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**Labour market segmentation and the demand for
EU migrant workers: A comparative study of
Sweden and the United Kingdom**

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Abstract

This study analyses and compares the nature and extent of employers' demand for EU migrant workers in the food manufacturing and transportation and storage sectors in Sweden and the United Kingdom (UK). The research uses the theoretical framework provided by labour market segmentation theory and a broadly pragmatist methodological approach and a case study strategy. Within the framework provided by labour market segmentation theory, the research design and analysis of the sectoral case study findings have been situated in the context of the two countries' industrial relations systems and national variation in the nature of their economic organisation, which reflect divergent regulatory frameworks and economic practices.

As a result of diverging national practices it is found that the demand for EU migrant labour varies between the two countries and sectors. The Swedish labour market does not currently display strong evidence of a segmented structure, but it is suggested that there is the potential for it to become more segmented, partly as a result of the presence of EU migrants. On the other hand, the UK labour market is already viewed as being segmented with the employment of EU migrants helping to sustain this. There is a corresponding association between a more prominent role for EU migrant workers in the UK labour market than there is in Sweden. On this basis, this research can be considered as making an important contribution to better understanding employers' demand for EU migrant labour in the context of comparative industrial relations research.

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List of abbreviations

Accession eight EU member states (A8)

Accession two EU member states (A2)

Advisory Conciliation and Arbitration Service (ACAS)

Britain's exit from the European Union (Brexit)

Central and Eastern Europe (CEE)

Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development (CIPD)

Common Nordic Labour Market (CNLM)

Commission on Industrial Relations (CIR)

Confederation of British Industry (CBI)

Coordinated market economies (CMEs)

European Economic Area (EEA)

European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC)

European Court of Justice (ECJ)

European Economic Community (EEC)

European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (Eurofound)

European Industrial Relations Review (EIRR)

European Union (EU)

European Union member states before the 2004 enlargement (EU15)

European Union member states as of 2018 (EU28)

Economic and Monetary Union (EMU)

Emerging market economies (EMEs)

Employment protection legislation (EPL)

European Voluntary Workers (EVW)

External labour market (ELM)

General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS)

Human resource management (HRM)

Internal labour market (ILM)

Information technology (IT)

International Monetary Fund (IMF)

Joint production committees (JPCs)

Landsorganisationen I Sverige - Swedish Trade Union Confederation (LO)

Liberal market economies (LMEs)

Migration Advisory Committee (MAC)

Mixed market economies (MMEs)

Multi-national corporations (MNCs)

National minimum wage (NMW)

Newly industrialised economies (NIEs)

Performance related pay (PRP)

Recruitment and Employment Confederation (REC)

Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU)

United Kingdom (UK)

United Nations (UN)

United States (US)

Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)

Standard employment relationship (SER)

Svenska Arbetsgivareföreningen - Swedish Employers' Confederation (SAF)

Svenskt Näringsliv - Confederation of Swedish Enterprise (SN)

Sveriges Verkstadsförening - Engineering Employers' Association (VF)

Trades Union Congress (TUC)

Transnational corporations (TNCs)

Varieties of capitalism (VoC)

Vocational education and training (VET)

World Trade Organisation (WTO)

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1. Introduction

This study seeks to analyse and compare the nature and extent of employers' demand for EU migrant workers in Sweden and the United Kingdom (UK) through research conducted in the food manufacturing and transportation and storage sectors. It is a piece of empirical industrial relations research that uses an overall deductive approach and a case study strategy. The study has been developed around the theory of labour market segmentation, which provides the framework for attempting to answer the following research question:

To what extent are certain sectors in the UK and Swedish economy characterised by segmented labour markets and does segmentation lead to migrant dense sectors and occupations?

It is purported that the characteristics of labour market segmentation manifest themselves in different forms in the two sectors and the two countries in view of divergences in the national industrial relations systems and in the nature of economic organisation. In turn, the nature of the industrial relations system, and how this shapes workplace regulation, and economic organisation are considered to impact on employers' demand for labour. The findings have analysed this through looking at the extent to which there is evidence pertaining to a quantitative and qualitative demand for labour and employers' requirement for a functionally and numerically flexible workforce. It is suggested that the nature of this demand accounts for variations in the role and labour market status of EU migrants and that this can lead to labour market segmentation, including through the under-employment of EU migrants and their concentration in temporary, insecure work. Taking these aspects into account, the researcher asserts that there is the potential for the Swedish labour market

to become more segmented, including as a result of a growing labour market presence of EU migrant workers, while the UK labour market is already structurally segmented and EU migrant workers are helping to sustain this.

This study constitutes an important contribution to industrial relations research in two ways. The first is the gathering of comparable data in locations that are distinct to a capital city region and using this to conduct a cross-country sectoral comparison of employers' demand for EU migrant labour in two sectors in Sweden and the UK. Analysing the sectoral findings in the context of the two countries' industrial relations systems also enables a deeper understanding to be developed of the issues surrounding employers' demand for EU migrant workers than could be achieved from a comparison of national industrial relations systems alone. The second aspect of the contribution relates to the limitations that are identified in the use of labour market segmentation theory for migration research and the initial scoping of aspects of the theory that could be updated in order to further utilise this theoretical framework in subsequent research in this subject area. This follows a review of the main models that are identified in the literature and which have been further analysed in the context of the research findings. These are the primary-secondary sector approach (Piore, 1979), the flexible firm model (Atkinson, 1984), and the notion of internal labour markets (Doeringer and Piore, 1971).

Rationale for the research

The free movement of workers across the 28 European Union (EU) member states can be viewed as one of the main substantive outcomes of European integration over the past 61 years. Moreover, it is an example of a policy that, while originating from one country's

(Italy) desire to ease problems associated with its labour surplus in the 1950s, has gone on to be regulated at supra-national level and which has had, and continues to exert, a significant influence on national labour markets and the way in which employers satisfy their demand for labour. In parallel, although this contributes to notions of a European labour market, the labour markets and economies of the EU member states have their own distinct orientation. Prominent in this regard is that labour markets continue to be primarily regulated at member state level in accordance with the history, traditions and characteristics of national industrial relations systems, which are also influenced by, and help to shape, different varieties of economic organisation. These facets create notable divergences among EU member states as concerns their national regulatory frameworks and economic practices. This is despite these countries broadly converging around a neo-liberal policy perspective. Therefore, it is the parallel dynamic of a common EU level policy on the free movement of labour, combined with diverging approaches to national labour market regulation and economic organisation that makes a comparative study of the nature and extent of employers' demand for EU migrant workers an important and interesting topic for comparative industrial relations research. It is also a topic in which there appears to be something of a research gap, particularly as concerns studies that explore cross-country comparisons at the sectoral level.

From a personal perspective, the researcher finds EU level policy making and the interplay with the role of nation states to be a particularly interesting field of study, especially in the area of migration and when viewed from an historical perspective. As a UK national living and working in Belgium for a European organisation, the researcher himself could also be regarded as a migrant worker and this adds an additional layer of interest and motivation to research this subject area.

Understanding migration and migrant workers

Migration can take a number of forms and can involve workers, entrepreneurs, refugees or relatives of people that have already migrated (Castles and Miller, 2003: 3). It can be voluntary or sometimes involuntary if people are displaced due to political or religious intolerance or environmental disasters (Harzig *et al.*, 2009: 67). In addition to there being different types of migration, Anderson and Blinder suggest that “there is no consensus on a single definition of a ‘migrant’. Migrants might be defined by foreign birth, by foreign citizenship, or by their movement into a new country to stay temporarily (sometimes for as little as a year) or to settle for the long-term” (2017: 3).

The focus of this research is on labour migration into two developed European countries – Sweden and the UK – from other EU member states. While noting the complexities surrounding definitions, this study draws on a definition provided by Bell *et al.* who define a migrant worker as “an individual who arrives in the host country either with a job to go to or with the intention of finding one” (2004: 3). For the purpose of this research an “EU migrant worker” is, therefore, considered to be someone that corresponds with this definition and who has moved from another EU member state.

Additionally, it can be noted that different terms can be used to describe workers from a particular country. The term that is used throughout this study to describe someone from Sweden or the UK is ‘indigenous worker’ and is to be understood as someone that was born in the country concerned. This follows the Cambridge English Dictionary definition of indigenous as “naturally existing in a place or country rather than arriving from another place” (2018). This is preferred to the term ‘native worker’ and is used as a flexible term,

so that settled second and third generation immigrants, for example the children of Afro-Caribbean or Indian migrants into the UK or those Polish families which stayed in the UK after the Second World War, would now be termed as indigenous, compared to recent migrants from, among other places, eastern Europe.

Background to the research

The research has been structured around two main reference points. The first is the end of the Second World War in 1945, which initially triggered a significant spell of migration within and into western Europe up to approximately the late 1950s. This period is also important in view of the political, economic and social infrastructures that established a framework for migration, at both the European and global level, and which contributed to shaping the nature of present-day industrial relations systems. Developments at the European level were particularly significant with the creation of what is now the EU, which has helped to shape and regulate intra-EU migration, among other issues. The second reference point is the enlargement of the EU in 2004 to ten new member states, which included eight Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries that were formerly part of the Soviet bloc and which have been termed the Accession eight (A8). This enlargement opened up the possibility for the flow of goods, services, capital and people between the eastern and western member states and vice-versa and has been complemented by further phases of enlargement to Bulgaria and Romania (A2) and Croatia. As will be demonstrated throughout this research, the flow of migrant labour from eastern member states to certain western EU countries, especially the UK, has been particularly pronounced. It is the EU principle of the free movement of workers that provides the

framework for intra-EU labour migration and this practice was established with the signing of the Treaty of Rome in 1957 (Böhning, 1972: 10).

The researcher's view is that in order to consider and understand the present-day discourse and developments around intra-EU migration, it is important to explore the historical evolution of the role that labour migration has played in Europe and in Sweden and the UK in particular. This helps to provide essential context to researching and analysing the current circumstances associated with employers' demand for EU migrant workers. Thus, the first reference point seeks to address the historical and contextual dimension, while the second reference point was chosen because the 2004 enlargement has the potential to be, and indeed does represent, a significant moment in the history and evolution of intra-EU migration.

Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework for this study is provided by labour market segmentation theory. After reviewing the migration theories that are most commonly referred to in the literature, the researcher determined that these are not appropriate for this study and its focus on migration between developed European countries. Moreover, the origins of segmentation theory, which purport that migrant workers occupy jobs in the so-called secondary sector, while indigenous workers are in the primary sector (Piore, 1979: 35), provides a basis from which to assess employers' demand for EU migrant labour in Sweden and the UK, taking into account variations in the nature of their economic organisation and labour market regulation. An important element in this regard is whether employers primarily have a quantitative or qualitative demand for labour and require a

numerically or functionally flexible workforce and the extent to which EU migrant workers help to meet this demand. This theory is used to develop an assessment of the degree of labour market segmentation in the two sectors in each country, taking into account the respective industrial relations systems, and whether this leads to the concentration of EU migrants in these sectors and in specific occupations within them in response to employers' demand for labour.

Research methodology and selection of sectors

A broadly pragmatist methodological approach and a case study strategy have been used to steer the design of this research, the gathering of data by using a number of qualitative research methods and the analysis of the findings. These phases are guided by the theoretical framework provided by labour market segmentation theory.

The findings from this study are based on research that was undertaken in the food manufacturing and transportation and storage sectors in Östergötland, Sweden and Norfolk, UK. The choice of sectors and locations was informed by background reading on the demand for EU migrant workers in Sweden and the UK. This was further supported by an exploratory research phase that involved elite semi-structured interviews with EU-level practitioners that had a specific knowledge of the proposed sectors, locations and issues that this research is focusing on. The location of the UK research was further informed by the researcher's prior knowledge of Norfolk as a result of conducting a Masters level research project on the employment of EU migrant workers in the hotel industry in Norwich and from having grown up in this area. Östergötland was subsequently identified as a comparable region in which to locate the data collection exercise in Sweden.

The two sectors of economic activity in Sweden and the UK are defined according to EU legislation that provides for the statistical classification of economic activities in the European Community and which aims to ensure the comparability of information between EU countries (Eurostat, 2008: 5). Therefore, the Standard Industrial Classifications in both countries identify the main classifications as “manufacturing” and “transportation and storage.” Within manufacturing there is a sub-category for “manufacture of food products”. Under the general transportation and storage heading there are sub-categories covering “land transport” and “warehousing and support activities for transportation” (Statistics Sweden, 2007), (UK Office for National Statistics, 2007). Within the category of transportation and storage the data collection and analysis primarily focuses on road transportation.

Main findings

The research concludes by observing that the nature and extent of labour market segmentation is different in the two sectors and countries and that this has a corresponding effect on the demand for EU migrant labour.

The analysis of the findings suggests that the evidence purporting to a segmented labour market structure is more apparent in the two sectors in the UK than it is in the corresponding sectors in Sweden. Within the UK context, the case study findings assert that segmentation is more pronounced in the food manufacturing sector than in the transportation and storage sector and that this is leading to a concentration of EU migrants in the sector and in food processing roles, notably as production operatives. It is

demonstrated that EU migrants are, therefore, responding to employers' quantitative demand for workers and constitute a numerically flexible workforce. While a less prominent role for EU migrants is identified in the food manufacturing sector in Sweden, the case study findings do demonstrate the qualitative demand that employers have for skilled EU migrants in the meat processing part of the sector and in positions as meat cutters. In this regard there is an element of cross-country sectoral convergence in that EU migrants are responding to the demands that employers have for workers and which are unmet by indigenous Swedish and UK workers, even though the nature of this demand is different.

It is also notable that there is very limited evidence of EU migrants in the case study companies in the transportation and storage sector in the UK and none at all in Sweden. However, the data collected from national level trade union and employer representatives, as well as a review of documentary evidence indicates a more pronounced role for EU migrants in the sector more broadly in both countries, notably as lorry drivers. This suggests that patterns of regional variation in the employment of EU migrants are evident in both countries. Notably, the employment possibilities for EU migrants in this sector may be greater in other parts of Sweden and the UK than in the locations where this study was conducted.

Chapter outline

Following this introductory chapter, *chapter two* reviews and analyses the main migration factors and theories that have been identified in the literature. This begins with an overview of migration and its driving factors, which feeds into a discussion of what are

categorised as the economic and socio-economic theories of migration and the political-economic factors impacting upon migration. Finally, there is a review of the social transformation perspective. The chapter aims to develop an understanding about why people migrate, to assess to what extent the employer demand for labour is a determining factor in this process and to identify a theoretical framework for the study.

Chapter three develops an historical overview of migration and the role that economic, political and social factors play in fostering migration patterns within, and into, Europe. The association between developments in industrialisation and migration is explored before focusing on European migration patterns since the end of the Second World War. Specific attention is paid to developments in European integration and the framework that this provides for intra-EU migration. Sweden and the UK are found to have an historical and ongoing quantitative and qualitative demand for labour, which migration has helped to address.

Chapter four introduces key developments in the Swedish and UK industrial relations systems. It aims to provide a basis for the comparative research by exploring the differing nature and extent of labour market regulation in the two countries over time. In turn, industrial relations developments are discussed in relation to labour migration. The analysis further considers the extent of labour market segmentation at system level and suggests that this will be less prominent in Sweden than it is in the UK.

Chapter five draws together aspects of the previous three chapters in the context of a discussion of labour market segmentation theory and associated issues, including different forms and approaches to management control and work organisation. In doing so, it argues

that this theory provides the most appropriate framework for the study. Subsequently, there is an elaboration of the factors that are considered to characterise labour market segmentation, which are then used to help structure the analysis of the case study findings and to answer the research question.

Chapter six outlines the research underpinnings and approach and presents the case study strategy and why it was chosen for this particular study. The selected research methods are outlined and background information about the sectors and locations where the fieldwork was conducted is presented, together with a consideration of the practical and ethical aspects associated with undertaking comparative industrial relations research. Finally, there is an elaboration of the process that has been undertaken to analyse the research data.

Chapters seven and eight present and analyse the case study findings by sector and location. Chapter seven covers the food manufacturing sector and chapter eight the transportation and storage sector. In each chapter there is a presentation of the cases followed by an analysis of the findings from a national and sectoral perspective. The case study findings are complemented by data on the wider labour market context and the respective industrial relations systems and by the analysis of relevant documents.

Chapter nine builds on the previous two chapters by assessing the analysis of the research findings against the factors of labour market segmentation identified in chapter five. This assessment is also underpinned by the literature examined in chapters two, three and four. Subsequently, an assessment is made about the nature and extent of labour market segmentation in the two sectors. In turn, an analysis is made about whether segmentation is

resulting in a concentration of EU migrant workers in each sector and their corresponding occupations, thereby attempting to address the research question.

Chapter ten concludes the thesis by reflecting on the main findings and evaluates these in terms of divergent regulatory regimes between Sweden and the UK and of the influence of distinct sectoral characteristics (across countries). Labour market segmentation theory is used to explore these aspects and as a framework for assessing the demand for EU migrant workers. An attempt is made to triangulate the data and to identify if replication may be claimed, and in what form, and if the findings can be generalised beyond the scope of this study, considering the potentially distinctive regional dimension to the research. Finally, in view of the research findings for the UK, brief consideration is given to the impact that the UK's departure from the EU could have in relation to employers' ability to meet their demand for labour, particularly for low-skilled positions.

2. Migration theories

Introduction

This chapter will review and analyse the main migration theories that have been identified in the literature. The theories that have been selected for discussion focus on labour migration as this is the core issue for this research, rather than other forms of migration, such as family reunification or people seeking asylum. To aid the exploration and interpretation of the theories and the associated literature the chapter is structured into five main sections: the first provides an introductory overview to migration and considers, in broad terms, the factors that are often cited as explaining why people migrate. It then goes on to analyse what have been categorised as the economic and socio-economic theories, followed by the political-economic factors impacting upon migration. Finally, there is a discussion of the social transformation perspective, which is a more contemporary approach that provides a useful perspective with which to conclude the chapter.

In understanding and analysing these theories, a political economy approach will be used throughout the chapter. Consideration will be given to issues such as the development of capitalism and the notion of different varieties of capitalism and their impact on labour market regulation. There will also be a discussion of the impact of globalisation on migration and the role of nation states as regulatory entities and how national frameworks impact upon employers' demand for migrant labour. Through this approach, the purpose of the chapter is to help identify the most appropriate theoretical framework for this study, which will then be used to guide the data collection and analysis.

It will be observed that the majority of the theories reviewed in this chapter are what could be viewed as the ‘traditional’ theories of migration, which are largely oriented around a development perspective and written in the context of rural-urban migration. In some cases, international migration is discussed in relation to movements between developing and developed countries, but this is referred to from the perspective of the countries of origin and set within the overarching context of development. Consequently, there is relatively little attention paid to migration between developed countries and the situation in destination countries, including the employer demand for (migrant) labour. Therefore, the chapter will conclude that a further review and assessment of migration patterns in Europe will be needed before being able to determine an appropriate theoretical framework for the research.

An overview of migration – its nature and driving factors

This section will give a broad introduction to the nature of migration and the factors that are considered to influence it. In this context migration is to be understood as movements within and between nation states. To begin with, it can be observed that migration can take a number of forms; it can be multi-directional, temporary or long-term, voluntary or forced (Harzig *et al.*, 2009: 3). It can include manual workers, highly qualified workers, entrepreneurs, refugees or relatives of people that have already migrated (Castles and Miller, 2003: 3). Within the grouping of labour migrants there are those that freely move, those that consider that they have to move due to economic and labour market constraints in their place of origin or forced labour migrants that are bound or enslaved in work for a certain period of time. Finally, there are those migrants that are involuntarily displaced due

to political or religious intolerance, or that suffer from environmental disasters (Harzig *et al.*, 2009: 67).

The literature contains a wide array of factors that are considered to influence movements. Harzig *et al.* (2009: 3) observe that people may migrate in order to provide for themselves and their family or to live a more fulfilling life. Peach (1997: 269) further highlights political – the “retreat from colonisation”; economic – demand created by economic growth and demographic change; and socio-political – claiming of asylum and refugee status, as factors that can encourage people to migrate. Krane (1979: 1) also endorses the role of economic factors in facilitating cross-border migration. He cites the example of migration that occurred within and to western Europe in the 1950s and 1960s when “in the broadest terms it may be said that movement was generated by the rather rapid economic recovery of the West European states after World War II” and the associated demand for workers that this growth gave rise to (*ibid.*: 1). Stalker (2002: 158) further identifies former colonial ties, previous patterns of labour recruitment, and ease of entry and geographic proximity as facilitating factors. A United Nations Development Programme report on human mobility and development (2009: 22) highlights geographical considerations and common religious and linguistic backgrounds as important factors in determining the destination of international migrants. This brief review shows that economic reasons and the desire to achieve a higher standard of living are chief among the factors influencing the decision to relocate.

The laws of migration

A useful starting point for a more detailed exploration of the issues around why people migrate is Ravenstein's laws of migration. These were written in 1885 and so the industrial revolution could be considered as providing important context to the rationale behind them.

The first law suggests that the majority of migrants will travel over a short distance and that this will involve a flow of people into urban industrial areas. It is further purported that this will be a "universal shifting or displacement" of people (Ravenstein, 1885: 198). In other words, this will not be limited to a particular region or area, but that it will be a similar scenario country-wide. This leads into the second law concerning the absorption of migrants into urban centres. Those people living outside, but closest to, a town or city are considered to be the first ones to relocate. In turn, this will set in train the movement of people from more remote rural areas into those that the first migrants have vacated. This process will continue until the expansion of urban areas has absorbed the majority of people from what were the surrounding areas. It follows that the greater the distance a village or hamlet is from an urban area, the fewer the number of people will migrate to towns or cities. (*ibid.*: 199). The third law reverses the scenario in stating that the further a rural settlement is from an urban centre, the less likely someone is to participate in urban-rural migration. Nevertheless, this is not to say that there is not a counter flow of people from urban to rural areas and this is the fourth law. This suggests that any counter flow of people into rural areas is likely to be to those closest to the urban centre from which they are migrating. The fifth law introduces elements of selection and preference in the urban areas that migrants choose to settle in, which are typically the larger industrial or

commercial centres (*ibid.*: 199). The final two laws focus on people themselves with the sixth law suggesting that those who originate from urban areas are less likely to migrate than people from rural areas. The seventh and final law purports that women are more mobile than men because when it comes to regional migration, whereas men are more likely to migrate to another country (*ibid.*: 197).

In analysing Ravenstein's laws, the discussion about the distance that people travel can be broadened to take into account the duration of migration, which, as has been alluded to, can take a number of forms. Movements can take place over short, medium or long distances. This might be, as Ravenstein suggested, on a regional and national level between rural and urban areas or extended to include international movements. Harzig *et al.* (2009: 68) suggest that long distance migration, such as on an international basis, might typically involve young men and have greater time and cost implications than transfers over a comparatively short distance. On the other hand, and closer to Ravenstein's perspective, rural-urban movements would be a classic example of migration within close geographic proximity of the place of origin. This may be associated with a move from agricultural-based employment to urban domestic labour or to industrial production (*ibid.*: 67). Such a pattern may have been particularly prominent as economies developed during the period of industrial expansion in the late 1800s and 1900s, which saw a significant movement in Europe towards urbanisation (Moch, 2003: 172) and is within the timeframe when Ravenstein developed his laws. This is an early example of labour migration taking place in response to economic factors. From this it could be asserted that a migrant's commitment to their destination society is largely dependent on the employment opportunities that they have.

Mabogunje (1970: 6) observes that there are a number of socio-economic factors that affect a migrant's commitment to an urban area. Beyond the initial likelihood of finding employment, the extent of this commitment is considered to be associated with the type of work that is found and whether this is seasonal or permanent; the opportunities that it gives for career progression and skill development and security, including protection against hazards that arise from working in an industrial environment; and provision for retirement (*ibid.*: 7).

Castles and Miller (2003: 3) comment that irrespective of whether migrants initially intend to relocate temporarily or permanently a significant proportion do go on to settle permanently in the destination area. Within this there are also more specific categories of duration, namely seasonal, annual, multi-annual, throughout working life or permanent (Harzig *et al.*, 2009: 67). Temporary movements could last for several months or even years and might be associated with a range of scenarios, such as work opportunities, earning sufficient money to generate a better standard of living in the place of origin, or involve a period of study (*ibid.*: 67). Therefore, the socio-economic situation that a migrant is in, relative to their place of origin, is a crucial determinant of whether he or she will stay in the destination area and adds another layer to the discussion about a migrant's commitment to staying in the destination area.

