East Europeans to lead a more stable and hence 'normal' life in Glasgow in comparison to their countries of origin.

In terms of settlement patterns, Central and East European migrants have largely followed the classic residential pattern of initially settling in the more deprived, and hence affordable, areas of the city, often in close proximity to their workplaces, such as factories (c.f. Burgess 1925). One factor which is particular about Glasgow and East European migrants' experiences of settlement here as compared to many other large cities in Scotland (Scottish Government 2017b) and across the UK, is the availability of social housing. Many migrants from the region, and especially families with

children, have managed to secure social housing. The stability and affordability of such tenancies has allowed them to settle more permanently in particular areas of the city and to develop a sense of security and belonging there. Some of these areas, especially in the East End and the South Side of the city, have in result developed into hubs of ethnic businesses and cultural activity. As a result, this new migration wave has contributed significantly to the transformation and in some cases revival of certain neighbourhoods, such as Shettleston, Tollcross, Govan and Govanhill. However, the longer term consequences for migrants and their children of living in what are still some of the most deprived neighbourhoods of Glasgow remain to be seen.

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