Migration systems approach

The migration systems approach brings together a number of the elements that have been discussed up to now in relation to why people migrate and considers these inter-related

aspects in terms of a holistic migration process that explores the circumstances in sending and receiving areas.

The concept of migration systems developed out of general system theory, as purported by von Bertalanffy (1950). General system theory is oriented around the idea that there are general principles formulated for different systems, which can be applied across various scientific fields, whether natural or social sciences (von Bertalanffy, 1950: 137). In this regard, a migration system can be described as the interaction between factors at the local and societal levels that account for migration between different places and societies (Harzig *et al.* 2009: 87). This includes “the impact of out-migration on families and societies of departure and of in-migration on communities and receiving societies” (*ibid.*: 88). Haas further describes a migration system as drawing a “two-way reciprocal and dynamic link between migration and development, and therefore seems particularly relevant for elaborating a theoretical framework, which puts migration in a broader development perspective” (2008: 21).

Mabogunje (1970: 3) applies a systems approach to explaining rural-urban migration in Africa, in which migration is presented as involving the movement of people from small agricultural-based communities to larger urban industrial ones. In line with Haas’ comments, Mabogunje purports that system theory is best placed to provide a framework for understanding rural-urban migration from a developmental perspective and taking into account environmental or institutional factors, namely technology, social welfare development, economic conditions (wages, prices, supply and demand, commercialisation and industrial development) and government policies (*ibid.*: 3). In this respect, the

migration system approach not only focuses on migrants themselves, but also on the role played by various institutions as well as economic, political and social factors.

Another important element of the systems approach is that it considers the consequences of migration for the migrant and the wider impact that the flow of migrant job seekers has on an urban (receiving) area, notably as concerns the availability of housing and work opportunities (*ibid.*: 6). Associated with working in an urban area are factors such as the ease with which someone finds employment, the type of work they are performing, its duration, status and opportunities for progression. It also needs to be seen in the context of the wider nature and structure of the economy and the labour market in terms of the extent to which industrialisation and urbanisation is taking place, as was previously highlighted by Moch (2003: 172).

Mabogunje's work has been identified in the literature as a central example of applying the systems approach to a migration context. However, it focuses on rural-urban migration within African countries in the context of economic development. Therefore, another useful interpretation of the systems approach is provided by Massey *et al.* (1993) in relation to international migration. An international migration system is considered to include "a core receiving region, which may be a country or group of countries, and a set of specific sending countries linked to it by an unusually large flow of immigrants" (Massey *et al.*, 1993: 454). It is asserted that it is political and economic relationships that lead to migration, rather than physical ones (Massey *et al.*, 1993: 454). Migration from a colony to the 'mother country' could be given as an example to underpin this notion. Massey *et al.* also suggest that the migration system approach is "not so much a separate theory as a generalisation" (1993: 454) that draws together a number of the key aspects

from other theories in order to advance an understanding of the factors that contribute to international migration. Notably, this concerns the world systems, network and cumulative causation theories. These theories will be discussed later in this chapter and considered in relation to their link with the migration systems approach.

Taking into account the different applications of the migration systems approach, it could be inferred that this is a useful addition to the discussion in so far as it provides a framework for understanding migration from a broad perspective, while considering a number of different elements that combine to shape a migration system. It could be asserted that the notion of a migration system could be used to describe intra-EU worker migration in so far as the EU could be described as a political and economic construct that is shaped around a neo-liberal approach and which contains elements of social policy coordination in parallel with distinct national industrial relations systems and associated regulatory environments.

Having analysed the migration systems approach, an inferred critique could be that a set of general principles will only go so far in explaining the migration process before the more specific nature and characteristics surrounding why people migrate need to be factored in. For example, a migration process could involve movements between rural and urban areas or to another country. It could also be pro-active migration or reactive migration, depending on a person's relative socio-economic circumstances and the political situation. Therefore, it could be said that this approach is limited to providing a very broad explanation of migration. As a result, it needs to be supplemented with additional information and analysis in order to more reliably explain why people migrate. This

demonstrates the importance of reviewing the various migration theories, which will be the focus of the next section of this chapter.

Applying the push-pull approach to explaining migration

A number of the factors that were presented earlier in the chapter, and some of those that have been explored in the discussions around the laws of migration and the migration systems approach broadly fit within what could be termed a push-pull framework. In other words, they are factors that push people from their place of origin and ones that pull them to their destination. It has also been inferred that one of the shortcomings of the systems approach is the generality of the principles in explaining migration processes. In this respect Lee's conception of explaining individual movements through what he refers to as "plus and minus factors at origin and at destination" (1966: 56) could help to further an understanding of why people migrate.

Under this perspective, individuals respond to the plus and minus factors in different ways, depending on their socio-economic situation or wider political circumstances. People responding to the plus factors are considered to have a positive view towards migration. These people are said to be in a position where they do not have to migrate, but decide to because they believe that there are greater opportunities for them elsewhere. An example is well educated people who, although they already have a good standard of living, may migrate because they have the potential to earn more or to have a higher standard of living elsewhere (*ibid.*: 56). Therefore, the plus factors pull people to a particular destination. Conversely, people responding to the minus factors are negatively identified and are said to be more likely to be in a position where they are forced, or feel obliged, to migrate, such as

in instances of political expulsion (*ibid.*: 56) or in order to claim asylum so as to escape persecution. It could be suggested that those people with a lower level of education might also fit into this category. Indeed, Lee's overall assessment is that "factors at origin operate most stringently against persons who in some way have failed economically or socially...it is more likely to be the uneducated or the disturbed who are forced to migrate" (*ibid.*: 56). At the same time, highly skilled people may also feel that they need to migrate due to limited job opportunities. This could result in highly educated migrants accepting lower skilled work in the destination country, even if they are paid more than if they had remained in their country of origin, thus leading to skill mismatches and under-employment.

Consequently, migration does not necessarily guarantee better employment prospects. This is because the skills that migrants have may not be those that are required by employers in a specific location. The under-employment of migrant workers, in terms of working below their qualification or skill level, is a scenario for which there is evidence emerging at the European level (Andor, 2014:13). A consequence of this could be the concentration of migrant workers in certain sectors and occupations. In particular these might typically be low-skilled, low-wage positions in the host country. Lee also identifies that "it is a common finding that immigrant groups specialise in particular occupations and become scattered throughout the country wherever the need for such work is found" (1966: 52).

It can also be noted, however, that the plus and minus factors are not in themselves determinants of migration, but that an assessment of them may contribute to informing the decision to migrate (Lee, 1966: 51). Conversely, it is observed that in addition to migration from places of origin to destination the opposite may also occur in the form of migrants

returning on a more secure financial footing and with newly acquired capital to invest in, or create, a business locally. On this basis a re-assessment of the plus and minor factors in the place of destination, relative to the place of origin could lead to the counter flow of some migrants (Lee, 1966: 55). This point is further observed by Ghemawat who comments that “migrants also bring skills back to developing countries, contribute to innovation, provide access to international networks, and so on” (2011: 179). It may also be the case that migrants make people indigenous to the destination country aware of opportunities in the sending country and that they subsequently decide to relocate to that country themselves (Lee, 1966: 55). Lee’s assertion that migrants will prosper in their host country and acquire capital that can be invested in their place of origin upon their return is built on the assumption that they will find suitable employment opportunities that allow them to do this. However, as has been noted, the extent of a migrant’s commitment to staying in their host destination is dependent on the job opportunities that exist and the nature of this work (Mabogunje, 1970: 6), which is closely associated with the economic and labour market situation. Therefore, it could also be suggested that migrants may return home due to a lack of work.

The push-pull concept, whether interpreted from a systemic or individual level could be considered as having some merit in providing a framework that helps to explain migration. Furthermore, given the array of factors that have been noted in the first section of this chapter as having the potential to influence a person’s decision to migrate, it could be inferred that trying to combine these elements into a single theory would be difficult. In this respect the push-pull approach is not to be seen as a theory in itself, but as a framework that details the reasons or factors that can influence a person’s decision to migrate. This is a perspective that is supported by Haas who describes push-pull not so

much as a theory, but as a “model” (2008: 9). Haas further comments that “the propensity to migrate crucially depends on the aspirations of people” (2008: 11) and that their aspirations change in relation to their relative standard of living. Therefore, it could be said that people responding to the so-called plus factors do not necessarily aspire to migrate, but they do so because they believe that they can further prosper elsewhere, relative to their current situation, which again highlights the relevance of perception. On the other hand, people responding to the minus factors, could be said to relocate out of necessity to improve their socio-economic circumstances. On this basis, Haas’ suggestion that the push-pull model does not take into account an individuals’ aspiration to migrate appears to be an appropriate critique.

In concluding this section, it could be said that one or several of the factors, principles and processes that have been discussed up to now are likely to be key elements of the various migration theories. Indeed, Lee comments that “the conceptualisation of migration as involving a set of factors at origin and destination, a set of intervening obstacles, and a series of personal factors is a simple one (and)...it provides a framework for much of what we know about migration and indicates a number of fields for investigation” (1966: 52). Therefore, the remainder of this chapter will review and analyse selected migration theories.

Economic theories of migration

World systems theory

The concept of world systems theory has its origin in the writings by Wallerstein in which he outlines the potential stages of development that countries pass through and which are collectively viewed as comprising a social system (1974: 390). It is suggested that “the defining characteristic of a social system (is) the existence within it of a division of labour, such that the various sectors or areas within are dependent upon economic exchange with others for the smooth and continuous provisioning of the needs of the area” (*ibid.*: 390). From this, Wallerstein purports that there are only two types of social system – a mini-system and a world system. A mini-system is described as “an entity that has within it a complete division of labour, and a single cultural framework” (*ibid.*: 390). This type of system is restricted to basic agricultural or hunter-gather societies, which are considered to no-longer exist. Consequently, Wallerstein observes that the only social system that is evident today is the world system, which is defined as “a unit with a single division of labour and multiple cultural systems” (*ibid.*: 390). It is asserted that since the nineteenth century the only world system that has existed is the capitalist world economy (*ibid.*: 390).

Wallerstein observes that from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries in Europe “there grew up a world economy with a single division of labour within which there was a world market, for which men produced largely agricultural products for sale and profit”, what is termed “agricultural capitalism” (1974: 399). In parallel, the initial concept of agricultural capitalism began to evolve in certain parts of Europe from the sixteenth century and was complemented by a more industrial form. In particular it is suggested that north-west Europe became the focal point for this change with industries such as textiles, shipbuilding and metal contributing to the diversification of the capitalist economy, thus changing the nature of the world economy (Wallerstein, 1974: 400). It could be inferred that this reflects variation in the speed and scale of industrialisation.

It follows that western Europe became the core area for the development of industrial capitalism and that this happened almost by chance thanks to a series of historical, ecological and geographical developments (Wallerstein, 1974: 401). Notably, the Black Death, which particularly affected the peasant population, led to a situation whereby, once the spread of the disease subsided, there was a relatively low labour to high land ratio, which “tended to reduce the value derived from the land, raise real wages and depress feudal revenues” which worked to the favour of peasant producers and weakened the lords’ position (Moore, 2002: 307). This is considered to have raised the relative class power of the peasantry in western Europe, which in combination with the “penetration of the countryside by commodity exchange” (Anderson, 1974: 202) paved the way for the transition to capitalism. In contrast to western Europe, the peasant class in eastern Europe was weaker and feudalism, in which the peasant class is subordinated to a ruling landowner, continued to be the dominant system (Moore, 2002: 307). Therefore, during the sixteenth century western Europe was considered to be the core area and characterised by the development of industrial capitalism, while remaining parts of Europe retained a stronger focus on agricultural capitalism and were deemed peripheral and semi-peripheral areas, which, together, formed the European capitalist economic system (Wallerstein, 1972: 95).

It could be inferred that the apparent structuring of the European economy into core, periphery and semi-periphery and the process of industrialisation alongside agricultural production engendered a change to the notion of a single division of labour. As industrialisation continued to develop during the 1700s and 1800s, western Europe, and particularly Britain, saw significant capital accumulation and economic growth (O’Brien,

1982: 3) and the creation of what Wallerstein refers to as a “European division of labour”, which helped to cement capitalism as the world system (1974: 401). Further into the 1800s and early 1900s this wealth creation enabled western European countries to colonise parts of Africa, Asia and the Americas – peripheral areas – and to establish what could be referred to as a colonial division of labour in which western European countries manufactured goods from the raw materials provided by their colonies (*ibid.*: 2).

Taking this a stage further, as the world system that is the capitalist world economy has developed through the process of globalisation from roughly the 1980s onwards and as trade has become increasingly international a “global division of labour” could also be said to have occurred (Dicken, 2003: 9). Whereas it could be said that there was formerly a relatively clear distinction between non-industrialised countries (peripheral areas) that provided the raw materials for industrialised countries (core areas) to manufacture goods – a colonial division of labour – this distinction has become increasingly blurred as global trade and production patterns have developed. This has changed the role of labour as a result of “the fragmentation of many production processes and their geographical relocation on a global scale in ways that slice through national boundaries” (*ibid.*: 9). This has been accompanied by the emergence in the 1960s of the newly industrialised economies (NIEs) of South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore and Hong Kong (*ibid.*: 46). Into the 2000s significant economic growth has also been observed in Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia and China, particularly in their manufacturing sector (*ibid.*: 47). The result is considered to be a global redistribution of the tasks performed by workers in different locations.

It is also important to note that the process of internationalisation has extended beyond the production of goods to include the provision of services. Examples include financial services, retail, hotels and catering and transportation, storage and distribution, all of which take place across borders in one way or another. Trade in services is one of the key building blocks of the European Single Market, along with the free movement of people, and is an essential component of the EU economy, accounting “for over 70% of economic activity..., and a similar (and rising) proportion of overall employment” (European Commission, 2014). At the global level, members of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) also adopted the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) in 1995 with a view to opening up global service provision and providing a level playing field for this to take place (World Trade Organisation, 2015a).

The internationalisation of production and services could be viewed as having been simultaneously influenced by, and led to, specific developments in the labour market. Central to this is the off-shoring process that started in the 1980s and which has seen western firms relocate manufacturing and services operations to countries with lower labour costs (Booth, 2013). This has seen the outsourcing or relocation abroad of some service operations, such as call centres (Booth, 2013). The outsourcing of certain functions within financial services is another example (World Trade Organisation (b), 2015). Similarly, a number of manufacturing operations have been relocated in recent decades in search of lower production costs. For example, in Europe companies have been off-shoring production with the “ten new EU member countries, eastern Europe and Asia...the most attractive target regions for cost driven off-shoring activities” by western European firms (Dachs *et al.* 2006: 1). One example is Hornby, which moved the entirety of its production of model trains and scalextric to China in 2002. Another is the UK firm Marks and

Spencer, which imports the majority of its clothes from north Africa and eastern Europe, whereas half of its clothes were still supplied by UK manufacturers at the turn of the millennium (Hale, 2002).

However, it can also be noted that there has been increasing re-shoring of such production and service provision in recent years. This is due to a combination of factors. For instance, wages have increased in China and India by up to 10-20 per cent a year for the past 10 years or so (Booth, 2013). Reinforcing these increases in China has been the introduction of a minimum wage (Gibson, 2014: 17). Therefore, what were previously key destinations for western firms to relocate their operations, or to outsource, to are no-longer as attractive. It also takes time for products to be transported and, combined with the faster pace of change in consumer demand, companies are increasingly viewing production in their home country as a better option. Some services are also being re-shored, such as British Telecom's pledge that all of its call centre operations will be located in the UK by 2020 instead of being based in India or the Philippines (Evening Standard, 2018).

This is not to say, however, that all operations are moving back to the country of origin. Manufacturing companies may continue to have several locations throughout the world, in order to have close proximity to large market and consumer bases. It can also be asserted that there are some services, such as health care and hospitality, that cannot be off-shored in the first place and in such circumstances employers may look to manage their labour costs through alternative means, such as casualisation strategies, which can potentially include the use of migrant labour.

To further develop an understanding of migration within the context of world systems theory it is important to consider the views of other authors that have written around this issue. Dale and Cole argue that it is the development of capitalism over the past two to three hundred years that has encouraged the movement of people, which has become “...tied in much more closely to the development of the economic system – reflecting the rhythms of the growth and spread of capitalism across the world. Just as capital and goods move in response to economic stimulus, so too do people” (1999: 27). Castles also notes that “the reason for the expansion of migration – especially over long distances – since the sixteenth century was the accelerated pace of change connected with the development of the capitalist world market” (2010: 1568). Finally, Massey *et al.* observe that world systems theory associates international migration with the “political and economic organisation of an expanding global market” (1993: 447). Therefore, it can be aligned with developments in capitalism, including globalisation, whereby “the penetration of capitalist economic relations into peripheral, non-capitalist societies creates a mobile population that is prone to migrate abroad” (*ibid.*: 444).

Taking into account the main aspects of world systems theory, migration is considered to be a consequence of the owners and managers of capital entering poorer (world) regions where materials and the costs of labour are lower and new consumer markets can be exploited (Massey *et al.*, 1993: 445). During the period of European colonisation, starting from around the sixteenth century to approximately the mid-twentieth century (Nowell, 2015), this process is likely to have been initiated through colonial links, but today transnational corporations (TNCs) may be viewed as the main capitalist agents or as the “primary ‘movers and shapers’ of the global economy” (Dicken, 2003: 3). A TNC can be defined as “a firm that has the power to coordinate and control operations in more than one

country, even if it does not own them” (*ibid.*: 17). Massey *et al.* (1993: 445) also observe that transnationals build their own production plants, offer low wages and are considered to generally undermine the existing peasant economy. Increasingly, they might not build their own production plants, but enter into contractual relationships with supplier firms.

Therefore, it is suggested that world systems theory views migration – be it rural-urban or to another country - as a natural consequence of the disruption and dislocation caused by the introduction of capital into poorer regions (Massey *et al.*, 1993: 445) or indeed through the influence exerted by TNCs. This theory can also be linked with a number of the factors influencing the decision to migrate. For example, Massey *et al.* (*ibid.*: 447) comment that international migration can often result from the social and economic bonds that have developed between a country and its former colonies. It can be seen that the economic dimension and the wider process of globalisation has a significant impact on encouraging outflows of workers. In particular that “globalisation creates material and ideological links to the places where capital originates. The foreign investment that drives economic globalisation is managed from a small number of global cities, whose structural characteristics create a strong demand for immigrant labour” (*ibid.*: 446). It could be inferred that such structural characteristics are likely to include a demand for labour that stems from the features of the political economy. The global distribution of the location of manufacturing and service provision could also be considered as impacting upon, and shaping, the nature of the demand for labour.

World systems theory can be used to describe migration, particularly international migration, on a global scale. In this regard, Arango describes the position of migrants as “little more than passive pawns in the play of big powers and world processes presided

over by the logic of capital accumulation” (2000: 291). Massey further comments that “every country that has undergone economic development under a market economy has experienced emigration” (1989: 394). While this may be so up to a point, the extent to which such emigration takes place is likely to vary, depending on the economic, social and political circumstances in individual countries. Moreover, it is likely that the relative circumstances of individuals and families will affect the extent to which they see a need to relocate.

World systems theory provides an explanation of how capitalism has come to be the dominant form of economic organisation in the world today and serves as a starting point for analysing some of the important elements around the transition, organisation and regulation of national economies. It also helps to outline the role that capital(ism) plays in encouraging migration. This discussion has also introduced a key theme that runs throughout this research, which is the impact that various forms of economic organisation and different regulatory environments have on migration. Although capitalism is regarded by Wallerstein as “an affair of the world economy” (1974: 401) and thus *the* world system, it can also be noted that there are considered to be different “varieties of capitalism” in which there are evident differences over time in the economic organisation of nation states (Coffey and Thornley, 2009: 23), (Hall and Soskice, 2001: 1-2). The notion of varieties of capitalism will be returned to later in this chapter as part of the discussion of the political-economic factors affecting migration.

Neo-classical economics theory of migration

The neo-classical economics theory of migration derives from discussions that are based on classic economic development and trade theory in relation to labour, productivity, wages and profit. When viewed from a migration perspective, this theory is set in the context of economic development and transition. It aims to explore geographic differences in the supply and demand of labour, including the economic impact of migration in relation to wage differentials and profits. Notably, those areas with a large supply of labour relative to capital are considered to have a “low equilibrium market wage, while countries with a shortage of labour relative to capital have a high market wage” (Massey *et al.*, 1993: 433). In accordance with these dynamics, workers from low-wage countries move to countries where they can earn more. The literature identifies the classic economic perspectives of Lewis (1954) and Ranis and Fei (1961) as the starting point from which the neo-classical economics theory of migration has been interpreted (Hagen-Zanker, 2008: 6), (Massey *et al.*, 1993: 433).

Lewis purports the concept of a closed and open economy. The closed economy is considered to have an unlimited supply of labour, which is associated with developing or under-developed countries and in which the pool of labour is so large, relative to capital or natural resources, that productivity is “negligible, zero or even negative” (Lewis, 1954: 141). Another aspect is the price of labour, which in developing economies is set at a subsistence level (*ibid.*: 142). Thus, if the supply of unskilled labour is greater than is required by companies, there will always be more people looking for work than there is demand. In turn, the labour surplus enables companies to keep wages at a subsistence level as there is no pressure to raise them in order to attract workers. Conversely, if a situation is

reached whereby labour supplies have been exhausted there will be an increase in the real wage (Ranis and Fei, 1961: 539).

The approach in an open economy centres on the potential for increasing the size of the workforce through labour migration so as to limit wages to a level sufficient for subsistence (Lewis, 1954: 176). An alternative option is to move capital to countries where there is considered to be a large or “unlimited” supply of labour on a subsistence wage (*ibid.*: 176). It could be postulated that while the movement of capital abroad might be a way to maintain low-cost production, it could also lead to the displacement of people in the capital receiving country, as was noted in the discussion of world systems theory. This could potentially result in the outward migration of (low skilled) labour from the capital receiving country and lead to a shortage of workers and an associated increase in wage levels.

An assessment of this theory from a migration-oriented perspective can be made in relation to the framework of the two-stage analysis of rural-urban labour migration purported by Harris and Todaro (1970), which is set in relation to migration, unemployment and development in Africa. The basis for this approach is that economic models were failing to provide a rational explanation for why rural-urban migration was increasing, despite the possibility to earn a marginal profit on agricultural produce and sizeable levels of urban unemployment (Harris and Todaro, 1970: 126). In this respect it is asserted that the *expected* difference in wages between rural and urban areas provides an explanation for why migration continues to take place when there are high levels of urban unemployment. Therefore, rather than simply looking at the differences between rural and urban areas in terms of wage differentials it is necessary to consider “the rural-urban ‘expected’ income

differential i.e. the income differential adjusted for the probability of finding an urban job” (Todaro, 1969: 138). The first stage is when the unskilled worker migrates to an urban area and initially occupies what is referred to as the “urban traditional sector”, comprising the unemployed, underemployed and occasionally employed (*ibid.*: 139). The second stage is when the migrant completes the transition into the “permanent modern sector”, which entails more secure and stable employment (*ibid.*: 139). Migrants’ job prospects can also be explained in relation to the stage of economic advancement and urbanisation in developing countries. In particular, when the urbanisation process is in its infancy the labour supply will be limited and so the prospects for rural migrants to find employment are considered to be greater. Therefore, the expected income differential stimulates further rural-urban movements. The growth of the urban pool of labour subsequently leads to an increase in the urban traditional sector which, in turn, reduces migrants’ prospects of finding employment in the next stage of urbanisation (*ibid.*: 144). The decision to migrate appears to be based on a cost-benefit analysis, taking into account the choice of location and whether people believe they can get a higher price for their labour, which will improve their overall economic and living situation. It is expected that any initial costs associated with migrating will be offset by the higher wages that will be earned (Arango, 2000: 285).

Because it is the expectation of higher wages in urban areas that is viewed as the driving force behind migration, it is purported that migration will only cease once there is no longer an expected income differential between rural and urban areas (*ibid.*: 129). Commenting on this model, Haas observes that while there is the flow of people from rural to urban areas, capital moves in the opposite direction and that “in a perfectly neo-classical world, this process of ‘factor price equalisation’ will eventually result in growing

convergence between wages at the sending and receiving end” (2008: 4). Ultimately, this is considered to be the end of the driving force behind migration.

Stark and Bloom also provide an interesting perspective in suggesting that employers may have an interest in a “high institutionally determined wage” in an urban area (1985: 175). For example, it is commented that “generating few very high paying jobs and heavily advertising, so to speak, the rewards associated with them may help to maintain a large labour pool in the presence of high levels of unemployment” (*ibid.*: 175). It could be postulated that such an approach would not only meet employers’ labour needs, but would also ensure that wages remain lower in the majority of jobs in the face of strong competition for employment among the pool of urban job seekers. This also helps to explain why people continue to migrate to urban areas in situations when there are high levels of unemployment.

A critique of the neo-classical model is provided by Haas who argues that decreasing wage differentials are actually likely to increase migration because “slight increases in absolute wealth may enable more people to bear the opportunity costs and risks of migrating” (2008: 11). This returns to the notion of personal aspiration as a factor facilitating migration and one that Haas believes is overlooked in neo-classical theory. The aspiration to migrate is important in terms of people looking for new opportunities of self-fulfilment or enrichment and not only moving in order to maximise their earning potential. This can be associated with the wider notion of plus factors, as purported by Lee (1996) (above).

Castles (2010: 1573) expresses a broader critique of this theory in asserting that it has a relatively narrow focus on income maximisation and the belief that people take the

decision to migrate based on clear information and with a calculated approach to their economic advancement. Although this theory attempts to factor in the probability of finding work as part of the expected earnings concept, it could be inferred that the extent to which employer' demand for labour in migrant receiving regions and countries is taken into account appears to be limited. This reflects the original focus of the theory, which is conceived from a developmental perspective and set in the context of rural-urban migration in Africa. In this respect it also misses the developed country perspective.

Therefore, it could be suggested that differences in wages might be one factor that needs to be analysed within a broader assessment of labour markets in migrant receiving countries. A broader approach would allow for a more accurate picture of the factors influencing the decision to migrate to be presented. For example, considering these elements in the context of the wider industrial relations system would appear to be relevant, particularly as concerns the role and labour market status of migrant workers in their host country.

New economics of labour migration

Following on from the neo-classical economics of migration theory is the new economics of labour migration theory. This looks at the decision to migrate from the perspective of the household, rather than the individual, and with risk minimisation as the central factor driving rural-urban migration in developing countries. It is purported that if a rural household is to increase its income it needs to engage in, and overcome, elements of risk (Stark and Levhari, 1982: 192). The example can be cited of a small farming family that would like to introduce new technologies into its operations. Potential risks concern the initial financial outlay and thereafter whether the family will be able to operate the

machinery in an optimal way and that it may break down. From this it is observed that “if insurance markets either do not prevail or do not form, or they exist but require prohibitive premiums, the increased-risk, risk-avoidance, conflict must be resolved internally – that is, through reorganised utilisation of the family’s own resources” (*ibid.*: 192). It is under these circumstances that migrating can be seen as a way to minimise the risks associated with all market failures, not just those of the labour market (Massey *et al.*, 1993: 436), including a lack of credit and a lack of insurance possibilities (Taylor, 1999: 74).

In such a scenario, the migration of a family member(s) is viewed as “a portfolio ‘investment’ in urban earning activity” (Stark and Levhari, 1982: 194). Consequently, through remittances, migrating family members play a key role in providing the capital to finance new production technologies and activities as well as providing income insurance (Taylor, 1999: 74). Haas also comments that “internal and international migration is perceived as a household response to income risk, as migrant remittances provide income insurance for households of origin” (2008: 35). In this sense, and in a similar vein to the premise of the neo-classical theory, migration from a rural to an urban area takes place against the backdrop of an expected incomes differential, i.e. that the migrant will be able to earn more in the urban area. However, under the new economics of labour migration theory, the income differential is not directly considered to provide the motive for migration. Instead, it is the aversion to risk (Stark and Levhari, 1982: 194) and from this, the need to negate such risk, including through the potential for higher earnings. In this respect, this theory has a broader perspective than the neo-classical theory (Arango, 2000: 288). It can also be noted that through referring to the role of remittances this theory draws an explicit link between the decision to migrate and the outcome of the migration process (Hagen-Zanker, 2008: 13).

Another key feature in the context of minimising risk, and which distinguishes the new economics of labour migration theory to its neo-classical counterpart, is that the decision to migrate is taken collectively by the family and can, therefore, be considered as a “calculated strategy and not an act of desperation or boundless optimism” (Stark and Bloom, 1985: 175). In this respect the emphasis is on jointly increasing the household income (Hagen-Zanker, 2008: 13).

It can be recalled that the earlier analysis of the neo-classical economics theory highlighted the potential for rural migrants to, at least initially, find themselves in what Todaro termed the “urban traditional sector”, comprising the unemployed, underemployed and occasionally employed (*ibid.*:139). Therefore, relocating to an urban area potentially exposes someone to a different set of risks to those that they were facing in their place of origin. Under the new economics of labour migration perspective, mitigating this risk is the notion that although a newly arrived urban migrant may experience a short-term and temporary loss of income relative to what was being earned in the rural area, this will be negated over the longer-term by the comparatively higher earnings that will be achieved and the remittances that can then be made to the family members in the place of origin (Stark and Levhari, 1982: 191). It is under these circumstances that the collective decision taken by the family to use migration as a way to reduce exposure to risks could be considered as justified (Stark and Bloom, 1985: 175). This also helps to provide an explanation for why some people do not migrate, i.e. in the case of those family members that stay at home as part of the collective, household, decision about who will migrate (*ibid.*: 175).

Despite the broader perspective that this theory appears to incorporate beyond wage differentials and economic factors, Castles argues that theories within the frame of the new economics of migration “still largely fail to take account of the many non-economic factors that shape migration” (2010: 1573). In this vein, a broader reflection can be made at the end of this literature review of the economic-oriented theories of migration in which it can be inferred that economic factors are considered to be particularly prominent in the decision to migrate. Nevertheless, while economic factors are important, Castles suggests that they are “hardly ever sufficient to understand any specific experience” (2010: 1573). In turn, he states the importance of context and the association between migration and other factors - economic, social, political and cultural – in relation to time and place. This notion is echoed by Massey *et al.* who suggest that

all theories play some role in accounting for international migration in the contemporary world, although different models predominate at different phases of the migration process, and different explanations carry different weights in different regions depending on the local circumstances of history, politics and geography (1998: 281).

Castles (2010: 1573) argues that an historical understanding of migration and the factors that have influenced it in the past is necessary to be able to credibly explain and analyse present day situations. The researcher shares this view and this is demonstrated in the historical elaboration of the migration theories in this chapter, which provides important context for analysing and understating present-day migration patterns. The following section will continue with a review of the main socio-economic theories of migration.

Socio-economic theories of migration

This section presents what can be classified as socio-economic migration theories, namely the network and cumulative causation theories. The core focus of both theories appears to lie with the actual process of migration. Accordingly, these theories are primarily concerned with the impact that migration has on a migrant's family and friends that remain in the place of origin in terms of fostering further migration.

Network theory

Network theory considers the role and impact that migrants have on their friends and family that continue to live in the migrant's place of origin in terms of influencing their future propensity to migrate. Massey *et al.* define migration networks as “sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through bonds of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin” (1993: 448). In turn, Guilmoto and Sandron refer to the migration network as “a very powerful social institution” (2001: 149), while Lee draws the link between the concept of the network and migration by observing that “migrants proceed along well trodden paths that have been identified by the forebears” (1966: 54). Stark and Wang also comment that “one of the most thoroughly documented stylised facts pertaining to the process of migration is that new migrants are assisted by established migrants. Indeed, the information transmitted, and the support provided, by family and friends is crucial to subsequent migration” (2002: 159).

Migration networks are said to involve two main strands, namely “human organisation, covering all of the stages of the migration from the departure areas to the arrival areas” and an “institutional aspect, formed from a system of practical rules concerning the functioning of the network” (Guilmoto and Sandron, 2001: 149). As concerns human organisation, there are three important ways through which this shapes the migration process. These are helping to identify potential destinations and a good time of year to migrate; communicating knowledge and insight into the functioning of, and opportunities in, the labour market in the place of destination; and providing practical support for recently arrived migrants in the form of short-term housing or financial assistance while a migrant settles in (*ibid.*: 149). Therefore, through the network of migrants in a destination area and people in the place of origin, these factors are considered to facilitate migration as a result of the knowledge that is passed on and an associated reduction in the costs of future migration (Carrington *et al.*, 1996: 909). Networks can be composed of family members, friends and neighbours (Guilmoto and Sandron, 2001: 150).

Stark and Wang (2002: 159) suggest that it is in the interest of established migrants in destination areas to assist would-be migrants in places of origin. Beyond the notion of providing assistance to would-be or recently arrived migrants out of a feeling of duty or obligation arising from familial ties or bonds of friendship it could be said that an additional consideration for established, skilled, migrants vis-à-vis the lower skilled new arrivals is the potential for individual gain. Further, they assert that “working with a large group of low skill workers distinguishes a high skill worker more forcefully and renders his skills relatively more scarce and more valuable, thereby raising his wage” (*ibid.*: 161). It could also be suggested that, in time, as more migrants become established and the pool of skilled labour increases, through work experience, on-the-job or formal training, the

longer-term impact could be an overall equaling out or lowering of the wage level between places of origin and destination. This returns to the earlier discussion of the neo-classical economic theory of migration in which the notion of wage equilibrium through migration was explored. Nevertheless, in the context of network theory and rural-urban migration, it is suggested that lower income differentials do not necessarily result in a fall in migration because the network serves to increasingly reduce the associated costs and risks, which may foster further migration (Guilmoto and Sandron, 2001: 150). However, travel costs are likely to continue to make international migration a more costly affair, despite the potential impact of the network. Although not the focus of this discussion, there may also be the potential for the more negative consequence of a migration network to develop into a trafficking network.

Moving onto the institutional form that the network develops, this is said to vary according to the nature of the migration process between the place of origin and destination as well as to the individual characteristics of the migrant (Guilmoto and Sandron, 2001: 151). A migration process is considered to become institutionalised as flows between two places develop through the ties between those who have migrated and those who are considering migrating. Under these circumstances, migration becomes more like a routine with a set of established rules and norms (*ibid.*: 144). Thus, the “acquisition of information and reduction of the costs and risks linked to migration are the basis for its becoming institutionalised” (*ibid.*: 151). It could be postulated that the rules or routine can vary, depending on the primary purpose of the migration and its (intended) outcome. For example, a person may migrate to remit money to the family in the place of origin, which returns to the notion that migration can serve as a way to minimise risks, as per the new

economics of labour migration theory. Alternatively, migration might be seen by some people as a way to improve their socio-economic situation in a broader sense (*ibid.*: 151).

As migration becomes institutionalised through a set of rules, it is further suggested that “over time migration becomes progressively independent of the factors that were at its origin. The process is self-reinforcing and tends to develop its own dynamic in an endogenous manner; it is in constant interaction with other factors that contribute to institutionalising migration and forming a system” (Guilmoto and Sandron, 2001: 151). At this point it is possible to refer to the earlier discussion of the migration systems approach and the notion of general principles characterising such a system and the various elements that it comprises.

A final point to note in relation to the institutionalisation of migration and the nature of the network is that it may lead to specific groups of people or those with particular characteristics, such as the low skilled, among others, migrating to specific destinations. Thus, in becoming progressively independent, or self-perpetuating, the rules that govern the network and the flow of people may limit migration to certain sections of society in the place of origin. In this sense, the networks have the potential to become segmented (Guilmoto and Sandron (2001: 153). In turn, it could be postulated that migration may contribute to the segmentation of the labour market in migrant destination areas.

There appear to be a number of associations between the network theory and the new economics of labour migration theory, notably as concerns the role of the family unit in the diversification of sources of income. Reference can also be made to the discussion of migration streams and the plus and minus factors purported by Lee (1966: 56). However,

while the network theory elaborates how a particular migration pattern can further develop, it does not really advance an understanding of why people migrate, which is why it is relevant to view this theory in combination with the elements of the economic theories and the driving factors of migration (above). To highlight one example, Lee's reference to the notion that "migrants travel along well-trodden paths that have been identified by the forebears" (1966: 54) does not consider the economic reasons behind why people may migrate. For instance, it could be postulated that the decision by migrants from the EU A8 countries to relocate to western Europe is not particularly about migration along an established route, but migration driven by economic factors, such as higher wages and greater job prospects and in response to a particular need for workers in certain sectors and occupations in some west European countries.

Cumulative causation theory

Building on some of the ideas elaborated under the network perspective is the cumulative causation theory. The original concept of this theory, as put forward by Myrdal, is a general perspective on social change and its impact on the social and, in turn, economic situation of individuals or groups of people. Myrdal observes that "the essence of a social problem is that it concerns a complex of interlocking, circular and causation changes" (1957: 14).

Elaborating on Myrdal's approach and applying it to a migration context, Massey *et al.* (1993: 451) suggest that international migration is a cumulative social process in which movements are self-sustaining as a result of a progressively increasing occurrence. It is suggested that "causation is cumulative in that each act of migration alters the social

context within which subsequent migration decisions are made, typically in ways that make additional movement more likely” (*ibid.*: 451). In highlighting the combination of economic and social aspects, attention is paid to the distribution of income and the ownership and use of land on the economic side and the distribution of human capital, the culture of migration and social labelling as the social components.

Starting with the economic factors, the income distribution factor asserts that as some family members become mobile, individuals and their families can see an increase in their income, either directly or through remittances, and inequalities begin to become established. This creates the notion of relative deprivation among those that have not relocated with migration seen as the answer (Massey *et al.*, 1993: 451). The role of remittances in fuelling a scenario of income inequality and relative deprivation in migrant sending areas is further highlighted by Taylor as leading to a situation where “migration may become a self-perpetuating process, creating income gains for some rural households while making others more relatively deprived” (1999: 80). This would suggest that there might be a greater propensity to migrate among those whom are considered to be deprived. However, it could also be inferred that this would only be the case if the level of remittances is greater than the income achieved by people in the place of origin. The purchase of land is an opportunity that only those with available capital can take advantage of. In this perspective it concerns those people that have migrated and have earned sufficient capital to be able to buy land in their place of origin as a long-term investment or for status.

Turning to the social factors, migration is considered to effect a change in the mindset of those that have relocated. Even if these people initially only moved for a fixed period of

time, the fact that they have made that initial step, and have possibly achieved a higher standard of living as a result, makes them more likely to migrate again (Massey *et al.*, 1993: 452). It can also inspire others to follow in the footsteps of those that made a success of their move.

A final point to highlight relates to the consequences of the movements on the status of migrant workers in the receiving region or country and is referred to as “social labelling” (Massey *et al.*, 1993: 452). This concept relates to the concentration of migrants in particular jobs that become known as “immigrant jobs” and which the indigenous population is reluctant to perform (*ibid.*: 452). Castles and Miller also observe that “some migrant groups become concentrated in certain types of work (generally of low social status) and live segregated lives in low-income residential areas” (2003: 14). In addition to this labour market segmentation, a structural demand for migrant workers is also considered to be established (Massey *et al.*, 1993: 452). Such a demand in receiving countries could be seen as a consequence of migration, which in turn alters the labour market structure in migrant receiving areas and sets in train a cumulative process that is created and distorted by migration. In this sense an important distinction could be identified between migrants helping to address specific labour or skills shortages on the one hand and an oversupply of migrants occupying lower end roles in place of indigenous workers on the other. In other words, an oversupply of migrant workers may be considered as creating a ‘false’ structural demand, compared to circumstances in which there are specific labour or skills shortages. It is also necessary to consider the cost advantage that employers may derive from a large and readily available supply of labour, as referred to in the discussion in the new economics of labour migration theory in which it was observed

that employers have an interest in recruiting from a large pool of labour as this enables them to keep wages down.

The consequences of these economic and social factors is that migration can be regarded as a “self-sustaining and self-perpetuating phenomenon” (Arango, 2000: 292). A potential limitation of the cumulative causation approach advanced by Massey *et al.* (1993) is that it primarily focuses on movements between developing and developed countries and it could be inferred that a different set of factors may be relevant when considering movements between developed countries. However, particularly notable in this theory is the discussion around social labelling, which presents some essential elements that help to substantiate the discussion from the perspective of migrant receiving areas and the labour market status of, and demand for, migrant workers.

A common feature of the socio-economic theories is the notion of migration becoming institutionalised, with its own set of rules and routines, and that this develops almost independently of political regulation to become self-perpetuating. Leading on from this, the next section of this chapter will look at the political-economic factors affecting migration.

Political-economic factors affecting migration

The earlier discussion of the world system theory introduced the notion of varieties of capitalism (VoC) and different forms of economic organisation in individual nation states. In discussing the political-economic factors that affect, and provide a framework for, migration it is relevant to explore the notion of VoC in more detail, including in relation to

labour markets and their actors. To do this it is necessary to look at the nature of different regulatory environments and the associated framework provided by national industrial relations systems. In doing so, specific attention will be paid to employers' demand for migrant labour.

Hampshire (2013: 11) observes that political-economic factors, including the nature of capitalist economic organisation, can have a significant impact on national migration policies. In this respect, Crouch and Streek (1997: 3) note that different state traditions – political, economic and social – establish frameworks for the management of capitalist systems, which, in turn, result in a variety of models of economic capitalism and varying rules for the management of capitalist economies. Coffey and Thornley (2009: 23) also comment that different models of economic capitalism affect national policy orientation and the regulation of the employment relationship by the industrial relations actors. The state traditions referred to by Crouch and Streek are reflected in the nature of a national industrial relations system, which is defined by Dunlop as

the rules and practices of the place (that) are developed by the interaction of managers, workers and their organisations, and government agencies in an environment of technology, labour, product markets, and government regulations. The system tends to develop a set of ideas and beliefs commonly held by the actors that helps to bind together and integrate the system (1958: 8).

Thus, differences in industrial relations systems and the role of the actors therein is seen an essential element of the management of capitalist economies and, therefore, of migration policies. Dunlop (1958: 47) refers to rules for managing industrial relations systems by the three sets of actors, namely a hierarchy of managers, a hierarchy of workers and

specialised government agencies. This suggests that industrial relations systems will be shaped by the extent and nature of the interaction between these actors and the level of influence that they exert on decision-making, which varies from system to system. The degree of influence of the system as a whole, relative to the wider decision-making structure at national level, is also an important consideration when looking at the regulatory environment and the ability of the industrial relations actors to influence this (*ibid.*: 50). In this respect, a variety of approaches to the regulation of migration can occur between nation states. This notion is captured by Hampshire who observes that “cross-national variation in the role of business and organised labour, and the interaction of these actors with state institutions, is crucial to understanding variation in immigration policies” (2013: 11).

Dunlop’s approach is useful for framing a comparative discussion of national industrial relations, based on the role of the actors in rule-making. At the same time, it can be noted that Bean views the main use of Dunlop’s approach “as a means of identifying the relevant variables which help to shape industrial relations outcomes, and of ordering empirical data” (1994: 3). It is also asserted that within the environmental factors that Dunlop purports there is likely to be room for manoeuvre in the way the actors respond to economic, political and social changes, which can have different outcomes (*ibid.*: 3).

Models of capitalism

Since the end of the Second World War, it has been argued that there are two models of capitalism that have dominated economic organisation in western Europe. These are welfare capitalism and free market capitalism. Welfare capitalism was most prevalent in

western Europe during the 1960s and 1970s at the height of post-war economic growth, although its principles were broadly espoused between approximately the end of the Second World War and the late 1970s. This model was characterised by state intervention to provide stable and secure full-time employment in which it tried to “balance the interests” of capital and labour (Lane, 1989: 272) and promote cooperation between them. At this point labour organisations, were active in national decision-making processes through corporatist or tripartite means, such as in Germany and Britain through their involvement and cooperation at the macro-economic or governmental level (*ibid.*: 272). Employers and their representative organisations would have been equally involved. At the international level, the framework for economic prosperity in post-war Europe was provided by the Bretton woods institutions (International Monetary Fund – IMF – World Bank) and the principles of John Maynard Keynes and his peers who associated aspects of corporatism with international trade (Woolfson and Sommers, 2008: 8).

The significance of different models of economic capitalism and the consequences for labour markets and their actors is portrayed in the re-orientation from welfare capitalism to free market capitalism. It was considered by employers and some governments, who favoured greater flexibility, that policies under welfare capitalism were resulting in a lack of labour market competition, notably an inability to alter the terms and conditions of employment and a general situation of employment rigidity (Lane, 1989: 273). The process towards the re-orientation to free market capitalism began in the US and can be charted over several decades. For instance, efforts in the early 1950s to promote “responsible trade unionism” were achieved through employers consenting to real wage increases and additional perks in return for industrial peace (Arrighi and Silver, 1984: 202). The result was that US labour was seen as being more expensive, relative to other countries, and so

the expansion of US capital abroad became a means through which to achieve lower production and labour costs during the initial post-war period (*ibid.*: 203). Nevertheless, US productivity remained high and by the 1970s companies were faced with issues of overcapacity and strong competition for customers. This saw the US administration pursue a strategy for an opening of world markets for more economic competition and a global consumer market (Woolfson and Sommers, 2008: 10). Accordingly, it was US president Ronald Reagan who in the 1980s provided the political leadership for a drive towards a more neo-liberal agenda and free market capitalism (Stiglitz, 2002: 13).

In Europe, the political leadership for the re-orientation of the economy was led by the UK prime minister, Margret Thatcher (Conservative) who was elected in 1979 (Stiglitz, 2002: 13). Progressively, through the changing focus in the US and now in the UK, the principles of free market capitalism and a neo-liberal ideology began to come to the fore in (western) Europe in the early 1980s (Lane, 1989: 278). This was characterised by monetarism, macro-economic stabilisation, deregulation, financial liberalisation, privatisation and a more confrontational attitude towards trade unions (Likic-Brboric, 2007: 2). Furthermore, production systems focused on “flexibility and innovation” and “customised goods” (Giddens, 2001: 384). In turn, policies of labour market flexibilisation and welfare state retrenchment were seen as central to improving European competitiveness (Likic-Brboric, 2011: 280). These developments were accompanied by a substantial de-industrialisation and associated fall in industrial employment (Likic-Brboric, 2007: 3) compared to the period of welfare capitalism. Coffey and Thornley surmise that the effect of the UK government’s neo-liberal strategy and employment legislation enacted between 1979 and 1990 was to “reduce the power of organised labour and to overturn previous ‘welfarist’ measures” (2009: 14).

These examples demonstrate how the nature of economic organisation and the regulatory environment has changed. Reference can also be made to the notion of VoC between countries. This can be exemplified through differences in the economic and regulatory environment between the EU member states, particularly as concerns labour market issues. For example, some labour markets can be identified as highly regulated, such as in the Nordic countries, whereas others are much more lightly regulated, as in the case of the UK (Devitt, 2011: 568). Such regulatory differences impact upon employers' demand for migrant workers and the labour market status of these workers in receiving countries. Devitt postulates that on the premise that migrant workers are willing to accept lower employment standards than indigenous workers "less-regulated economies and sectors which have been accorded lower employment standards are more likely to result in a demand for migrant workers" (*ibid.*: 568).

A framework for exploring varieties of capitalism

Building on the initial identification of models of capitalism, it is relevant to explore in further detail the variation that can exist between models or within a model. Within the literature the framework purported by Hall and Soskice (2001) is frequently noted as a useful starting point for developing a comparative understanding and analysis of the VoC perspective. Their work draws upon what they regard to be the institutional structures that are shaped and developed at the national level and which play a significant role in determining the nature of economic organisation. These are noted as "systems of labour market regulation, of education and training, and of corporate governance" (Hall and Soskice, 2001: 4). This approach focuses on the role and actions of companies (and

employers in the broader sense, which includes their representative organisations) as being particularly important in the functioning of a capitalist economy and, in turn, the impact that they have on labour market regulation and the nature of the wider political economy (*ibid.*: 6). It follows that different national approaches to how these institutional structures are developed results in VoC.

Hall and Soskice (2001: 8) outline two types of political economy; coordinated market economies (CMEs) and liberal market economies (LMEs). It is suggested that in CMEs “firms depend more heavily on non-market relationships to coordinate their endeavours with other actors and construct their core competencies” whereas in LMEs “firms coordinate their activities primarily via hierarchies and competitive market arrangements” (*ibid.*: 8). Such forms of organisation have been termed an “outsider” approach to corporate governance in the case of LMEs and an “insider” approach in CMEs (Gould *et al.*, 2015: 588).

Variation is considered to derive from the way in which companies engage with other actors in five key spheres, which contributes to shaping the overall political economy and the approach to labour market regulation (Hall and Soskice, 2001: 6), within which the demand for migrant labour can be explored. These spheres are industrial relations (the coordination of collective bargaining with workers, trade unions and employers); vocational education and training (VET) (its role in providing companies with skilled workers); corporate governance (the access that companies have to finance and the corresponding return on investment that is sought by investors); inter-firm relations (collaboration with other companies, including suppliers and customers); and employees (ensuring that they have sufficient competences and commitment to the company and work

well as a team) (*ibid.*: 7). These spheres are considered to facilitate a comparison of national political economies, which is elaborated through the examples of Germany as a CME and the US as an LME.

Starting with the example of Germany, it is observed that the internal structure of companies plays an important role and is centred on cooperation between management and labour and good relations with suppliers and customers (*ibid.*: 24). This feeds into the structure of workplace industrial relations, which is characterised by works councils that are made up of representatives of workers and management with a degree of autonomy over issues such as working conditions and redundancies (*ibid.*: 25). Up until the introduction of a statutory minimum wage in January 2015 wages were determined entirely through industry-level collective agreements (*ibid.*: 24). Negotiations between employers and trade unions continue to play a role in wage setting and can lead to wages being set above the agreed minimum on an industry by industry basis, but they may not be below it (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2016).

Cooperation between employers and unions is also evident in the governance of VET schemes, specifically apprenticeships, in partnership with the government at federal and state level. Employers' organisations and trade unions play a strong role in the provision of apprenticeships and in setting the training requirements and guidelines (Euler, 2013: 37). VET has such a prominent role because the skills desired by companies in CMEs tend to be industry, or even company, specific and this form of training involves a strong role for companies as training providers (Hall and Soskice, 2001: 25).

One of the outcomes of a focus on industry or company-specific skills is said to be higher

levels of worker commitment, which combined with long-term contracts, results in low staff turnover (*ibid.*: 26). This provides the context for the next sphere, which is the role that inter-company relations play in spreading new technologies. As a result of the limited levels of staff turnover it is commented that the movement of workers with certain technological competences between companies cannot be used as a way to develop and define new technologies and, therefore, that collaboration between companies and employer and industry associations is needed instead (*ibid.*: 26). This collaboration involves the establishment of common technical standards within a given industry, which helps to build up a shared understanding among companies. This feeds into the criteria of an industry-specific skills set and is considered to foster the widespread introduction of new technologies (*ibid.*: 26). The final sphere is corporate governance, which links together elements of the previous four and provides a framework for them to operate. In Germany, strong emphasis is put on coordination between labour market actors, which is at the centre of the CME approach and which clearly distinguishes it from the more individual, market-driven, approach in LMEs.

A crucial difference between a LME and a CME is that LMEs “rely more heavily on market relations to resolve coordination problems (Hall and Soskice, 2001: 27). Elaboration of the concept of an LME will now be made through the example of the US. As concerns corporate governance, investments, share and equity prices are closely followed as the way to inform potential investors about the performance of a company and how much it is worth (Hall and Soskice, 2001: 25). This contrasts with the situation in Germany where relationships between companies and business networks lead to the sharing of information about a company with would-be investors. It follows that US industrial relations, both in the context of workplace relations between management and

workers and the wider system, are also heavily guided by the “market relationship” (*ibid.*: 29), which is underpinned by macro-economic policy and using the competition that is present in the market to control wages and inflation. Under these circumstances relations between employers’ organisations and trade unions are less consensual and coordinated with employers exercising what they see as their prerogative to take decisions. Consequently, US trade unions’ influence is considered to be much reduced compared to Germany (*ibid.*: 29). Overall, the US labour market is viewed as more flexible and less regulated than in Germany. This flexibility is demonstrated by high staff turnover in response to fluctuating demand for goods and services. Consequently, workers “invest in general skills, transferable across firms, rather than company-specific skills, and in career trajectories that include a substantial amount of movement among firms” (*ibid.*: 30).

This flexible labour market structure not only impacts upon the type of skills that employers require, but also the way in which training is provided and funded. People tend to have a high level of initial general education before entering a workplace, which means that companies prefer to offer on-the-job training that is relatively short in duration, rather than a three-year apprenticeship (*ibid.*: 30). Such training is in the “marketable skills that employees have incentives to learn” and which advance the productive capacity of the individual (*ibid.*: 30). While this approach ensures that companies largely have a well-skilled workforce, it can mean that they lack people with company-specific skills (*ibid.*: 30). It may also mean that workers have a low level of commitment to a company.

Finally, it has been observed that the US labour market is characterised by its flexibility and a workforce that has a high level of general education. These features provide

opportunities for worker mobility, which can, inter alia, foster the transfer of new technologies and associated skills and competences (*ibid.*: 31).

The notion of a CME and LME is purported as an ideal categorisation within which variation in national approaches can be situated (Hall and Soskice, 2001: 8). Nevertheless, Coffey and Thornley comment that there is too much emphasis on “a static comparison between national types” (2009: 127), which overlooks the fact that companies will have different strategic approaches to their operations and the policies that they want the government to implement. This varies according to the company’s interests, size and scope (*ibid.*: 127). Related to this, it is asserted that in focusing on companies as the main actors, the role of the state is largely ignored and, therefore, that institutional structures, which are considered key aspects of national variety, also fail to receive enough attention (*ibid.*: 127). This criticism is shared by Gould *et al.* who observe that “political coalitions, lobbyists, and parties or entities entering a capitalist system with discordant agendas from externally” also play a key role in determining the “shape of institutional structures” and are largely overlooked (2015: 593). In this regard an important aspect could be the nature and extent of cooperation between employers and trade unions, which reflects, and is shaped by, the industrial relations system.

Other aspects concern an artificial separation of industrial relations and employees into two spheres (Coffey and Thornley, 2009: 126). Grouping these two aspects together might help to address some of the criticism about a lack of an institutional approach within the framework. Another reflection concerns education and training and the potential clarity that could come from further elaboration of the different roles played by companies and the

costs that they incur in initial education and training (apprenticeships) compared to life-long learning.

Since Hall and Soskice (2001) first presented their framework there have been further attempts to refine it. For example, Hall and Gingerich introduce an additional type of political economy that is labelled “mixed market economies” (MMEs), which is intended to account for those economies that can not typically be classified as either a LME or CME (2004: 35). Additionally, in the context of the Central and Eastern European countries (CEE), Hancké *et al* (2007: 13) refer to emerging market economies (EMEs). Therefore, it could be considered that a broader approach allows for the extension of the comparative framework to a wider range of countries and introduces greater flexibility in the categorisation of countries. This could go some way to addressing a criticism by Gould *et al.* (2015: 593) that Hall and Soskice’s work focuses exclusively on western market economies.

Hancké *et al.* also purport a “revised typology of capitalist varieties” (2007: 24), which retains the notion of a CME and LME, while putting greater emphasis on the role of the state than in Hall and Soskice’s approach. For instance, reference is made to Germany (a CME) in which the state plays a (small) role in structuring the welfare state and the environment in which companies operate (*ibid.*: 27). In the UK (a LME) it is suggested that employers’ organisations and trade unions tend to be relatively weak, as are the relations between the two, and that the state “sets detailed legal frameworks, leaving business to operate within them, and guards the integrity of market operations” (*ibid.*: 26). Additionally, the notion of étatism (‘state-ism’) is purported, as in post-war France. In this case there is strong state control of the economy and ownership of companies, combined

with relatively limited employer organisation and militant, but weak (in terms of membership) trade unions (*ibid.*: 25). Finally, a slightly lower level of state involvement is noted in the “compensating state”, which is associated with the Mediterranean countries and involves “a large state-controlled business sector”, which responds to “the absence of autonomous arrangements for capital and labour” (*ibid.*: 26). Thus, by giving more acknowledgement to the relevance of the state than was afforded in Hall and Soskice’s original work it is possible to retain, and build on, the original CME-LME concept (*ibid.*: 28).

Therefore, it could be considered that the VoC approach, notably, the CME-LME distinction, provides useful context to understanding variations in the nature of economic organisation and labour market regulation in Sweden and the UK and the impact that this has on employers' demand for labour.

Globalisation, economic transition and variety within the EU

The discussion on the spread and gradual dominance of free market capitalism and the neo-liberal ideology since the 1980s leads into a discussion of the globalisation process and its impact on individual nation states, and to review this in the context of the VoC debate.

There are numerous definitions of globalisation in the literature. Stiglitz describes globalisation as “the closer integration of the countries and peoples of the world which has been brought about by the enormous reduction of costs of transportation and communication, and the breaking down of artificial barriers to the flows of goods, services, capital, knowledge, and (to a less extent) people across borders” (2002: 9). Dale (1999:

306) further describes globalisation as the process in which the model of the capitalist nation state system is spread across the world, which echoes Wallerstein's (1974: 390) notion of capitalism as *the* world system. The globalisation process is considered to have developed from the 1980s and 1990s and led to the so-called global division of labour and the emergence of the newly industrialised countries, as discussed previously. Additionally, in the 1990s there began to be company mergers on a global scale and the creation of transnational companies. This meant that the focus of attention was increasingly on where a company located its production facilities than on its country of origin and ownership (Kuttner, 2000: 148).

Drawing an association between globalisation and migration, Dale and Cole assert that it is the development of capitalism over the past two to three hundred years that has encouraged the movement of people, which has become "...tied in much more closely to the development of the economic system – reflecting the rhythms of the growth and spread of capitalism across the world. Just as capital and goods move in response to economic stimulus, so too do people" (1999: 27). This reflects the notion that globalisation is primarily about greater inter-connectedness between nation states and world regions across a range of issues (Cox, 2000: 27). One of the main outcomes of a global economy has been the location, or re-location, of production facilities, investment and people. Deacon *et al.* (2011: 334) further suggest that the impact of globalisation on the labour market is that it "exposes workers, their employment and wages, to the dynamics of the international economy and global competition, while allowing (or forcing) them at the same time to be more mobile, both sector wise and geographically" (*ibid.*: 334).

Although the literature widely relates the concept of globalisation to the theme of inter-connectedness, it can also be noted that there are differing views about the extent to which this process is taking place. For example, while accepting that globalisation is occurring, Ghemawat suggests that the world today is in a state of “semiglobalisation” (2007: 3) where “borders still matter a great deal, but so do flows across them” (Ghemawat, 2010: 17). Glyn (2006: 102) also observes that global integration appears to be limited to economic cooperation and that integration is at its weakest when it comes to the labour market. Building on this, Deacon *et al.* (2011: 336) associate the extent of labour market integration with labour standards and comment that the pursuit of labour market flexibility and international competition may have weakened such standards globally, resulting in labour market divergence. It can also be said that there are disparities in labour standards between and within world regions. The enlargement of the EU to include ten CEE countries¹ since 2004 with their different social and working conditions to the EU15 can be cited as an example of this (Meardi, 2012: 104). At the same time, it could be suggested that diverging labour market policies, including different levels of regulation, are a natural consequence of national industrial relations systems and the role played by their actors in shaping the regulatory environment in a given country, as noted in the VoC concept.

Exploration of the extent to which the globalisation process is taking place and what this means for labour markets necessitates further examination of regulatory structures at supra-national and national levels. The EU is an example of supra-national regulation, but it has its limitations and nation states retain significant competence within this structure. In this respect, it is notable that European integration has historically been oriented around economic cooperation, while labour markets are primarily regulated at member state level.

¹ Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia.

Examples of the economic-led approach to integration are the Single European Act (1986), which outlined steps towards the completion of the European Single Market in 1992 (Mercado *et al.*, 2001: 43) and which continues to develop and widen in scope (Griffiths and Wall, 2004: 582). There has also been the establishment of Economic and Monetary Union and the launch of the single currency in 1999 (European Union 1995-2015 (g)). In turn, EU-level social policy is oriented around common minimum standards (Mercado *et al.*, 2001: 203), notably in relation to health and safety and working time. In this respect, Moss suggests that Europe plays a supporting role to member states, rather than replacing them and that social policy is a “main source of legitimacy” (2000: 161) for nation states who continue to be the central player in regulating labour markets and labour relations. This is further highlighted in the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU), which states that “the Union shall support and complement the activities of the Member States” in areas such as working conditions, social protection of workers and information, among others (TFEU, 2012: 114). This demonstrates that social policy is primarily in the hands of member states, which can be attributed, to a large degree, to the nature of differing national industrial relations systems and the role of their actors therein. This also serves to support Glyn’s (2006: 102) assertion that integration is at its weakest when it comes to the labour market.

Therefore, while some authors, such as Harris (1999: 278) comment that globalisation has made nation states more susceptible to being guided and influenced by world markets, particularly when part of a supra-national structure like the EU, it can also be said that states continue to exert a considerable degree of influence, particularly over social policy making. Indeed, Panitch *et al.* see nation states as “the authors of a regime which defines

and guarantees, through international treaties with constitutional effect, the global and domestic rights of capital” (2004: 13). Strengthening this line of thought, Stråth (2011: 14) notes that while there was a degree of European and international coordination in response to the financial crisis, it was nation states that led the efforts to restore confidence to the markets. In this vein Meardi asserts that, to an extent, the economic and financial crisis, which peaked between approximately 2008-2013, “validated the varieties of capitalism expectation of divergence” (2014: 9). For example, the UK, Ireland and the US are said to have “consolidated their ‘institutional comparative advantages’ and their dominant practices have been re-legitimised” (*ibid.*: 9). Indeed, Fioretos concludes that it is in the interest of individual countries to “promote existing comparative institutional advantages” (2001: 242) so as to be more competitive and have a stronger economy and due to the costs associated with moving from one form of market economy to another. These observations serve to underscore the notion of divergent approaches and different VoC.

It follows that a variety of social models can be identified among the EU member states. Writing before the 2004 EU enlargement, Sapir (2005: 5) identified the following categorisation of social models in the EU15: *Nordic* (Denmark, Finland, Sweden, plus the Netherlands), which are characterised by high levels of social protection and expenditure as well as universal welfare provision and strong trade unions (*ibid.*: 5); *Anglo-Saxon* (Ireland and the UK) in which financial support is heavily directed to people of working age and the provision of benefits is largely dependent upon regular employment, while trade unions are generally weak (*ibid.*: 5); *Continental* (Austria, Belgium, France, Germany and Luxembourg) who “rely extensively on insurance-based, non-employment benefits and old-age pension”. In these countries unions have remained relatively strong, despite a fall in membership, due to the extended coverage of collective bargaining (*ibid.*:

6); and finally, the *Mediterranean* countries (Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain) who concentrate their social spending on pensions and whose welfare system typically underpins employment protection and early retirement opportunities. Collective agreements cover large parts of the economy (*ibid.*: 6). Through this categorisation Sapir challenges the notion of a European social model, commenting that “there are in reality different European social models, with different features and different performances in terms of efficiency and equity” (*ibid.*: 1). These differences continue to be broadly evident in the national systems and underline the enduring differences that exist within the EU when it comes to social and economic organisation and structures.

Although social policy is essentially a member state competence, there have been notable examples of strengthened EU level cooperation in this area in recent years. For example, the economic and financial crisis led to the process of European economic governance and policy coordination, as detailed in the Europe 2020 Strategy². This strategy initiated the European semester in 2010, which is described as the “annual cycle of coordination and surveillance of the EU’s economic policies” (European Union, 1995-2015) and which includes social policy coordination on issues such as labour market and education and training. In 2017, the European Pillar of Social Rights was proclaimed, which aims to provide “new and more effective rights for citizens” and is structured around three main areas - ensuring equal opportunities and access to the labour market; fair working conditions; and social protection and inclusion (European Union (a), 1995-2018). These developments suggest that there is a political will in the current Commission leadership to give greater attention to the social policy framework at EU level with a view to the further advancement and, to an extent, coordination of national social policies. Nevertheless, these

² Europe 2020: A strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth (2010).

initiatives have not resulted in any legislative action in the field of social policy at EU level.

While it has been observed that there are notable differences in the nature of economic organisation and social models between EU member states, it can be suggested that these variations are situated within a broadly neo-liberal policy framework across the EU. In this regard, Stieglitz (2002: 13) asserts that the IMF and World Bank have played an important role in the overall policy orientation of the present-day EU around a neo-liberal, free market, approach. This is said to be particularly evident in the support that these institutions have provided to the former Soviet countries in CEE as they transition from centrally planned to market-driven economies. Likic-Brboric also suggests that the neo-liberal approach in EU decision-making has “gained the upper hand” (2011: 280) as a result of the provisions set out in the 1986 Single European Act and the 1992 Maastricht Treaty, in which the decision to form an Economic and Monetary Union was enshrined. All of this demonstrates not just the economic orientation of the former communist countries towards free market principles, but also that of the EU, as a bloc of countries, which has, to varying degrees, converged around the principles of free market capitalism. At the same time, differences in national institutional structures, rates of economic growth and the nature and extent of labour market regulation results in enduring variety between EU member states.

The impact of varieties of capitalism on the employer demand for migrant labour

The majority of the economic and socio-economic theories that have been reviewed in this chapter have focused on migration from a developmental perspective and are

predominantly oriented around rural-urban migration within developing countries. However, Piore observes that “the critical factors in understanding the migration process and its evolution over time lie in developed regions” (1979: 17). This point is elaborated by Castles and Miller (2003: 68) who observe that international migration has grown significantly following the end of the Second World War and that the majority of migration has been from developing to developed countries. It is in this context that most of the economic and socio-economic migration theories fail to adequately consider the link between migration and its role in responding to employers’ demand for labour in developed world regions and countries. This will now be explored in the context of the VoC discussion.

Looking at receiving areas, employers could be considered as the labour market actors that are most likely to identify a demand for migrant labour. Anderson and Ruhs (2010: 16) suggest that there are two aspects that need to be taken into account when exploring employers’ demand for migrant labour. The first concerns the relationship between the demand and supply of labour and includes qualitative and quantitative aspects. Starting with the qualitative, it is observed that employers’ demand for workers is shaped by the available supply and that “what employers want can be critically influenced by what employers think they can get from different groups of workers” (*ibid.*: 16). This could include elements such as skills and competences, productivity, flexibility and pacificity. The extent to which such characteristics are required by employers is likely to depend on the nature of the work. From this, there could be a particular demand for, and concentration of, migrant workers in certain sectors and occupations, as observed in the discussion on cumulative causation theory. It is also noted that labour supply adapts to employers’ demand (*ibid.*: 16). This might see people that are not active in the labour market

undertake further education and training that prepares them for work in certain sectors or occupations.

There are also times when employers' demand for migrant labour occurs as a result of a quantitative shortage of available indigenous workers. There are several ways in which this could be said to occur. One example is during times of increased production when additional labour is required to sustain growth over a prolonged period, such as during the 1950s and 1960s in western Europe (Hampshire, 2013: 18). Another example is in response to the retirement or lower productivity of older workers (Castles and Miller, 2003: 82). Research conducted by the European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training (2016) has projected that around 14 out of every 15 job openings in the EU between 2015 and 2025 will be to replace retiring workers. It is suggested that there is a particularly high replacement demand for workers in business and other services; distribution and transport; and non-marketed services. A final example is those sectors where employers may experience an anticipated seasonal demand for workers, such as in the agricultural sector, which can be addressed through temporary recruitment (Harzig *et al.*, 2009: 67).

The EU principle of the free movement of people provides a framework within which workers can freely move among the member states according to their own choices and where they believe they have the best chance of securing employment, such as where there is an employer demand for workers, or to improve their lifestyle. In this respect, choices can be made at the level of the individual or the family unit, as per the neo-classical and new economics of labour migration theories. While the individual approach may be considered to account for the majority of present-day migratory movements within the EU,

it is also important to note that, in some instances, private recruitment agencies directly source labour from other European countries in response to a specific employer demand (CIPD, 2013: 16). Therefore, the decision to migrate and where to move to can be influenced and facilitated by external actors and may not solely lie in the hands of the individual.

It has been noted that one of the results of the transition from welfare to free market capitalism is greater labour market flexibility and this was highlighted as one of the main features of LMEs in Hall and Soskice's (2001) framework. Indeed, it can be noted that companies want a degree of flexibility to allow them to respond to changes in the economic environment or fluctuations in demand for goods and services (BusinessEurope, 2012: 2). To help achieve this, a variety of contractual arrangements are considered to be important as is flexibility within those contracts (*ibid.*: 5). This includes the use of agency workers that are hired on temporary contracts (Recruitment and Employment Confederation, 2008: 13). The use of temporary agency workers is likely to vary from sector to sector depending on its nature. For example, it could be considered that sectors that typically involve a high degree of seasonality, such as hotels and catering, agriculture and food manufacturing are more likely to utilise temporary agency workers than others. It might also be the case that agency workers are particularly prevalent within certain occupations in these sectors. Another consideration for employers is that non-permanent, flexible workers are less likely to be members of a trade union or covered by collective agreements (Scheele, 2002), which suggests that managers have greater freedom to exercise their prerogative in these circumstances.

Morris (2016: 15) asserts that migrant workers are likely to make up a significant proportion of temporary agency workers. There are several possible reasons for this. One could be that agency work may be a way to get a foothold on the labour market for newly arrived or lower skilled migrants. Another could be that the temporary nature of some jobs may suit those migrants that only intend to stay in their host country for a limited period of time or who wish to be mobile within that country. In both respects it could be inferred that migrant workers have the potential to help meet employers' quantitative demand for labour.

The discussion up to now has looked at the relationship between the demand and supply of labour. The second, and related, strand to consider when looking at the employer demand for labour is public policies, which covers, for example, welfare, restructuring, the availability of public training programmes and the nature and operation of the benefits system, such as the extent to which it incentivises people to be in, or return to, work (Ruhs and Anderson, 2010: 42). If appropriate public policies are not in place this could result in a lack of working-age people in the labour market from among the indigenous pool of workers. This might include women who left employment to have children and have not returned or others that had to leave work or reduce their hours for health reasons and have not returned to their previous levels of engagement. As concerns welfare systems, it could be that they do not provide enough incentive to encourage the unemployed to be in work, such as in instances whereby people are no better off by being in work, in terms of the income they receive, than if they had continued to claim benefits. This is likely to be particularly relevant for temporary and low-paid work (*ibid.*: 25) and is considered to create a demand for migrant workers (Devitt, 2011: 589). All of this fuels, what could be referred to as, a structural demand for migrant labour, which results from the organisation,

regulation and nature of national economies and labour markets and the role played by public policies and industrial relations actors.

Drawing together elements associated with the relationship between labour demand and supply and public policies and seeing it in the context of the regulatory environment and the discussion of VoC, Ruhs and Anderson refer to the notion that there are “system effects”, which cannot be controlled by individual employers or workers and which provide the regulatory framework, institutional structures and economic and social policy environment that they operate within (2010: 42). Specifically, it is commented that these effects are “interdependent and dynamic and, together with the overall macro-economic environment, have important impacts on the behaviours and incentives of employers and workers” (*ibid.*: 17). One such outcome is that employers may be more likely to recruit migrant workers, whether this is out of choice or necessity, taking into account the availability of indigenous workers. For example, “some systems may encourage the emergence and entrenchment” (*ibid.*: 42) of worker shortages among the indigenous population.

A final point to mention in relation to the demand for labour is the impact of technology. When employers are operating in an environment in which there is a relatively large supply of labour, they are more likely to utilise production technologies that are labour intensive (Ruhs and Anderson, 2010: 38). Conversely, if the supply of labour is limited there may be greater reliance on technology. Under the first scenario it could be suggested that migrants may play a role in helping to meet the demand for workers, or at least in sustaining a large pool of labour. Related to the second scenario Ruhs and Anderson comment that

mechanisation may reduce the demand for labour, but its social impacts might mean that the remaining jobs are less desirable (for example, because they involve more isolated work roles, or are de-skilled and standardised) and therefore less likely to be attractive to nationals. Also they might require an increased supply of skilled labour not immediately available from the national workforce (*ibid.*: 38).

This suggests that mechanisation may result in a specific demand for migrant workers to occupy low skilled, less desirable jobs that indigenous workers do not want to fill, in which case there is a quantitative demand for migrant labour. In parallel, it is also asserted that migrants may help to address employers' qualitative demand for skilled workers.

In considering the employer demand for labour in relation to the economic and socio-economic theories it could be said that migration incidence is impacted, to a greater or lesser extent, by several key factors and/or associated with the following characteristics. These are: employment opportunities and not just the potential for work and higher wages; inter-connectedness between people and places; increasing the supply of labour to meet employers' skills needs and/or to lower wages; and that migration fosters the need for more migration in certain sectors and occupations leading to a structural demand for migrant workers. Several of these points overlap with the spheres that comprise Hall and Soskice's (2001) framework, even though their work is not specifically discussed in relation to migration and migrant workers.

Firstly, employment opportunities and the nature of the employment relationship, including whether there is an emphasis on industry or company-specific skills and long-term contracts, as in a CME, or a flexible workforce that moves between companies and locations, as in a LME, are important features of industrial relations systems and practices.

It follows that the extent to which there is a qualitative and/or quantitative demand for labour within a given national labour market could be viewed as having a notable influence on the nature and extent of labour migration. Therefore, it could be inferred that labour migration, whether within a national labour market or between national labour markets, could be considered more likely when a country displays the characteristics associated with a LME as opposed to a CME. This is because labour mobility is more structurally embedded in company and industrial relations practices in LMEs. From this it might also be postulated that LMEs, or those economies that are more flexible and less regulated, have a stronger demand for migrant workers than those displaying the opposite features, as was discussed earlier through reference to Devitt (2011: 568).

It has been noted that Germany, an example of a CME, has introduced a minimum wage. Since 2016 this has been determined by a Minimum Wage Commission, which involves a range of experts, including from trade unions and employers' organisations (Fric, 2016: 11). Therefore, it could be postulated that migrant workers do not force wages down, as such, although a large labour market presence of migrant workers might be considered to reduce the speed at which the minimum wage increases. In this respect Meardi *et al.* observe that, in relation to the impact of A8 migration "real wages had already been stagnant in western Europe for a while, and unions declining, so there was no urgent need for EU employers to import foreign labour to stop wage or union growth" (2012: 8).

A final point concerns inter-connectedness, which was discussed in relation to globalisation; transport; communications; flows of goods, services and knowledge; and the movement of people on a cross-country level. This could be considered as featuring in both the CME and LME perspectives in the form of the extent to which workers move between

companies and help to disseminate new technologies. It could also be inferred that growing inter-connectedness helps to foster migration.

This discussion of the political-economic factors affecting migration has observed that national political, economic, and social practices and traditions shape industrial relations systems and that these in turn account for, and are shaped by, differences in the management and characteristics of capitalist economies. The VoC concept has been used to structure this discussion, which has aimed to draw connections between several aspects of the economic and socio-economic migration theories within a political economy approach. It has also been used to explore issues associated with employers' demand for labour.

Social transformation perspective

Having discussed the respective economic, socio-economic and political-economic oriented theories and factors, this section explores the social transformation perspective. This could be viewed as bringing together some of the issues that have been discussed thus far into a contemporary general theory of migration.

Castles suggests that migration can best be understood in a conceptual framework that is based on contemporary society and is “capable of accommodating all the factors and interactions that shape a given migratory process” (2010: 1575). Although it is recognised that such an approach is very broad and will involve a number of complex and diverse factors, including the nature of national industrial relations systems, these are to be seen in the setting of globalisation and greater inter-connectedness between nation states and

political, economic and social policies (*ibid.*: 1576). This perspective is about looking at the significant changes to the way in which society is organised and the impact that they have on political, economic and strategic relationships. Subsequently, an analysis of migration that takes these relationships into consideration could help to explain links between the movement of people and global changes (*ibid.*: 1576).

The re-shaping of economic and political relationships is viewed as having consequences for social relationships and social transformation in developed countries can result from social adaptation and restructuring. For example, this is evidenced in “the closure of older industries, restructuring of labour forces, erosion of welfare states and decline of traditional working-class communities. Combined with demographic change...and requirements for labour for new types of service industries, this leads to demand for migrant labour” (*ibid.*: 1580). This demand is said to be underpinned by changes to the nature of employment, which has become increasingly oriented around temporary and casual work as well as subcontracting (*ibid.*: 1580). It can be inferred that these are the structural characteristics that were alluded to in the earlier discussion of world systems theory in which it was also observed that certain economically developed countries display a strong demand for immigrant labour (Massey, 1993: 446).

It could be further suggested that the demand for migrant labour is based on the need for a flexible work force, both quantitatively and qualitatively, and that migrant workers could be well placed to meet employers’ needs in this respect. In this vein, it is commented that economic deregulation, and associated employer practices resulting from labour market deregulation, have led to the creation of a range of different types of employment relationships, including some that are of a more informal nature, as was noted above. Such

conditions in developed countries are considered to attract migrant workers, particularly from less-developed countries, which also enacts a social transformation in sending countries (*ibid.*: 1580). This again highlights the notion of a structural demand for migrant labour in advanced economies and this will be elaborated in the next chapter through a historical look at migration patterns in Europe. This demand also suggests a more fundamental change in economic and social structures in developed countries, which impacts upon labour market structure and the role and status of migrant workers in receiving countries. Indeed, Castles argues that the restructuring of the labour force results in the segmentation of labour markets in which “people’s chances of getting jobs depend not only on their human capital (i.e. their education and skills) but also on gender, race, ethnicity, origins and legal status” (*ibid.*: 1582).

The exact nature of social transformation will vary from country to country. This is explained by the notion of diversity under the umbrella of globalisation. Castles comments that “social transformation processes are mediated by local historical and cultural patterns through which people develop varying forms of agency and resistance” (*ibid.*: 1576). It could be inferred that, in the global context, local might also mean national and regional. These patterns include rural-urban and international migration. It could also be suggested that within the historical patterns, and recalling the importance of historical context, a key feature would be the nature of national industrial relations systems.

While industrial relations are evident in individual enterprises, Dunlop’s (1958: 8) definition of an industrial relations system (see above) demonstrates a broader scope. This is certainly the case when compared with a human resources approach, which is solely focused on individual companies and enterprises (*ibid.*: 9). Drawing together these

elements, it can be noted that although there are differences in industrial relations between enterprises, industries and countries, there are also similarities that derive from the environmental factors of technology, labour, product markets and government regulations (*ibid.*: 9). Political and economic orientations at national and, to an extent, supra-national level also play a significant role in shaping industrial relations systems and this will be elaborated in chapter four. For the time being it can be observed that these elements lead Dunlop to state that “The characteristics of a national industrial relations system, including the status and the relations among the actors, are seen to be influenced by the historical time of its emergence and by the sequence of its national, political and industrial ‘revolutions’” (*ibid.*: 232).

Summary

This chapter has reviewed what have been identified in the literature as the core factors and theories about why people, specifically workers, migrate. Through focusing on labour migration, it has been seen that economic factors, such as a desire to earn more and improve the standard of living, appear to be fundamental drivers behind the decision to migrate. This can be a pro-active movement or a reactive response to perceived risks. This is to be seen in the context of an individual’s or family’s socio-economic situation in their place of origin and the perceptions and expectations that they may have for improving this if they were to migrate. Furthermore, it is important to consider the political-economic factors that impact upon migration, not only in terms of the ability that a person has to migrate and where they migrate to, but also the labour market opportunities that they have in the place of destination, within which employers’ demand for labour is a crucial issue.

The purpose of this chapter was to analyse the migration theories most commonly identified in the literature as being relevant to researching labour migration. In doing so, the intention was to develop an understanding about why people migrate, to assess to what extent the employer demand for labour is a determining factor in this process and to identify a theoretical framework for the study. However, the ‘traditional’ migration theories that have been reviewed in this chapter do not provide a comprehensive understanding about why people migrate in a context that is applicable for this research and its focus on the role played by European migrant workers moving (with settlement rights) between developed European economies. This is because the economic and socio-economic theories that have been reviewed appear to be primarily written from a development-oriented perspective and to focus on migration within developing countries. They do not often consider international or cross-border migration or movements between developed countries, nor the demand for (migrant) labour to any significant extent. Therefore, it is necessary to supplement the theoretical points that have been highlighted in this chapter with an analysis of historical patterns of migration into, and within, Europe. This will be the focus of the next chapter with a view to identifying an appropriate theoretical framework for the research.

However, it should also be noted that one of the central themes pervading this chapter is that capitalism has been, and continues to be, the dominant form of global economic organisation. Within this the notion of different VoC has been explored in conjunction with the globalisation process, the role of nation states and the differing nature of national industrial relations systems, which in turn impact upon the nature and extent of labour market regulation and employers’ demand for migrant labour. This theme is important in

considering the comparative nature of this research into Sweden and the UK and will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

The notion of core and periphery is another theme that recurs throughout the chapter and in several ways. This includes where people might migrate from and to, whether in the context of urban and rural areas or between developing and developed countries. The core-periphery concept has also been addressed in relation to differences in the labour market opportunities and status of migrant and indigenous workers and there have been several references to the notion of labour market segmentation. Again, this is a key theme of the research and will be returned to in chapter five.

3. The history of European migration patterns

Introduction

This chapter will build on the previous theoretical discussion by looking at the history of European migration patterns. In doing so it seeks to provide an evidence-based perspective as to why people migrate and the role that economic, political and social factors play in this respect. In particular, it will explore the employer demand for labour and the extent to which migrant workers help to meet this demand through reference to the roles that they perform and their labour market status. This will be exemplified through specific reference to Sweden and the UK. In turn, it will elaborate points made in the previous chapter around the notion of labour market segmentation and will conclude that a more detailed analysis of segmentation theory is required in order to identify an appropriate theoretical framework for answering the research question.

The chapter begins by presenting an historical perspective on migration and charts how migration trends have developed as a result of industrialisation and a change in emphasis away from rural-rural and rural-urban migration to international relocation. The chapter is then divided into three approximate time periods. The first looks at post-Second World War reconstruction and the employer demand for labour in western European countries between 1945-1959. This period also includes the advent of European cooperation and the principle of the free movement of workers, which has provided a framework for intra-European migration among EU members states. This paves the way for the subsequent section that covers the period 1960-1999 and which explores the restrictions that began to be applied in the 1960s and 1970s on migrant workers wishing to enter western Europe in

light of a decline in economic growth. The changing nature of migration patterns in Europe will be considered, notably the re-orientation around the flow of non-European asylum seekers and migrants taking part in family reunification. Additionally, there will be a look at geo-political developments in eastern Europe in the late 1980s and early 1990s and their impact on intra-European migration. The final part focuses on the period from 2000 to the present day. Particular attention will be paid to the EU accession of eight CEE countries known as the A8³ in 2004 and of Bulgaria and Romania, known as the A2, in 2007. This will include an overview of the positions taken by the existing member states (the EU15⁴), in terms of granting labour market access to A8 and A2 nationals and will be analysed in the context of their demand for labour and the labour market opportunities for migrant workers entering the EU15 member states.

From pre-industrial times to industrialisation and the impact on migration

Migration, Borkert *et al.* suggest “is not a new phenomenon: human beings have always been moving to other places, other regions and other countries” (2006: 1), while Hill comments that “migration is as old as man” (1970: 1). Viewing migration from such a broad perspective is beyond the scope of this study. However, in attempting to build on some of the theoretical perspectives that were considered in the previous chapter, notably around economic development and capitalism as the dominant form of economic organisation, it is relevant to explore the historical dimension of migration in the framework of industrialisation in Europe. This will help to provide context for the

³ Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia.

⁴ Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Netherlands, UK.

subsequent focus on post-Second World War migration in Europe, which is the first reference point for this study, and thereafter for researching migration in the present day.

It was observed in the previous chapter that it was from approximately the sixteenth century that economies in Europe began to move from a peasant, subsistence, way of life to production for profit, which started with agricultural capitalism (Wallerstein, 1974: 399). Therefore, this can be termed a pre-industrial time, occurring between approximately 1650-1750, when seen in the context of the other stages of industrialisation (Moch, 2003: 3). During this time, migration was localised and movements were predominantly between rural areas as people moved in search of work in agriculture, harvest teams or to marry and acquire land. The majority of rural production was for local markets and local consumption, while capital was concentrated in the larger cities (*ibid.*: 3).

The relatively localised nature of migration can be explained, in part, with reference to the foundation of the employment relationship on the “master and servant” agreement (Selznick, 1969: 122). Such agreements were a central aspect of the employment relationship in Britain up to the end of the nineteenth century and were particularly utilised in agricultural-based economies (*ibid.*: 123). Under this relationship a worker would live as a member of the master’s household for one year (*ibid.*: 123). Young men and women from poor backgrounds who were not in a position where they could afford to rent or own land themselves were especially likely to relocate for these purposes (Moch, 2003: 35). This associates migration with the advancement of economic and living conditions. Aside from the migration-related aspects of these agreements, it can also be noted that this elementary relationship between the master and servant evolved to provide the basis for

modern day employment contracts and the responsibilities of employees and employers (Anderman, 2000: 39).

Following on from this, regional centres began to emerge in Europe around the end of the 1700s with advances in rural industrial production. Such centres encouraged the inflow of workers and traders from the surrounding area (Moch, 2003: 3), while the rural migration patterns that were noted in the pre-industrial period continued to be relevant (*ibid.*: 61). Population increase accompanied by a rise in the number of people dependent on waged work, rather than being land owners, served to increase migration to rural industrial centres. During this period capital spread out to these centres while the urban labour force processed the produce from the rural industries to make it ready for market (*ibid.*: 62).

This was the precursor for the third historic period of migration from approximately the early 1800s, which was largely characterised by the process of industrialisation and the development of machine production, which created a demand for workers in labour intensive, urban-based industries (Moch, 2003: 4). This led to a move away from the independent local and regional craft industries to more standardised factory production (Pollard, 1996: 374). This was a key feature of the industrial revolution that started in Britain around the mid-1800s and saw it become the world's leading manufacturing nation throughout most of the nineteenth century (Cameron and Larry, 2003: 220). Britain's manufacturing success was based on an abundant supply of coal that provided the power that was needed for industrial production, while allowing for a surplus to be created for export. The iron, textiles and engineering industries were also the foundations on which industrial development was built (*ibid.*: 220-221). It could be said that, among others, Britain's colonies provided a reliable market to export to. In continental Europe, Belgium

is considered the forerunner in industrialisation from the mid-1850s. Its close proximity to Britain and its existing cloth and metal industries, combined with a large supply of natural resources, especially coal, allowed it to follow the British model with notable success (*ibid.*: 227). Although geographically much further away from Britain, the US also benefited from the industrialisation process in Britain to the extent that by 1890 it had become “the world’s foremost industrial nation” (*ibid.*: 227). Industrialisation in the US was not only down to the development of the cotton industry and the manufacture of products, but the ability to transport these goods. Central to this was the development of the railways, which were initially dependent on British technology and capital as well as the import of British rails (*ibid.*: 226).

The industrial revolution saw migration develop in several ways. On the one hand, people flocked to urban industrialised centres and away from rural areas. However, a significant labour supply was still needed to maintain rural production, albeit on a more seasonal basis (Moch, 2003: 4). Additionally, Musson (1982: 240) observes that in Britain in the 1850s a significant number of what were termed ‘industrial’ workers were actually craftsmen operating out of small workshops and, therefore, not in large-scale factory industries. Pollard also notes that despite the industrial revolution and the development of urban factory production, “there were still large areas of the economy which had a traditional shape, including small-scale handicraft industry, rural industry and possibly peasant agriculture, which survived side by side with modern factories and mines and the associated transport sector” (Pollard, 1996: 372). This builds on the discussion in the previous chapter in which it was noted that industrial capitalism in Europe developed alongside agricultural capitalism (Wallerstein, 1974: 400), albeit that industrial capitalism progressively took on the greater significance.

In Europe, Belgium provides a good example of the way in which migrant workers responded to, and helped to strengthen, the industrialisation process. Owing to its geographical location, Belgium attracted entrepreneurs from France and the Netherlands that came to utilise its natural resources. Skilled workers and entrepreneurs were also attracted from Britain bringing with them their know-how and experiences (Cameron and Larry, 2003: 227). This contributed to making Belgium the forerunner in industrialisation in continental Europe. In turn, as industrialisation began to reach its peak in Europe around the end of the 1800s the US provided an attractive destination for substantial numbers of European migrant workers who were needed to complement the American population in the drive towards industrialisation. The majority of these migrants initially came from north-western Europe followed by Italy and eastern European countries (*ibid.*: 224). Consequently, it can be seen that through exploring the subsequent stages of economic development from pre-industrial to industrial times an explicit link can be drawn between the location of capital and the need for labour and the migration patterns that arise from this. Notably, the scope of migration has changed from movements between regions and within countries from rural to urban areas, to cross-country migration within Europe and further a-field (Moch, 2003: 5). In summarising the industrial revolution, Pollard comments that

at its heart were technical innovations, new machines and processes, which greatly reduced the costs of, and increased the output, of commodities produced. These, in turn, required large concentrations of men and capital, new forms of organisation and employment, a labour force of a different composition and with different skills and training. The process was usually accompanied by a rapidly rising population which was drawn into cities and

towns and therefore posed its own challenges of consequential technical and organisational change (1996: 386-387).

This helps to convey the wider social changes that industrialisation brought about, notably in relation to the impact on, and development of, migration patterns and employment organisation. It could also serve as an example of Castles' social transformation perspective (see chapter two) in which migration was discussed in relation to substantial changes in "global, political, economic and social relationships" (Castles, 2010: 1566).

The last point to mention in this initial elaboration of the development of migration begins with the start of the First World War in 1914. It has been seen in the previous periods that migration was taking place relatively freely and at different levels (local, regional, national) within and, increasingly, between countries. This can be attributed to growing possibilities for international trade and travel (Temin, 2002: 10). However, the war years saw the disruption of this relatively free movement of goods and capital (*ibid.*: 10). Consequently, it has been suggested that the First World War acted as a catalyst for a greater role for nation states in regulating the movement of people (Moch, 2003: 161). In this respect Moch observes that

the regulation of immigration and foreign labour that intensified during World War I with the institution of offices, mechanics, and ideologies of labour recruitment and control would become a hallmark of the twentieth century. Moreover, the status of foreigners became more salient in questions of citizenship, judicial rights, suffrage and political discussion (*ibid.*: 161).

Although the inter-war years were initially characterised by stagnation in the movement of people this gave way, in time, to a period of “migration in great numbers” (Moch, 2003: 162) both within and into Europe after the Second World War and in response to the need for additional labour. Moreover, such migration was not only initiated by employer recruitment but also through bilateral agreements negotiated between governments, such as was the case between Germany and Turkey (*ibid.*: 162). In other cases, for example France and the UK, colonial ties facilitated the migration of non-European migrant workers into Europe (Stalker, 2002: 157). These examples will be elaborated in subsequent sections of this chapter.

This overview of industrial development and its impact on migration has reinforced the notion arising from the previous chapter about the importance of economic factors in driving migration. Elaboration of the different phases of migration, initially in pre-industrial times and then, primarily, during and after the peak periods of industrialisation and up to the world wars, has also helped to provide context to the previous theoretical discussions about rural-rural and rural-urban migration and the transition from mainly agricultural capitalism to predominantly industrial capitalism. It has also been useful for looking at migration within and between developed, industrialising, countries and not only within developing countries, as was the primary focus of the majority of the theories that were reviewed in the previous chapter. Notably, it could be said that one of the consequences of industrialisation was that migration increasingly involved cross-border international movements between developed countries in addition to those between rural and urban areas. This could help to explain why it is only in more recent theories, such as the social transformation perspective, that cross-border migration features significantly and

reflects economic developments, notably the moves towards a global economy and the wider globalisation process.

Further, it can be argued that the years following the Second World War represent an important time for studying migration. This is not only because of the extent to which people were moving between countries, but also with regard to the political, economic and social infrastructures that set the framework for migration and which have gone on to influence its regulation in Europe thereafter. In seeking to convey a picture of post-war European migration patterns, three main time periods can be derived from a review of the literature. These are approximate and have been identified as follows: 1945-1959; 1960-1999; and 2000-present day. Analysing migration patterns in this way will help to demonstrate the relevance, during any given period, of the economic, political and social factors and their impact upon migration.

1945 – 1959

This period covers the initial post-war years when, although political settlement had been achieved, there was the significant displacement and relocation of people, notably in parts of eastern Europe, and an associated flow of refugees into western Europe. It is also the time that saw sustained economic growth between roughly the mid-1950s and late 1960s and even into the early 1970s. The role played by migrant workers in fuelling and sustaining this growth will be elaborated. This period is also important for exploring the origins of European integration, including the free movement of workers, which is one of the founding principles of European integration.

Political settlement, yet social upheaval, displacement and relocation

The displacement of people during the war years and the redrawing of boundaries following the end of the hostilities resulted in a significant number of people having nowhere to call home (Stalker, 2002: 152). In particular, boundary changes between Germany, Poland and what was then Czechoslovakia contributed to the relocation of people that had been living in these countries. For example, the scale of migration was so extensive that by 1950 refugees made up 30 per cent of the population of West Germany (*ibid.*: 152). Furthermore, parts of the German territory were re-allocated to the Soviet Union and Poland by the Potsdam post-war settlement⁵ and this resulted in additional displacement and saw an estimated nine million Germans move to West Germany between 1945 and 1960 (Peach, 1997: 271). Prior to the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961 it is also estimated that a further three million people had moved from east to west Germany since the end of the Second World War (*ibid.*: 271). In total, by 1959 in the region of 900,000 European refugees are thought to have been absorbed by west European countries (Wasserstein, 2009).

The number of refugees, and the political and social consequences that arose from their displacement, led to international action. This started with the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which guaranteed that “everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution” (United Nations, 1948). In 1950 the United Nations High Commission for Refugees was established and the 1951 Geneva Convention

⁵ The Potsdam conference was a tripartite meeting of UK Prime Minister Winston Churchill (replaced during the conference by Clement Atlee following the UK general election); US President Harry Truman; and the Leader of the Soviet Union Joseph Stalin. The conference discussed a number of issues, including the demarcation of post-war boundaries in eastern Europe, which were set out in the Potsdam Agreement (Encyclopaedia Britannica Online, 2015).

on Refugees⁶ went on to define refugees and accord them specific rights, and prohibited their forcible return from countries of refuge (Wasserstein, 2009). These provisions provided the basis for subsequent international agreements on fundamental human rights. In particular, a 1967 Protocol to the original Convention extended the scope of the agreement beyond European countries to the global level as well as removing the time restriction that tied the Convention to people that were suffering from the events in Europe before 1 January 1951 (United Nations, 2011: 4). It also provided the basis for the EU's common asylum policy, which has been continuously developing since its inception in 1999 (European Commission, 2018). Notably, the Convention provided a commonly understood definition of a refugee that was applied on a global level (for those countries that are party to these documents). Equally, a definition of an asylum seeker has also been elaborated and is recognised internationally.

As the previous chapter demonstrated, a person may migrate for a number of reasons, which could be economic, political, social or involve various combinations of these three factors. It can also be recalled that Peach (1997: 269) highlighted socio-political factors, namely the claiming of asylum and refugee status, as a driver of migration. In this sense, while being a refugee or asylum seeker involves moving to another country, the essence of such a move is about escaping persecution, whereas the term 'migration' is commonly understood to refer to a wider number of reasons, including, inter alia, to find work or for

⁶ The 1951 Refugee Convention states that a refugee is someone who "owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it" (United Nations, Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees, Communications, 1951: 14).

"Asylum seekers are people who move across borders in search of protection, but who may not fulfill the strict criteria laid down by the 1951 Convention. Asylum seeker describes someone who has applied for protection as a refugee and is awaiting the determination of his or her status" (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, 2015).

family reunification (United Nations, 2011: 3). Furthermore, the distinction also carries different connotations when viewed from a status and rights perspective for while a migrant is still protected by the government of their country of origin, this is not the case for refugees and asylum seekers (*ibid.*: 3).

Post-war reconstruction and economic growth

While it has been seen that the post-war political settlement led to disruption and relocation, economic factors can be regarded as being equally, if not more, prominent in fostering migration on a voluntary basis during this period. For example, without intending to refer to exact figures, which may be difficult to validate, Castles and Kosack observe that “since 1945, millions of people migrated from the under-developed parts of southern Europe, Africa, Asia, and the Americas to western Europe, in search of employment and better living standards” (1985: 25). This helps to convey, to some degree, the significance of labour migration in the post-war period up until around the beginning of the 1980s and sets the scene for discussing economic growth and the demand for labour in Europe at this time.

Eichengreen (1995: 3) observes that the destruction and relocation of industrial production facilities and severed transport links during the Second World War hit western Europe’s production capacity hard, making it difficult to attain pre-war levels of output in the immediate post-war period. However, there are several key, and inter-related, aspects that could be considered as being more fundamentally associated with determining the pace of economic growth in Europe in the post-war period that came to be known as Europe’s “golden age” (Toniolo, 1998: 252).

Toniolo comments that “almost all the national European economies experienced the golden age, regardless of their political regimes” (1998, 256). Nevertheless, the extent to which this was the case differed from country to country and appears to have not only been associated with the consequences of the wars, but also the level of economic development, i.e. industrialisation, that had been experienced prior to 1914. In this regard, Temin comments, that “neither wartime destruction nor long-run conditional convergence were as important as the misallocation of resources in explaining differences between growth rates in western Europe at this time” (2002: 15). What Temin refers to as the “misallocation of resources” is the emphasis that was put on agricultural production relative to industrial production, and the extent to which individual countries had industrialised prior to the start of the First World War. It is suggested that the world wars disrupted the industrialisation process in Europe, which led to a situation of divergence come the end of the Second World War and a so-called “developmental deficit” (*ibid.*: 11) in parts of Europe with some countries more industrially advanced than others. This was particularly pronounced when compared to the situation in the USA, whose industrial base had remained largely unaffected by the wars in Europe, and so its transition from agricultural to industrial capitalism was relatively unhindered (*ibid.*: 11).

At the same time, Germany is an example of a country in which agricultural production retained significant economic and political importance after the war. Between 1950-1970 German agricultural production contributed to a rate of economic growth that was 1.2 per cent higher than the UK, whose economy was more focused on industrial production (Temin, 2002: 15). That agricultural production continued to be such an important part of the German economy was not necessarily down to choice, but a consequence of the post-war political settlement and the Potsdam Agreement. This Agreement stated that “in

organising the German economy, primary emphasis shall be given to the development of agriculture and peaceful industries” while “the production of metals, chemicals, machinery...shall be rigidly controlled and restricted” (Potsdam Agreement, 1945). Such measures were applied so as to prevent Germany from reaching a position from which it could engage in further conflicts. Therefore, it can be seen that growth during this period was dependent upon the nature of a country’s economy, its natural resources and political decisions and post-war policies.

A broader comparison of Europe and the US shows the importance of industrialisation and the development in the US of mass production practices, as introduced by the Ford motor company shortly before the start of the First World War (Toniolo, 1998: 259). These techniques are considered to have played a fundamental role in achieving economies of scale. However, in Europe, Britain, then the wealthiest European country, only introduced Fordist production practices in the 1920s, while it was into the 1930s before they were implemented in France and Germany and in all cases the world wars hindered their development (*ibid.*: 259). These examples help to exemplify the different post-war starting points, according to the extent of industrialisation, and how this affected the nature and pace of economic growth within Europe and between Europe with the US.

While the extent of industrial development in determining the level of national post-war economic growth could be viewed as a point of divergence between countries, certain economic and labour market factors could be regarded as a source of convergence and explain why Europe experienced a sustained spell of economic growth, even though the exact nature of this growth varied from country to country. Notably, Toniolo observes that

high investment rates were instrumental to the transfer of technology; exports provided the necessary scale economies through rapidly expanding markets; abundant labour eased both the swift reallocation of manpower to technologically advanced industries and moderation in wage setting; demand management stabilised expectations and thus reinforced the investment drive (1998: 257).

That these factors are considered to have facilitated strong economic growth in the post-war period is attributed to the circumstances that Europe found itself in at this time and which enabled European countries to close the “industrialisation deficit” with the US (Toniolo, 1998: 257). These circumstances are noted as being “a relatively favourable ratio of human to physical capital; the matching of the then transferable technology to the emerging demand pattern; the solution of the stability issue; and the creation of a set of apt institutions, partly resulting from the so-called post-war settlement” (*ibid.*: 258). The reference to stability is said to concern the end of the uncertainty that engulfed economic prosperity in Europe since the start of the First World War in 1914 and the nature of industrial relations that was largely based on tripartite cooperation by the end of the Second World War (*ibid.*: 262). Indeed, Crouch comments that “for a period there seemed almost complete convergence...on a model of tight tripartite co-operation, with centralised organisations of capital and labour establishing elaborate industrial relations institutions and sharing political influence” (1993: 177). The role of such tripartite co-operation is also noted as important for ensuring wage moderation policies were in place, which helped to foster growth and job creation (Temin, 2002: 8).

The demand for (migrant) labour

A key feature among the majority of western European countries at this time was an explicit demand for labour and this became a central factor influencing European migration patterns (Collinson, 1993: 35) and, it could be inferred, economic growth.

It could be suggested that the post-war demand for labour had two dimensions. Firstly, there was a quantitative need to supplement the workforce in western European countries beyond the supply of available indigenous workers. For example, Patterson observed that the UK had a “chronic labour shortage” (1968: 20), which was attributed to losses suffered during the world wars as well as emigration to Commonwealth countries. A longer-term decline in the birth rate was also noted as impacting upon the number of working-age people (Senior, 1957: 303). Similarly, the employer demand for labour in Sweden could not be satisfied with the country’s existing supply of workers and so the Swedish government, with the support of employers and trade unions, adopted policies to attract migrant workers (Rahikainen, 2007: 98). Taking these examples into account and considering the extent of economic growth at the time, Castles and Kosack comment that migrant workers were “a structural necessity for the economies of the receiving countries” in western Europe (1985: 25).

Secondly, it could be considered that increasing the size of the potential workforce through migration could help to ensure wage moderation and foster further growth. At this stage an important observation is that although Toniolo refers to an “abundant labour” (1998: 257) supply in Europe it needs to be noted that there was a large pool of available labour in western Europe as a result of migration. Toniolo failed to directly address the role of

migration in his work, even though it can be inferred that this is a central point and one to which the focus will now turn.

Castles and Kosack (1985: 380) note that significant numbers of migrant workers entered western European countries in the aftermath of the Second World War. Peach (1997: 276) also observes that there were movements between (western) European countries and that between the late 1950s and up to 1973 migration was largely characterised by relatively 'local' movements, such as Irish moving to Britain and Finns moving to Sweden. While such movements can be regarded as local or regional they are also cross-border and this once again helps to demonstrate developments in European migration patterns, especially when compared to the early and pre-industrialisation phases. Providing further analysis of European migration patterns, Castles and Kosack (1985: 45) identify three groupings. The first is Europeans who moved from one relatively highly developed country to another, such as French to Switzerland or Germans to Britain. The second constitutes migrants moving from the less developed European countries to the more developed countries of Europe, such as southern Europeans moving to France and Germany. The final group is migrants from non-European countries, such as West Indians and Asians in Britain, Turks in Germany and North Africans in France.

Beginning with labour movements within Europe, there are several trends that can be highlighted. Firstly, migration in the immediate post-war years was primarily among European countries (Castles and Kosack, 1985: 29). In the case of the UK this included workers who were part of organised recruitment by the British Government under the European Voluntary Workers (EVW) scheme. This initially involved the recruitment of workers from refugee camps and, when demand persisted, from Italy (*ibid.*: 29). The

scheme saw foreign workers engaged in pre-determined roles by the Ministry of Labour with the majority of male workers occupying positions in agriculture, heavy industry or mining (*ibid.*: 29). Food production and transport were also sectors in which EVWs helped to address labour shortages (McDowell, 2009: 22). The conditions were considered to be hard and workers faced the constant threat of expulsion from the country due to misconduct, accidents or ill-health (Castles and Kosack, 1985: 29). In total, around 83,000 workers from Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) came to the UK between 1946 and 1949 under this scheme (McDowell, 2009: 21). Further examples of Europeans coming to work in the UK in the post-war period are Poles, Irish and Hungarians (The National Archives, 1968). Irish nationals were actively recruited to Britain during the Second World War to help sustain the war effort and after the hostilities ended their substantial presence continued to be a feature of the British labour market (Castles and Kosack, 1985: 29). At this point Irish citizens were “free to enter Britain to seek employment, and enjoy the same rights as British citizens” (*ibid.*: 29). There was also a sizeable presence of Poles in Britain, which included former members of the Polish armed forces, their wives and dependents (Patterson, 1968: 21).

A further notable example of intra-European migration is between the Nordic countries of Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden. Within this region the dominant trend was for migration between Finland and Sweden (Rahikainen, 2007: 98). It could be considered that mobility between the Nordic countries was greatly facilitated by their close proximity and linguistic similarities, as was the case for Irish migration to Britain. Intra-Nordic migration was further facilitated by the abolishment of work permits in 1943 for Danish, Finnish and Norwegian citizens that wanted to access the Swedish labour market. The same provisions were applied to Italians from 1949 (*ibid.*: 99). In terms of the type of positions migrant

workers occupied, Rahikainen observes that they “took jobs that the Swedes did not want, such as heavy or low-paid manufacturing work” (2007: 98).

A further development that affected the whole Nordic area was the establishment of the Common Nordic Labour Market (CNLM) in 1954. This enabled Nordic citizens to freely travel to, and work in, each others labour markets without the need for a passport or residence permit (Rahikainen, 2007: 99). As a result, by the late 1970s almost one million people had moved between the Nordic countries, with roughly 40 per cent of movements being Finns migrating to Sweden (Krane, 1979: 10). The creation of the CNLM, the first such market to be created in Europe, can be viewed as one of the institutions of labour migration that developed in the post-war period (Salt, 1976: 93).

Developing the discussion of migrant labour in Europe, it can be seen that beyond the initial post-war years, which were largely characterised by intra-European migration, a second phase of migration involved non-Europeans moving to Europe. This could suggest that employers’ demand for labour was not being satisfied by either the indigenous supply of labour or the pool of migrant workers from other western European and neighbouring countries and that there was a ripple effect that saw a widening of the scope of migration to western Europe over time. For example, between 1950 and 1990 Turkey was the country that provided the largest supply of migrants entering Europe, totalling some 2.5 million people, the majority of whom went to Germany (Peach, 1997: 273). Yugoslavia was the second largest contributor of migrants with 1.5 million people (*ibid.*: 273). In some cases, western European countries actively sought, and in others were a magnet for, migrants from outside of Europe. This can primarily be explained with reference to western European countries that were colonial powers, which was noted in the previous chapter as

a factor that can encourage migration. Therefore, it is necessary to explore the movement of non-Europeans in relation to the links that existed (and continue to exist) between some western European (mother) countries and their Caribbean, Asian and African colonies as a result of colonial rule. Such migration patterns developed because the migrants knew that there was a need for their labour and that due to the political provisions in most ‘mother’ countries at the time they would have the right to residency. France and the UK have been cited as countries that went on to experience substantial inflows of migrants from their former colonies (Stalker, 2002: 157).

In the case of France, the post-war demand for labour was exacerbated by a trend of falling birth rates. To help remedy this and to boost the size of the workforce, citizenship rights were granted to people from parts of the Caribbean that were administratively part of France and also to those from some of the former African colonies (Stalker, 2002: 165). It is also important to note that migration took place as a result of bilateral agreements. For example, the French government initially had such agreements in place for workers from Germany and Italy and then expanded the scope to Tunisia, Senegal and Mali, among others (Peach, 1997: 265-267). Therefore, bilateral agreements were part of a planned approach to labour recruitment (*ibid.*: 276).

In Britain, the largest portion of the foreign workforce in the country since the 1950s was composed of Commonwealth⁷ migrants, notably those from the New Commonwealth countries. This concerned those countries that were former colonies and which now had

⁷ The Commonwealth was created in 1949 and developed out of the British Commonwealth of Nations, which was composed of countries that were “ruled directly or indirectly by Britain” during the time of the British Empire and which after becoming self-governing continued to have the British monarch as the Head of State. Since 1949 the Commonwealth has included nations from Africa, Asia, Europe, the Americas and Pacific region and includes countries with no historical links to the British Empire (The Commonwealth 2015).

Commonwealth status, such as the West Indies, India and Pakistan (Phizacklea and Miles, 1980: 15). People from the Commonwealth were regarded as British citizens and had the right to residency. It could be inferred that Britain had more of an unplanned approach to worker recruitment from non-European countries and did not use bilateral agreements as a means of encouraging labour migration in the same way as France. Nevertheless, this was still an example of state regulation affecting migration.

The labour market status of migrant workers in Britain at this time is also revealing in terms of their importance to the British economy. While it has been established that there was a general quantitative need for migrant workers this can be further specified by noting that migrants, whether from within Europe or further a-field, were, to a large extent, concentrated in the lower-end positions of the labour market. In this respect Studlar comments that “the economy was in need of labour, and the new immigrants were immediately employed in low-paying, unskilled jobs, while the natives moved into higher positions” (1979: 89). Additionally, Senior (1957: 303) observed that established workers in Britain, i.e. the indigenous population, had opportunities to move to higher value, higher output industries where they could earn more, which left the lower value, lower-paid roles vacant and which subsequently began to be filled by newly arriving migrants. Furthermore, Wright notes that the issue was not a general lack of labour, but “a shortage of labourers to do the kind of job which was least attractive to the British worker”, (1968: 43). This demonstrates that there was a specific quantitative demand for migrant labour to fill low level jobs. That migrants were found to occupy such jobs could also be associated with a lack of transferable skills or experience that would enable them to immediately enter a higher level position (Senior, 1957: 304). In particular, Wright (1968: 40) observes that whether or not a migrant had grown up, and worked, in an industrial community was likely

to be a determining factor in terms of having the skills required to enter the British labour market in certain positions and levels.

In addition to addressing the quantitative demand for labour, a sizeable presence of migrant workers in lower-end, comparatively unskilled, positions could also be viewed as a way to help ensure wage moderation. This assertion can be supported through reference to Marx's concept of the "industrial reserve army" (1938: 650). This is described as a pool of surplus labour that can be deployed as demand requires and which exerts pressure on the employed to work harder and longer. Wages are also considered to be affected by the expansion and contraction of the industrial reserve army (*ibid.*: 651). Notably, the larger the pool of available labour, the greater the competition for employment and, therefore, the likelihood that those seeking work will sell their labour power for less money, which would contribute to keeping wage levels down. The opposite is true if the number of people looking for work is limited. It can be recalled that this is the central element of the neo-classical economics theory.

Castles and Kosack (1985: 119) suggest that the industrial reserve army could be composed of migrant workers and used by employers as a means of keeping wages from rising and failing to improve working conditions. The notion of using migrants as a means to avoid improving working conditions is based on the assumption that migrants are willing to accept what would be considered as less conducive conditions by British workers (*ibid.*: 305). The apparent distinction between the labour market status and job opportunities of British and migrant workers raises the notion of a segmented labour market structure, primarily in the manufacturing sector, in which migrants occupy low-paid, low-skilled jobs while indigenous (white British) workers occupy the higher paid,

higher status roles. This returns to the concept of “immigrant jobs” (Massey *et al.*, 1993: 452) and labour market segmentation, which were discussed in relation to the cumulative causation theory and social transformation perspective (see chapter two).

The situation in western Europe between the late 1940s and into the 1970s is neatly summarised by Eichengreen who comments that

ultimately, it was decisions taken at the domestic level, not just by governments but by trade unions, employers associations, households, and firms, that lay at the root of the quarter century of exceptionally rapid economic growth ignited by western Europe’s successful post-war recovery...In turn, stable governments, educated workers, and abundant labour supplies encouraged saving, investment, and wage moderation (1995: 31).

The impact of the migration of non-European workers is examined in the next section, which will explore developments between 1960 and 1999. In particular, it will be seen that migration took on a more political dimension with restrictions beginning to be applied to migrants entering western Europe.

Developments in European integration

The discussion up to now has explored the political and economic circumstances and factors that interact with each other and their (relative) importance when trying to understand and interpret migration patterns. In parallel with these developments, the first steps were taken towards the political and economic integration of European countries.

While significant emphasis was placed on economic prosperity, the twin aim in the aftermath of the two world wars was to ensure political stability and social rights and it has been observed how international agreements began to provide a basis for this. Into the early 1950s attention increasingly focussed on achieving political stability through economic cooperation between European nations. This has been referred to as “an economic means to a political end” (Tsoukalis, 2003: 14). The foundations for this cooperation were laid by the governments of Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and Netherlands in the form of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), which was set up in 1951 (Shaw, 1996: 30). The Community aimed to contribute to economic expansion and to boost employment in the six countries through the development of a common market (Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community, 1951: 15). In particular, the ECSC established a common external tariff for coal and steel between these six countries and “helped to coordinate the principal European countries’ steps towards freer trade and to promote acceptance in France and elsewhere in Europe of Germany’s re-entry into the international economy” (Eichengreen, 1992: 25). From an economic point of view, this cooperation was primarily intended to provide equal terms of access for French steel producers to German coal and for German steel producers to French iron ore (*ibid.*: 24). From a political perspective, the ECSC could be regarded as a mechanism to control Germany’s industrial output, as per the Potsdam Agreement. Indeed, Gillingham (1995: 152) suggests that the main achievement of the ECSC was the political acceptance of Germany’s economic revival and re-integration into the European and global community, while the development of industrial cooperation for economic gain appears to have been a secondary issue. What can be said with some certainty is that the ECSC prepared the ground for further political, economic and, to a degree, social integration in Europe.

Thus, in looking to develop European integration on a broader scale and to strengthen western Europe in the face of a perceived threat from the Soviet Union, the same six countries founded the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1957 (Dicken, 2003: 151). The Treaty of Rome that created the EEC included the provision for the free movement of labour between EEC members (Böhning, 1972: 10). The inclusion of this principle was largely down to Italy's request and seen as a way to overcome its unemployment problems that stemmed from a high labour surplus (Salt, 1976: 95). Enshrining a freedom of movement principle into the Treaty of Rome enabled Italian workers to migrate to north-western European countries where there were established labour shortages (*ibid.*: 95). However, this principle was considered to be for the benefit of all EEC countries and mobility was, and continues to be, seen by the European institutions as a way to promote European integration (Böhning, 1972: 15).

1960 – 1999

The period between 1960 and 1999 saw the continuation of a number of economic, social and political developments from the previous period, as well as new policy orientations.

Putting the brakes on migration to Europe

Between 1945-1960 migration within, and into, Europe resulted from a common demand for migrant labour in western European countries with governments adopting relatively open policies to encourage the inflow of workers. During this period of economic boom seemingly little attention was paid to controlling the level of migration as more people meant higher levels of productivity, economic growth and job creation, which

consequently intensified the need for labour. In Sweden, for example, there was concern in the immediate post-war years that there would not be enough workers to stimulate economic growth, even with the application of what was considered to be a system of “relatively unregulated labour immigration” (Krifors, 2013: 9). Taking a slightly broader perspective, Peach (1997: 273) observes that between 1950-1975 around 12 million workers and their dependents migrated to western Europe. However, just as the economic boom created a demand for (migrant) labour, economic developments in the early-mid 1970s and throughout the 1990s led to a fall in this demand. This can be associated with several different, though inter-linked, elements.

Firstly, it can be recalled that a key reason why countries were said to experience different levels and speeds of economic growth was down to the varying nature of their industrial development before the world wars and how their resources were allocated between agricultural and industrial production after the Second World War. In this regard, Temin comments that “growth slowed in the 1970s and 1980s because the disequilibrium that had generated unusually rapid growth no-longer existed” (2002: 19). It is also observed that “the developmental deficit of a generation was eliminated in a generation (and)...the misallocation of resources had ceased to be a large macro-economic issue by the time of the oil crisis” (*ibid.*: 19). Therefore, it could be inferred that one of the explanations for the slowdown in economic growth was because, at this stage, countries in western Europe could be considered as being on a relatively equal footing, economically speaking, even though some remained better off than others. Thus, with their resources deployed to the maximum that could be achieved, and when there was nothing else that could be done to further their economic advantage, their economies stagnated.

The other key issue is the 1973-74 oil crisis, which Peach (1997: 276) suggests was the primary catalyst for the economic slowdown. This resulted from the Yom Kippur War and saw a rise in oil prices, which particularly affected those countries whose economies were primarily geared towards industrial production (*ibid.*: 276). Considering the longer-term perspective, it might be said that while being a contributory factor, the oil crisis was perhaps not the main reason for the economic decline of the 1970s and 1980s. For instance, it can also be noted that the period between the mid-1970s and early 1990s included recessions in 1973-1975, 1979-1981 and 1990-1992 (Muriel and Sibieta, 2009: 4-6), which demonstrates a prolonged period of economic stagnation that could, potentially, be attributed to more structural issues in western European economies.

Consequently, there was an associated decline in the general demand for labour, and migrant labour in particular. The knock-on effect of which was that the political and social dimensions of migration came to the fore as people continued to move within, and to, Europe at the same time as there was rising unemployment and the growing perception that migrants were regarded by indigenous populations as “undeserving competitors in the market for jobs, housing and welfare benefits” (Collinson, 1993: 4).

The examples that were referred to in the 1945-1959 period reflected the different ways in which countries facilitated the entry of migrant workers. However, when it came to addressing the perceived need to restrict non-European workers entering Europe in the period 1960-1999, Stalker comments that “immigration policies that had been diverse suddenly converged after the oil crisis of 1973-1974” with a lot of European countries passing legislation to restrict immigration (2002: 166). France and Germany are two examples of countries that successfully managed to lower migration, including by

encouraging return migration. In keeping with the concept of the Common Nordic Labour Market, from the 1970s it became the practice in Sweden to first try to address labour shortages through migration from the Nordic countries and only if this was not possible would a work permit be issued to migrants from elsewhere in Europe (Krifors, 2013: 9). In the UK, the so-called “era of unrestricted migration” (Hill, 1970: 3), between 1948 and 1962 resulted in the entry and settlement of approximately 750,000 workers plus their families from the New Commonwealth countries. However, this relative freedom was restricted by the Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1962. This Act limited entry to those with a valid work voucher, authorised students, short-term visitors with means for self-support, and for dependants of entrants, or if joining someone already residing in Britain (*ibid.*: 11). These examples help to convey the extent to which there was a policy reversal in the approach that western European governments took towards labour migration from the 1970s.

In parallel, there was the emergence of new migration patterns that were less about worker migration and more about family reunification and asylum seeking, primarily from eastern Europe and non-European countries (Peach, 1997: 276). Particularly prominent was a reorientation of migration flows into Europe from Africa, Southern Asia and the Mediterranean basin⁸ (Sundseth, 2009: 3). For example, while the number of foreign workers in France and Germany fell between 1973 and 1981, during the same period the total foreign population increased in France from 4,043,000 to 4,148,000 and in Germany from 4,127,000 to 4,630,000 as a result of a rise in the number of family members (Peach, 1987: 36). Furthermore, even though the UK’s Commonwealth Immigration Act (1962) sought to reduce the inflow of migrant workers, access to the country was permitted for

⁸ The Mediterranean basin stretches from Portugal in the east to Lebanon in the west and from Italy in the north to Morocco and Libya in the south. EU Member States wholly or partly in the basin include Cyprus, France, Greece, Italy, Malta, Portugal, Spain (Sundseth, 2009: 3).

dependants of labour entrants and those people joining someone already residing in Britain (Hill, 1970: 11). Thus, there was still the possibility for family members of non-European workers to enter the UK. It could be inferred that western European countries seemingly paid little attention to the issue of family reunification when post-war policy making was primarily associated with economic growth and attracting foreign labour to help stimulate and sustain this.

Asylum seekers and the fall of the Berlin Wall

From the 1980s, western European countries were faced with increasing numbers of asylum seekers (Collinson, 1993: 2). Notably, this included people from eastern Europe, particularly in the years either side of the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 (excluding Germans in the eastern part of the country that moved to the western part of Germany) (Peach, 1997: 277). For example, in 1983 there were just under 60,000 asylum seekers in Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Netherlands, UK and Sweden combined, whereas by 1992 the figure was over 600,000 (Peach, 2002: 29). Germany was the main receiving country and this could, largely, be attributed to its proximity to the eastern European countries (Peach, 1997: 277). Additionally, there were a number of voluntary (resettlement) movements between the countries that formed out of the Soviet Union. In particular, Okólski, observes that between 1991-1997 around ten million people migrated among these countries and that at its “peak in 1994 over one million people flowed into Russia itself from the other former Soviet republics, while nearly a quarter of a million left Russia in the reverse directions” (2000: 331). Furthermore, between 1991 and 1999 there were over one million people from former Yugoslavia who sought refuge in western European countries (Baucic, 1999). Therefore, the collapse of the Soviet Union

and the associated reunification of Germany and the war in the Balkans raised further questions for western European countries about their migration policies. These examples demonstrate the growing political dimension of migration that became apparent in the 1980s and the early 1990s (Collinson, 1993: 5). In turn, it could be inferred that the prospect of additional migration as a result of these political developments in CEE would have caused concern among western European governments, including in view of the intermittent periods of recession throughout the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s (Muriel and Sibieta, 2009: 4-6).

Further steps towards European integration – convergence and divergence

In parallel to the attempts by western European countries, including some of those within the EEC, to prevent large-scale migration into Europe, the continued enlargement and integration of the Community could be seen as increasing the potential for migration among the member states. In the 1970s the EEC grew to nine members with the additions of Denmark, Ireland and the UK and then to 12 countries when Greece, Portugal and Spain joined in the 1980s (Tsoukalis, 2003: 21). In 1995, Austria, Finland and Sweden joined taking the total number of member states to 15 (EU15) (Tsoukalis, 2003: 23). It was noted earlier how the intra-European migration of workers was provided for in the 1957 Treaty of Rome. Developing this further, gradual steps were taken so that by 1968 workers and their families had full freedom of movement among EEC member states (Böhning, 1972: 15). Additionally, there was further economic integration through the creation of the European single market, which created “an area without internal frontiers within which the free movement of goods, persons, services and capital is ensured” (Single European Act, 1987: 227). These developments point towards further integration and convergence and it

could be considered that the successive enlargements of the EEC offered the opportunity for an increase in intra-EEC migration.

Additionally, European integration was strengthened in the 1990s by the Treaty on European Union, which was adopted in Maastricht in 1992 and the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1997. The stated purpose of the Maastricht Treaty was “to prepare for European Monetary Union and to introduce elements of a political union (citizenship, common foreign and internal affairs policy)” (European Union (a), 1995-2015). This saw the EEC become the European Union (EU) (EIRR, 1993: 19). The Maastricht Treaty also advanced the importance placed on European social policy. Although the UK objected to there being a separate social chapter in the Treaty, a Social Policy Protocol was annexed to it, which stated that eleven member States (with the exception of the UK) wished to continue along the path of social integration (European Commission, 1997). These developments included the consultation of representatives of employers and employees on social policy matters and the specific provision that “should management and labour so desire, the dialogue between them at Community level may lead to contractual relations, including agreements” (*ibid.*: 1999). Under a new government in 1997 the UK removed its opposition to a social chapter and this was subsequently included in the 1997 Treaty of Amsterdam as part of a wider approach towards a European employment policy (Lourie, 1997: 5).

While it can be observed that there was a degree of political and, to some extent, economic convergence during this period, it could be said that there is also evidence of economic and social divergence. Firstly, it can be recalled that the previous chapter outlined a grouping of four different types of EU social models among the EU15 – Nordic, Anglo-Saxon, Continental and Mediterranean (Sapir, 2005: 5). Consequently, it could be postulated that

the different stages of enlargement resulted in growing social divergence and that this would have been particularly pronounced in terms of labour market dynamics. This model includes the Mediterranean countries of Greece, Portugal and Spain, which joined the EU (then EEC) during the 1980s, and which could be said to have had a particular impact in creating divergence.

One example of this is in the structure of the Portuguese and Spanish economies, which continued to be heavily oriented around agricultural production and tourism at the time of their accession. It was only upon entering the EEC that their economies really began to develop around industrial production. In this regard, Royo observes that EU membership facilitated a transformation in their economies to “capital-intensive industries requiring greater skills in the labour force but relying on standard technology – e.g. chemicals, vehicles, steel and metal manufacturers” (2007: 32). Therefore, it could be considered that the economies of the southern member states were less developed, in terms of industrial production, than those of the other member states, and particularly of the original six countries, including Italy, whose initial economic cooperation was based on a common market for coal and steel (Eichengreen, 1992: 25).

The extent to which these countries sought structural support from the European level could also be said to exemplify a social and economic gap to the other member states. Notably, the 1986 accession of Portugal and Spain resulted in a more than fifty per cent increase in the number of applications to the European Social Fund⁹ in 1988 compared to 1984 (European Commission, 1988: 4).

⁹ The nature of the fund was adapted in 1988 to take account of the accession of Greece, Portugal and Spain through the introduction of several key principles, including “a focus on the poorest and most backward regions” of the EEC (European Union, 1995-2018).

Finally, divergence could also be identified in relation to both legal and illegal migration and to asylum seekers from outside the European Community coming to Greece, Portugal and Spain (as well as to the long-time EEC member, Italy) from North and Sub-Saharan Africa (Peach, 1997: 279). Thus, while the countries of north-western Europe had been focussing on reducing worker migration and asylum seekers from countries outside of Europe, seemingly little attention had been paid to the potential consequences of expanding the EEC's southern borders where immigration controls were less advanced (*ibid.*: 279). Additionally, the inclusion of the Mediterranean countries in the EEC meant that their citizens could freely live and work in other member states. Therefore, it could be said that the accession of these Mediterranean countries directly and indirectly contributed to varying aspects of divergence within the EEC.

This section has demonstrated how weaker economic growth and the changing nature of migration patterns resulted in a declining demand for migrant labour in western Europe and efforts to restrict migration into Europe. In parallel, economic and political integration continued within Europe through the enlargement of the EEC and the creation of the EU. In parallel, evidence of economic and social divergence has also been demonstrated. These aspects will be returned to in the final part of this chapter in the framework of EU enlargement to the A8 countries of CEE.

2000 – present day

The period from 2000 to the present day is significant from a migration perspective. As a result of the decisions taken at European level in the early 1990s, the period between 2004 and 2013 saw the enlargement of the EU, with a further 13 member states, primarily from

CEE, joining. This period has also seen further economic integration and policy coordination in light of the recent economic and financial crisis.

Developments in European integration

One of the goals of the Maastricht Treaty was to prepare the foundations for economic and monetary union and the introduction of the single currency. Subsequently, in 2002 euro coins and notes replaced the national currencies of 12¹⁰ out of the 15 member states (European Union (b), 1995-2015). Despite member states retaining responsibility for economic policy the introduction of the euro has enhanced the coordination of economic policies at EU level so as to “attain the common objectives of stability, growth and employment” (*ibid.*). The recent economic and financial crisis, the peak of which was approximately between 2008-2013 and from which EU member states are still recovering, has seen further efforts to coordinate economic policies towards this common objective. This was elaborated in the previous chapter in relation to the introduction of the European semester (European Union, 1995-2015).

Additionally, two further treaties were adopted. Firstly, there was the Treaty of Nice (2001), the main purpose of which was to adapt the functioning of the EU’s institutions ahead of the 2004 enlargement, including, for example, the composition of the European Commission (European Union (a), 1995-2015). It also addressed issues related to enhanced cooperation for a common European security and defence policy (*ibid.*). Secondly, the Treaty of Lisbon (2007) sought to clarify the division of responsibilities between the EU and the member states. In light of the failed attempt to ratify the European constitution two

¹⁰ The exceptions were Denmark, Sweden and the UK. These countries remain outside the euro area with Denmark and the UK having opt-outs while Sweden does not currently qualify (European Union (b), 1995-2015).

years earlier, this treaty also created the positions of a permanent president of the European Council and a high representative for foreign affairs as well as an EU diplomatic service (European Union, 2007).

Eastern enlargement and intra-EU migration patterns since 2004

Following the enlargements that occurred between 1973 and 1995, membership of the EU remained stable until further expansion took place in 2004 when the Union grew to 25 countries with the accession of the A8 - plus Cyprus and Malta (European Union (b), 1995-2018). In 2007 the Union expanded to 27 when Bulgaria and Romania joined and in 2013 Croatia became the 28th member state (*ibid.*). This demonstrates the evolving nature of the EU and the potential for increased intra-EU migration, which has reignited discussions about the employer demand for migrant labour and labour market regulation in receiving countries.

Prior to looking at the impact of the 2004 enlargement, it is useful to briefly explore the decisions that were taken leading up to the enlargement and the motivation behind it. Firstly, it can be recalled that the origins of European cooperation in the 1950s were built around the notion of economic integration to bring political stability after the Second World War (Tsoukalis, 2003: 14). It could be said that the same philosophy underpinned the approach that was taken towards integrating the A8 countries into the EU after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The European Council conclusions of June 1993 support this assertion.

The European Council welcomed the courageous efforts undertaken by the associated countries to modernise their economies, which have been weakened by 40 years of central planning, and to ensure a rapid transition to a market economy. The Community and its Member States pledge their support to this reform process. Peace and security in Europe depend on the success of those efforts (European Council: 1993: 12).

Secondly, as concerns enlargement of the Union it is stated that

membership requires that the candidate country has achieved stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities, the existence of a functioning market economy as well as the capacity to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union (*ibid.*: 13).

These extracts demonstrate the importance that the EU's members and institutions placed upon a functioning market economy. This returns to the discussion in the previous chapter in relation to the emphasis that was, and continues to be, put on a neo-liberal, free market, approach to economic organisation in Europe since the 1980s and that within this there are different varieties of capitalism.

Although the eastern enlargements could be identified as a politically-driven process, they also involved several important economic and social considerations and consequences. Firstly, it has been noted that the accession of Greece, Portugal and Spain resulted in elements of economic and social divergence among the (then nine) other member states. Taking this experience into account it has been suggested that there was even greater potential for divergence to occur within the EU between the A8 and A2 countries and the EU15 than was the case when the southern countries joined the then EEC in the 1980s.

Notably, when the three southern countries joined the EEC they already had a history of being market economies, whereas the A8 countries only started to make this transition in the early 1990s (European Commission, 2001: 2). The potential for east-west migration was also considered to be higher than for south-north migration as a result of a greater income differential between the A8 and the EU15 than there was between the southern and northern countries in the 1980s (*ibid.*: 2). McDowell (2009: 20) also observes that the eastern countries are generally characterised by less attractive employment conditions and opportunities compared to western Europe, which could incentivise A8 and A2 workers to migrate to the EU15. Data for 2016 shows that six¹¹ of the eastern countries that joined the EU since 2004 have an employment rate that is lower than the EU average of 65.7%. By way of comparison the average employment rate in the EU15 was 66.3%. (Eurostat, 2016). The data also shows that with the exception of Slovenia the statutory minimum wage in the 13 countries that joined the EU since 2004 is below that of all the EU15 member states (Fric, 2016: 2). This suggests that the eastern enlargements have resulted in a more socially diverse EU, characterised by diverging labour market situations, which could in turn foster east-west migration.

It can also be noted that prior to the A8 accession, the geographic proximity of countries such as Poland, Czech Republic and Hungary, the main ones to develop their manufacturing production and exports in the 1990s, proved attractive to companies in western Europe. This was particularly the case for companies “seeking lower-cost production sites from which to serve the EU market” (Dicken, 2003: 51). Therefore, it can be said that there was a movement of west European capital to east European labour. While there is still evidence of west European companies locating production facilities in eastern

¹¹ Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia.

Europe, such as Fiat in Poland and Renault (Dacia) in Romania (Ernst and Young, 2010) some companies are now re-shoring their activities, as was noted in the discussion around the world systems theory (see chapter two). However, EU membership for the A8, A2 and Croatia has opened up the possibility for the reverse trend to develop – namely the movement of east European labour to west European capital.

It is in this respect that the eastern enlargements could be viewed not only as a politically, but also an economically-motivated decision by the EU15, in terms of widening the scope of the EU Single Market and its trading base, and increasing the supply of labour that employers could recruit from. From a migration policy perspective, the enlargements represent a break with earlier efforts to limit migration into western Europe. In this vein Menz comments that “the restrictive approaches that dominated the period between the mid-1970s and the mid-1990s have given way to more liberal policy design regarding ‘desirable’ labour migrants, though not other migration categories, such as humanitarian ones” (2010: 25). From this it could be inferred that the eastern enlargements are a way for the EU15 to serve their economic and political interests.

This assertion can be supported through reference to the UK and Sweden, whose governments granted relatively open labour market access to A8 migrants as soon as their countries joined the EU in 2004. These decisions suggest a desire by these two governments to encourage worker migration, which is conveyed in their 2004 national action plans for employment (Swedish Government, 2004: 25), (Department of Work and Pensions, 2004: 19). The Swedish plan notes that “successful future financing of Sweden’s welfare system calls for a policy that promotes a large labour supply in every group, in every part of the country. An increased supply of labour is also crucial for attainment

of...full employment” (Swedish Government, 2004: 32). The UK plan cites a shortage of labour and an associated increase in the number of unfilled vacancies in 2004, compared to the previous year (Department of Work and Pensions, 2004: 3), and states that the UK needs to “compete for internationally mobile, highly skilled people and key workers. They can play an important role in expanding the supply of labour, and so meeting skills shortages” (*ibid.*: 19). Returning to the notion of varieties of capitalism and the discussion in chapter two in which Sweden was identified as being a CME and the UK a LME, Menz (2010: 29) suggests that in both circumstances employers may turn to migrant labour to address their skills needs. For instance, in CMEs, sectors that are particularly affected by ongoing technological change may struggle to have appropriately skilled people as education and training systems in these economies are “geared towards gradual not radical product innovation” (*ibid.*: 29). In LMEs, vocational education and training systems are typically weaker than in CMEs and there is a focus on general skills, which can see employers lack specific skills and also see them turn to migrant labour (*ibid.*: 29). Therefore, the migration of workers from the A8, as well as the other accession states, can be identified as a way for employers in Sweden and the UK, and other member states, to satisfy their demand for labour.

In addition to Sweden and the UK, Ireland was the third country to grant open labour market access to A8 nationals in 2004. The remaining 12 member states applied transitional measures to initially restrict labour market access for migrants from the accession states (McDowell, 2009: 20), which could remain in place for a maximum of seven years (up to the end of April 2011) (European Commission, 2008: 3). For the A2 countries the majority of the EU15, except Sweden and Finland, restricted labour market access, while most of the A8 countries, except Malta and Hungary, granted access

(EurActiv, 2009). Restrictions on the free movement of Bulgarian and Romanian nationals ceased in January 2014 (*ibid.*: 2009). The same possibility for transnational arrangements is currently in place for Croatian nationals and member states have the option to apply such measures until the end of June 2020 (European Union (c), 1995-2015). There are 13 countries¹² applying transitional measures for Croatian nationals. Of the three countries that did not apply these measures to the A8 in 2004 only the UK decided to take up this possibility (*ibid.*).

Transitional measures were introduced through a clause inserted into the 2003 Accession Treaty to allay concerns among the EU15 about the potential for social dumping (Eurofound, 2011). Up until this point social dumping was viewed as competition between member states to make their economies more competitive and attractive to investors by implementing low tax policies as well as the relocation of multinational companies to save money on the price of labour (Krings, 2009: 53). However, in the context of EU enlargement, social dumping is considered to relate to “the movement of ‘cheaper’ labour from CEE countries into the old EU15 Member States” (Eurofound, 2011). In this regard, Woolfson (2007: 200) observes that migration between A8 countries and the EU15 since 2004 brings into question the extent to which standards and conditions of employment in the EU15 can be maintained. This concerns A8 migrants “offering to work at wages and under conditions that potentially erode collectively bargained standards in the EU15” (*ibid.*: 212). Meardi (2012: 104) has also referred to growing disparities in social and working conditions in the EU post-enlargement to the CEE countries. The use of transitional measures may also reflect the historical reticence towards uncontrolled

¹² Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Spain, Slovenia, UK.

migration into western Europe that has been evidenced since the 1960s and 1970s. Therefore, the transitional arrangements could be viewed as part of a managed approach to intra-EU migration, while simultaneously helping EU15 countries to address skills needs and labour shortages, which highlights the underlying economic motivation behind the eastern enlargement process.

In terms of the patterns of east-west migration since 2004, it is observed that of the three countries that did not impose restrictions on A8 nationals, Ireland and the UK experienced the greatest levels of migration in the initial period after accession, and beyond when taking into account the ending of transitional arrangements in other member states. For example, more than 680,000 people entered the UK between 2004 and 2006 (Krings, 2009: 54) and between 2004 and 2010 almost one and a half million (1,483,240) A8 nationals came to the UK, based on the number of national insurance numbers that were issued (McCullum and Findlay, 2011: 79). In the first three years after accession, Ireland experienced an even higher number, relative to the size of its population, of 380,000 (Department of Social and Family Affairs 2007 in Krings 2009: 54). In contrast, Sweden experienced relatively little migration from the A8 states, with just 10,000 A8 migrants between 2004 and 2006 (Krings, 2009: 54). One reason for the lower numbers travelling to Sweden could be the comparatively stronger nature of labour market regulation, comprising collective agreements and “general jobless growth” (Tamas and Münz, 2006: 72). Between 2003 and 2007 the Baltic States (Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia), which have a close geographic proximity to Sweden, experienced annual GDP increases of 8 to 12 per cent (Dudzińska, 2013: 1) and with such economic growth it could be said that there was less impetus for emigration. Finally, it could be suggested that a more remote geographical

location and linguistic differences (compared to Ireland and the UK) may also have impacted upon the number of A8 nationals migrating to Sweden.

It is also interesting to note that there were still migratory flows into countries that imposed restrictions on A8 nationals. This can be exemplified with reference to Austria and Germany who share borders with some of the A8 member states. These two countries initially applied restrictions and kept them in place after May 2009 (EurActiv, 2009). In the case of Germany, its attractiveness to east European workers is also likely to have been rooted in the earlier migratory flows, which may subsequently have fostered further migration, if certain networks or contacts had been created. The transitional measures were enacted against the backdrop of concerns about the unemployment rate and the ability of trade unions to secure the same terms and conditions for migrants as for indigenous workers (Krings, 2009: 62). In a similar vein to the views expressed by Woolfson (2007: 200), Austrian and German unions feared that migrants would undermine existing labour standards and collective agreements and, therefore, supported their governments in restricting labour market access for A8 nationals from the moment their countries joined the EU (Krings, 2009: 62). Nevertheless, migration to Austria and Germany occurred as a result of bilateral agreements that were signed in the 1990s with several CEE countries in an attempt to bring some order to migratory flows from east to west in light of the aforementioned geo-political developments in the region (*ibid.*: 62).

While intra-EU migration is the focus of this study, it is also important to note that extra-EU migration into Europe continues to be a hotly debated issue at EU level and across the member states. For example, the EU has been attempting to promote the highly skilled economic migration of third country nationals from outside the EU through directives on

intra-corporate transferees and the Blue Card (European Union (d), 1995-2015). This approach to economic migration is intended to make the EU economy more competitive and to address skills needs. However, the main issue in recent times has been the flow of asylum seekers and refugees from countries in the Middle East and Sub-Saharan Africa (BBC News, 2015), which has once again tested the extent of European cooperation – both from a European institutional perspective and in light of the political divisions among the member states about the desirability of accepting these people. This echoes similar discussions that took place in the 1970s and 1980s. Refugees could, in time, help to address employers' skills needs, at different levels, and respond, in part, to the demographic challenges that EU countries are facing (ETUC *et al.* 2016: 1). Therefore, efforts are now under way in receiving countries to foster the labour market integration of these people. This includes providing additional education and training, where needed, and orienting this around employers' skills needs (European Commission, 2016: 9).

Thus, without digressing from the core focus of this research it can be noted that both intra-EU and extra-EU migration patterns continue to be shaped by economic factors and the demand for labour as well as historical, and present-day, geo-political developments.

The labour market status of A8 migrant workers

There have been several examples in this chapter of the labour market status of migrant workers in western European countries. In most cases it has been seen that these workers tend to occupy low-skilled, low-status positions that are characterised by low-pay and generally poor working conditions. This was highlighted in the works by Studlar (1979: 89), Senior (1957: 303) and Wright (1968: 43) in relation to migrant workers in Britain in

the 1950s and 1960s. In Sweden during the same period Rahikainen (2007: 98) noted that migrants took on the low-paid jobs that indigenous Swedes did not want. In addition, Castles and Kosack (1985: 116) make the broader point that the majority of migrants in the developed western European countries at this time worked in unskilled or semi-skilled manual roles. This meant that they were occupying low-wage positions with below average working conditions (*ibid.*: 118), while the indigenous population tended to occupy higher skilled roles (*ibid.*: 116).

Into the present day, the evidence suggests that migrants continue to play an important role in addressing labour and skills shortages. In Sweden, Polish citizens are the largest group of EU labour migrants (OECD, 2011). Migrants are typically employed in the textile; hotel and restaurant; and personal services sectors (Andersson and Brunk, 2009). There is also evidence of migrants being used to fill labour shortages in the construction sector and other areas of manual labour (plumbing, electricians, mechanics), as well as school teachers, physicians, architects (Arbetsförmedlingen, 2011) and IT specialists and engineers (Cerna, 2012: 126). These examples imply that Sweden has been experiencing a general shortage of labour across a range of skill levels, which is something that Brunk (2008) identified in the early 2000s and which is coherent with Sweden's approach to opening its labour market to A8, A2 and Croatian nationals as soon as their countries joined the EU. However, it has been noted that the available evidence suggests that the number of EU migrants coming Sweden has been fairly low. This contributed to a reform of the migration system in 2008 to enable employers to more easily access third country nationals to fill vacancies (Cerna, 2012: 117).

In the UK there are three main EU migrant nationalities: Polish, Lithuanians and Slovaks (Home Office, 2011). These workers are often occupying positions in sectors such as administration, business and management¹³; hotels and restaurants; agriculture; food processing; and manufacturing (McCollum and Findlay, 2011: 80). The evidence also suggests that some sectors are reliant on migrants to provide the required labour. For instance, in 2010 A8 migrant workers made up 40.3% of all employees in the agricultural sector in the UK; 10.4% in hospitality and catering and 2% in the transport sector (*ibid.*: 81). Despite the economic downturn (2008-2013) there continued to be a demand for migrant workers, particularly in labour intensive industries (*ibid.*: 83). Indeed, although registrations of A8 migrants with the worker registration scheme¹⁴ fell from a peak of around 60,000 in 2006 to in the region of 20,000 in 2010, a total of 316,720 new registrations were recorded between January 2008 and June 2010 (McCollum and Findlay, 2011: 83). A shortage of low-skilled labour is also noted as older workers retire and younger ones are generally better educated and looking for higher skilled positions (Legrain, 2008: 5). The evidence suggests that migrant workers, notably including those from the A8, are likely to play a role in meeting this demand for low-skilled labour. For example, in 2011 38.3% of A8 migrants in the UK were found to be working in low-skilled occupations, while just 7.8% were in high-skilled roles (Office for National Statistics, 2011: 3). In contrast, 10.3% of indigenous UK workers occupied low-skilled positions and around 27% were in high-skilled jobs. (*ibid.*: 3). McDowell has also commented that “the main impetus behind the liberal entry scheme was severe labour market shortages...mainly in low-wage and low-skill occupations in sectors such as construction, hospitality, transport and public services” (2009: 20). Gilpin *et al.* (2006: 20) also observed that A8

¹³ It may be the case that such migrants have been classified as working in this sector as a result of working for recruitment agencies, but this does not take into account the placements that the agency actually makes.

¹⁴ The Worker Registration Scheme (WRS) was set up in May 2004 for the registration of A8 nationals coming to work in the UK. The WRS closed on 30 April 2011 (Home Office 2011).

migrants typically found themselves in low-skilled roles. It could be inferred from these different sources that A8 migrants in the UK are concentrated in low-skilled roles, almost irrespective of their level of education or ability. This reflects a change compared to the post-Second World War migration into the UK, in which it was noted that migrants were low-skilled on arrival and occupied corresponding positions.

The previous chapter alluded to the notion of immigrant jobs that the indigenous population does not want (Massey *et al.*, 1993: 452), leading to the concentration of migrant workers in low status positions and contributing to the notion of labour market segmentation. Following the eastern enlargements, the trend has been for east European labour to move towards west European capital and, as has been suggested, one of the driving factors for the emergence of this migration pattern is the potential for comparatively higher salaries and better overall working conditions in western Europe, even if these are in lower-status, lower-skilled positions than the migrants had been occupying in their country of origin, a situation referred to as “contradictory class mobility” (Parreñas, 2001 in Lutz, 2008: 89). Such a pattern of east-west migration is noted as having consequences for labour markets and workers in the EU15, including, *inter alia*, the price of labour and labour standards (Woolfson, 2007: 200). Therefore, the migration of EU migrants from eastern to western Europe could result in, or help to maintain, a segmented labour market structure in destination countries, depending on the nature of economic organisation and labour market regulation. This chapter has evidenced that Sweden and the UK have a demand for migrant labour. It could be considered that, where present in the labour market, east European migrants in Sweden may contribute to labour market segmentation, whereas in the UK they could help to sustain an already segmented labour market structure in terms of occupying the less desirable positions that

are left vacant by indigenous UK workers. This assertion will be further elaborated in the next chapter through an analysis of the Swedish and UK industrial relations systems and their different approaches to labour market regulation.

Summary

This historical overview of European migration patterns provides an insight into how past migration developments and policies set the context for the present-day approaches to, and perspectives on, migration. Looking at the historical development of migration, it is possible to see that the process of migration has evolved with the advancement of capitalist economies. This has been exemplified with reference to the enlarged scope of migration from rural-rural and rural-urban migration to progressively cross-border international movements as industrial development gathered pace. The flow of workers in the post-Second World War period (1945-1959) is a prime example of the international dimension of migration and its role in supporting and sustaining economic growth in destination countries. The link between economic factors and the desirability of migrant workers has been emphasised by the changing discourse in the 1970s and 1980s. During this period, European economies took a downward turn and weaker demand for (migrant) labour saw migration become a more political issue as a result of parallel increases in levels of family reunification, asylum seekers and refugees as a result of geo-political and economic developments in the CEE countries as well as outside of the European continent. Thus, while the movement of people is primarily, and inextricably, associated with labour migration and economic prosperity, asylum and family reunification are also key factors that drive migration.

The impact of European integration on intra-European migration has been charted throughout this chapter and is one of the central factors that has underpinned national and European policies towards migration over the past sixty years or so. This integration has primarily been built on economic and political cooperation and considerations, which have also impacted upon, and facilitated, intra-EU migration. At the same time, the different phases of enlargement, particularly to the southern and eastern member states have been associated with economic and social divergence.

Building on chapter two, the purpose of this chapter was to provide an evidence-based perspective as to why people migrate and the role that economic, political and social factors play in fostering migration patterns. This has been structured around developments in European integration since the end of the Second World War and through elaborating on employers' demand for labour during different periods up to the present-day. The evidence from the initial post-war period and since 2000, and particularly since 2004, suggests that Sweden and the UK had, and continue to have, a specific demand for migrant labour to address quantitative and qualitative shortages. It has also been suggested that in some respects this could be viewed as a structural demand in which migrants are required in particular jobs and in certain sectors. There are several elements for further consideration that arise from this chapter. One concerns the nature of the industrial relations systems in Sweden and the UK, the form and extent of labour market regulation and how this impacts upon employers' demand for labour. This will be discussed further in the next chapter. The other is the notion of an association between the role of migration in responding to employers' demand for workers and labour market segmentation. Notably, it has been shown that, depending on the national circumstances and the nature of the demand for labour, there is an historical trend in western Europe for the concentration of migrants in

low-skilled, low-paid, low-status jobs with limited progression prospects. The notion of segmentation has also arisen in the context of the potential weakening of established employment standards and conditions in receiving countries as a consequence of the inflow of workers from eastern Europe since 2004. These issues will be elaborated in chapter five.

4. Comparative European industrial relations (1): Setting the scene for conducting research – the industrial relations systems in Sweden and the UK

Introduction

It was observed in chapter two that the orientation for the management of national economies is shaped by political, economic and social traditions and that these traditions provide the framework for the regulation of the employment relationship, which is reflected in national industrial relations systems.

Kerr *et al.* assert that common among national systems is their role in determining the “power and authority relationships” among the three sets of actors referred to by Dunlop (1960: 227). Elaborating this, it is suggested that there can be common features and rules among countries that have similar economic approaches. On the other hand, differences between national systems result from “the significantly different or unique backdrops against which they are fashioned” (*ibid.*: 227). Notably, this concerns the pace and nature of economic development. Additionally, MacKenzie and Martinez Lucio (2014: 194) observe that the nature of national labour market regulation can change over time according to the role of, and balance of power between, the respective industrial relations actors, which can change according to political and economic circumstances. This has also been referred to as “reregulation” (Mackenzie and Martinez Luico, 2016: 9) or a transfer of responsibilities among regulatory actors. Finally, on the theme of similarity and difference, Marginson and Sisson (2004: 290) observe that European integration has led to national and European level governance and coordination structures. The result of this is considered to be a degree of convergence between sectors and companies at cross-national level,

whereas there is growing diversity among companies and sectors within a country and a national industrial relations system.

The aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of the nature and evolution of the industrial relations systems in Sweden and the UK between 1945 and the present day. In doing so it will draw on associated issues that have been discussed in the previous two chapters. The discussion will also provide additional insight and context into issues associated with labour market segmentation.

In order to build up a picture of the industrial relations systems in Sweden and the UK three time periods have been identified: 1945 – 1978; 1979 – 2003; and 2004 – present day. These have been selected according to key industrial relations developments in the two countries, but also so that they take into account, in so far as it is appropriate, the time periods that were used to structure the discussion of migration patterns in chapter three. In this way it is possible to consider industrial relations developments in view of migration trends and the composition of the labour force in these two countries.

1945 – 1978

It was noted in chapter three that industrial production was central to Europe's post-war economic growth and that migrant workers played a prominent role in fuelling and sustaining this growth in the majority of western European countries (Collinson, 1993: 35). The end of the Second World War also brought a period of political and economic stability across Europe, which, in western Europe, extended to the nature of industrial relations in

the form of tripartite cooperation (Toniolo, 1998: 262) and political influence for capital and labour organisations (Crouch, 1992: 177).

Sweden

Post-war Swedish industrial relations were shaped by a strong degree of cooperation and coordination between employers, trade unions and the state. The climate for such collaboration was born out of the Saltsjöbaden Agreement of 1938. Although this agreement falls outside the scope of the period that is being discussed, it provides essential context to an elaboration of the evolution of Swedish industrial relations. Saltsjöbaden was an agreement between the Swedish Trade Union Confederation - Landsorganisationen I Sverige (LO) and the Swedish Employers' Confederation - Svenska Arbetsgivareföreningen (SAF). Government involvement in labour-management relations was neither sought nor wanted by LO or SAF and this underpins the decision to conclude the Saltsjöbaden Agreement. Saltsjöbaden established the framework for cooperation between LO and SAF, particularly concerning negotiation procedures (Hancock, 1972: 151). Therefore, it institutionalised the role of the social partners as being responsible for engaging in collective bargaining to determine wages, ensure industrial peace and promote technical efficiency (Ekdahl and Johansson, 1996: 82). A tacit understanding of management's right to manage also emerged from this agreement (Visser, 1996: 187). The role of the state was to maintain an active labour market policy and full employment (Hammarström and Nilsson 1998: 227). Despite the government not having a role in certain fundamental aspects of labour market policy, it is important to note that the period 1932 – 1976, was one in which there was 44 years of social democratic governments, which brought a certain degree of continuity to the industrial relations climate (Social

Democratic Party, undated: 14) and against which the Saltsjöbaden Agreement was implemented. Notably, the Agreement laid the foundations for what came to be known during the 1950s and 1960s as the “Swedish model” (Hammarström and Nilsson, 1998: 226). The main features of the model can be described as

a properly functioning free market economy...; independent and freely competing enterprises...; a fully organised labour market with the two sides being entirely independent of each other and of the state...; a highly developed well-functioning system of consultation and participation for the employees in the companies; practical reforms in stages; a general atmosphere of pragmatism, friendly co-operation, a peaceful climate and reasonable compromises (Myrdal, 1980: 57).

This approach emphasised the role played by LO and SAF as the main representatives of workers and employers¹⁵ and helps to exemplify why Sweden is historically viewed as a prominent example of a corporatist country. Lash refers to corporatism as “a set of institutions in which the interest organisations of industrial capital and labour are brought together in a framework with the state” (1985: 215). As was noted in chapter two, a corporatist approach is closely associated with welfare capitalism within which there is state intervention to provide employment and a prominent role for representatives of employer and labour organisations (Lane, 1989: 272).

What could be viewed as the two main outcomes of the cooperation between employers and unions was a focus on a centralised form of industrial relations, which led to the

¹⁵ It can be noted, for background purposes, that LO mainly organises blue collar (manual) workers. The other union organisations are the Swedish Confederation for Professional Employees (TCO), which organises white collar workers; and the Swedish Confederation of Professional Associations (Saco). For the employers, the largest organisation is the Confederation of Swedish Enterprise (SN) (formerly SAF), which represents private employers. Municipal workers are represented by the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions, and state employers are organised by the Swedish Agency for Government Employers (LO, 2015).

implementation of the solidaristic (centralised) wage policy. The “institutionalising of the central wage negotiations” in the 1950s led to LO and SAF concluding national agreements that produced recommendations on wages, hours of work and other work-related benefits (Fulcher, 1988: 251). These agreements provided the basis for company level arrangements between workers and managers affiliated to LO and SAF (Hancock, 1972: 152). In this way it could be inferred that LO and SAF established themselves as key institutional actors in the industrial relations system.

An important element of the centralised approach to wage setting was the implementation of a solidaristic wage policy, which comprised two main elements. The first was the notion of “equal pay for equal work” (Hammarström and Nilsson 1998: 228) irrespective of the industry or company in which a person worked. As a consequence, wages were not linked to productivity and company profits (*ibid.*: 228). In a similar vein, the second element was a reduction in the wage differential between the lowest and highest paid workers so as to have a more equal level of wage distribution. This was achieved through raising the wages of the lowest earners and a system that taxed low wage earners the least (*ibid.*: 228). The aim of equality among industries, companies and locations was emphasised through the pursuit of labour mobility between those parts of Sweden where production was low, or less profitable, to where jobs were being created (Visser, 1996: 179).

The solidaristic wage policy originates from two LO economists (Erixon, 2008: 2). However, it was SAF’s pursuit of centralised wage bargaining that enabled this policy to be implemented (Fulcher, 1988: 251). Centralised wage setting was advocated by employers as a way to curb the rising cost of recruiting workers, which resulted from high levels of employment, due in large part to the government’s active labour market policy,

and a corresponding fall in the availability of labour (Ekdahl and Johansson, 1996: 84). Therefore, a centralised approach and a solidaristic policy helped to reduce wage competition between companies and enabled employers to manage their labour costs (Anxo and Niklasson, 2006: 342).

Despite its initial enthusiasm for centralised bargaining, it was SAF that initiated steps towards a more decentralised approach during the course of the 1970s and there are several reasons for this. Firstly, LO began to exert influence on the governing Social Democratic party as a way to advance its own agenda and this made it harder for employers to compromise on, or to block, issues that were addressed through government action (*ibid.*: 187). A particularly contentious issue was that of wage-earner funds in which LO elaborated proposals for giving employees more influence over the running of companies, and the economy more broadly, through “breaking capitalist concentration of ownership and control by regulating ‘excess profits’ and securing a collective formation of capital” (Ekdahl and Johansson, 1996: 94). Elvander (2003: 150) observes that this proposal was too radical for the government and denounced by employers and led to a significantly more confrontational industrial relations climate than had previously been the case.

Another example, and a notable legislative development, was the introduction of the Codetermination Act in 1976. This is a framework law that is implemented through collective agreements and which gives unions “the right to elect board representatives, to receive information from the management, and to be consulted about management decisions” (Kullander, 2009: 10). In effect, it could be viewed as undermining the spirit that developed out of the Saltsjöbaden Agreement, particularly as concerns the understanding around management’s right to manage. LO’s pursuit of wage-earner funds

and the introduction of the Codetermination Act demonstrate how it broke away from the principles of the Saltsjöbaden Agreement, after voluntary agreement with SAF was not achieved, so as to deliver the labour market improvements that its membership desired (*ibid.*: 149).

In parallel, and in what amounted to a significant undermining of the Saltsjöbaden Agreement and the Swedish model, was a government drive towards labour market intervention in the wake of a deteriorating macro-economic situation following the oil crises and stronger international competition, notably from Japan and the newly industrialised countries (Anxo and Niklasson, 2006: 343). This included the government devaluing the currency in order to try to maintain Swedish firms' international competitiveness (*ibid.*: 343). Furthermore, greater international competition, together with developments in production and work organisation, such as new technologies and cross-border supply chains, encouraged companies to seek a more flexible approach to their operations, which included company level arrangements and even individual agreements between workers and managers (Visser, 1996: 187).

In terms of labour migration and industrial relations during this period, chapter three observed that Sweden had a lightly regulated approach to labour migration after the Second World War so as to meet employers' demand for labour (Rahikainen, 2007: 98). This was particularly evidenced in the establishment of the Common Nordic Labour Market in 1954 (*ibid.*: 99). Knocke (1999: 118) observes that there was a high propensity for migrant workers to join a trade union and in doing so to fall under the solidaristic wage policy provision of equal pay for equal work. This suggests that by bringing migrant workers into their membership unions were strengthened as central representative

organisations and the prospect of migrants undercutting Swedish workers was prevented. It can also be noted that government reforms ensured social protection measures, such as unemployment insurance and other work-related benefits for migrant workers from the 1960s onwards, with the specific intention of affording migrant workers the same rights and standards of employment and living as Swedish nationals (*ibid.*: 118).

The UK

In the UK, a policy of full employment combined with the nationalisation of key industries were features of what was a centrally managed economy in the initial post-war period (Report of the Royal Commission on Trade Unions and Employers Association, 1968: 687). This is coherent with the wider approach of welfare capitalism, which was prevalent at this time and characterised by state intervention (Lane, 1989: 272). However, when it came to industrial relations, and in line with the UK's voluntary approach to collective organisation and bargaining¹⁶, the state generally abstained from intervening in issues that were the primary responsibility of management and labour and their organisations. In particular it did not interfere in regulating matters such as working conditions and industrial disputes (Moran, 1977: 21). Voluntarism was seen as "a key element of the post-war consensus" and unions, in particular, were engaged in discussions with government in an informal manner, rather than government taking a legislative approach (Marsh, 1992: 4). This largely remained the case until the late 1960s after which point the state began to take a more interventionist approach to industrial relations.

¹⁶ The voluntary approach or "voluntarism" can be understood as industrial relations practices that do not involve legislation that can lead to court rulings to decide matters that could otherwise be handled between employers and trade unions (Flanders, 1974: 354). For instance, Kahn-Freund has commented that while collective agreements determine contractual provisions they should be seen as a "code" as they do not strictly have a legal basis and cannot be legally enforced (1969: 310).

During the Second World War, the UK had a policy of tripartite consultation and cooperation (government, employers and worker representatives) established through joint production committees (JPCs)¹⁷ and industry level bargaining (Kessler and Bayliss, 1998: 13). However, by the end of the hostilities there was a general decline in the relevance of JPCs and this trend continued in the initial post-war years as production levels dropped in those industries where JPCs were previously most prevalent (engineering and munitions), due to lower demand leading to an associated decrease in staff (Tomlinson, 1996: 29). Melling (1996: 8) comments that while the post-war Labour government (1945-51) could have aimed to initiate a “productivity coalition” between capital and labour along the lines of the Swedish system of centralised bargaining, it opted to maintain the policy of tripartite consultation and cooperation that the JPCs and industry level bargaining provided. This approach was retained by the subsequent Conservative governments of the early 1950s-mid 1960s and went on to remain the status quo into the 1970s (Kessler and Bayliss, 1998: 13). Although the UK approach did not put as much emphasis as Sweden on the role of organised capital and labour to negotiate agreements, the apparent strength of tripartism is notable with Moran commenting that “during the sixties the tripartite relationship between the government, TUC and Confederation of British Industry (CBI) seemed to have become an integral part of the constitution” (1977: 12).

Despite the “golden age” (Toniolo, 1998: 252) of economic growth and the associated demand for increased productivity and labour, the relevance of JPCs dwindled as employers increasingly turned to using migrant workers from other European countries and

¹⁷ JPCs were first established in 1942 with the intention to foster cooperation between employers and labour on issues associated with the productivity of a particular workplace so as to enhance its productive capacity (Tomlinson, 1996: 28). While production was the core focus of the JPCs it has also been noted that, on occasion, these committees discussed issues connected to welfare and wages (*ibid.*: 28).

the Commonwealth to address their quantitative demand for workers, especially in the lower end, harder to fill positions. It could be inferred that employers also had an interest in recruiting workers that had a lower propensity to join a trade union, as was the case with migrants. Thus, it would appear that employers had limited incentive to participate in JPCs.

The other aspect of tripartite cooperation in the initial post-war period was industry level bargaining. However, one of the main industrial relations developments that became evident during the 1960s was the trend for a rise in workplace level agreements and a less dominant role for industry level bargaining (Kessler and Bayliss, 1998: 13). This was a key finding of the Donovan Commission¹⁸. The Commission suggested that there were two systems of industrial relations operating at this time; the formal one of industry-wide collective bargaining based on official institutions and an informal system of workplace level bargaining (*ibid.*: 13). The workplace system was considered to be informal because it did not involve employers' associations and trade unions and was described as "largely fragmented and largely autonomous" (Flanders, 1970: 169). Underpinning this form of bargaining were workplace representatives, namely shop stewards, who played a key role in representing workers' interests to management, thus circumventing the role of trade unions as workers' formal representatives (Moran, 1977: 25). Workplace bargaining exemplified a broader trend towards the decentralisation of collective bargaining at this time (Report of the Royal Commission on Trade Unions and Employers Association, 1968: 688). Therefore, it was suggested that a company agreement that regulated issues like pay and which set out procedures, such as for grievances, would be a good way to structure workplace level agreements and allow for their adaptation within individual companies

¹⁸ Formally known as the Royal Commission on Trade Unions and Employers' Associations, the Commission was set up in 1965 under the leadership of Terence Donovan to assess the relationship between trade unions and employers' organisations in promoting their members' interests and contributing to social and economic advancement (Kessler and Bayliss, 1998: 12).

(*ibid.*: 689). In effect it could be said that the aim was to formalise the workplace level system.

It has been noted that the UK industrial relations system was built around a voluntarist approach. To put this into context in the current period of discussion, Moran comments that

voluntarism had the support of unions because it removed them from the influence of a prejudiced judiciary; it suited the employers' associations because it gave them a key role in collective bargaining; and it suited the Tories because after 1945 it seemed to guarantee industrial peace with the unions. As soon as these interests were threatened then pressures for intervention began to build up (Moran, 1977: 152).

Acting upon the Donovan Commission's report the then Labour government proposed a series of measures. These included establishing a reforming Commission on Industrial Relations (CIR), which had the primary role of promoting voluntary collective bargaining and industrial relations practices (Kessler and Bayliss, 1997: 13). Other measures, however, went further than the Commission's recommendations and included new powers, such as the possibility for the relevant secretary of state to try to initiate a conciliation process, and compulsory ballots in the instances of severe strikes (*ibid.*: 14). These proposals, and their setting in a legislative framework, provoked strong opposition from the TUC and were a notable break from the established principle of voluntarism. Consequently, after several rounds of discussion between the government and TUC a deal was struck whereby the government relaxed its approach in exchange for the TUC agreeing to exert more control over unofficial strikes and disputes (*ibid.*: 14).

Nevertheless, the recourse to a more legislative approach became symptomatic of British industrial relations and continued following the election of the Conservative party in 1970. A notable example of the new legislative approach was the 1971 Industrial Relations Act. The Act introduced a National Industrial Relations Court. It also restricted the union movement's ability to control the access of people to the labour market through the closed shop by making, "post-entry 'closed shop' agreements void and sought to make pre-entry 'closed shop' agreements unenforceable by giving workers the right to belong or not to belong to any union, and by making it 'unfair industrial practice' to prevent anyone from exercising this choice" (Kessler and Bayliss, 1997: 24).

Unions did not support the Act, believing instead that the voluntarist approach, notably the established practice of collective bargaining, as well as other institutional conditions, such as the structures for tripartite discussion and cooperation, were sufficient (Purcell, 1993: 8). For companies, however, the trend for decentralisation and workplace level bargaining was to their liking and it helped managers to ensure what they saw as their managerial prerogative. This approach also provided a degree of flexibility to make adaptations to arrangements concluded within the workplace and which fell outside the scope of official agreements concluded with unions (Hyman, 1995: 35). By the same token, employers' organisations disliked the Act and preferred a non-legislative approach to industrial relations. To this effect, the CBI suggested to its members that they should not make use of the possibilities that the Act provided. The CBI instead agreed a conciliation process with the TUC that rendered the Act redundant (Moran, 1977: 153).

The Act was subsequently repealed by the incoming Labour government in 1974. Nevertheless, an interesting observation by Thomson and Beaumont is that the experience

of discussing and opposing the Act “helped to politicise the labour movement” and ultimately encouraged it to look more favourably on the legislative possibilities for extending working standards and workers’ rights (1976: 160). Hyman views this with even greater significance by commenting that the “TUC, virtually without debate, had changed its views considerably from the strict ‘voluntarist’ line which it had expounded to the Donovan Commission” (1995: 46). This was evident in the introduction of several pieces of legislation, of which the Trade Union and Labour Relations Acts (1974 and 1976) and the Employment Protection Act (1975) can be referenced and which the TUC sought to shape to their liking¹⁹.

Chapter three observed that the 1945-1960 period in the UK was characterised by a generally open approach to migration, both from other parts of Europe and the Commonwealth countries, to address a quantitative demand for labour. It was only in the 1960s that the government began to intervene to limit migration, just as it was increasingly intervening in macro-economic and industrial relations policies. Martens (1999: 219) asserts that the presence of migrant workers in national labour markets has always presented trade unions and their members with a challenge. Whereas the government and employers were broadly supporting the introduction of migrant workers into the labour market, trade unions were initially reluctant, which also translated into union opposition, at the time, to including workers from other ethnic backgrounds in union membership (Phizacklea and Miles, 1980: 32). However, a proactive approach by unions to organise

¹⁹ The 1974 and 1976 Acts served as an immediate attempt to repeal the Industrial Relations Act, but kept elements of the 1971 initiative that the government and TUC wished to retain, notably as concerns unfair dismissal procedures, whereas the National Industrial Relations Court and the CIR were abolished (Thomson and Beaufort, 1976: 162). The CIR was replaced by the Advisory Conciliation and Arbitration Service. The Employment Protection Act had two principle aims: “to create a new structure of union rights and employer responsibilities in collective bargaining and to provide a range of individual rights at work by giving statutory minimum standards in areas where collective bargaining had produced a patchwork effect” (*ibid.*: 167). These acts were subsequently consolidated into the 1978 Employment Protection (Consolidated) Act.

migrant workers and to include them in collective agreements, as was the case in Sweden, could be considered important for preventing the undercutting of existing conditions as this might foster labour market segmentation. Yet Castles and Kosack comment that between approximately 1945-1950 collective agreements had a number of anti-migrant provisions, such as a stipulation for the preference of British workers; quotas for migrant workers, in cases where they were employed; and sacking migrants first when redundancies were necessary (1985: 138). Concerns about the arrival of migrant workers eased, however, as the numbers began to decrease from the early to mid 1960s, following government intervention (see chapter three). Nevertheless, in 1966 the government outlined its intention to bring forward legislation to prevent the discrimination of migrant workers (*ibid.*: 141). In addition to unions' reluctance to engage with migrant workers, migrants themselves were equally hesitant to join a union, or unaware of the possibility to do so. This could be associated with a lack of prior knowledge of an industrial environment and the role of unions, particularly in the case of Commonwealth workers. It could also be that migrants focused on individual gain, which came at the expense of workers' solidarity. There were also language barriers to their union involvement (*ibid.*: 119-120).

Despite the move away from the established institutional approach of multi-employer industry level bargaining towards more workplace level and individual forms of industrial relations, Purcell suggests, in discussing the manufacturing sector, that "the strength of the national agreements, over basic conditions such as the length of the working week, holiday entitlement and basic premium rates, remained important" (1993: 11), especially as companies that were not directly involved in concluding such agreements continued to follow, to a large degree, the provisions that they contained (*ibid.*: 11). Therefore, it could be postulated that despite the structural institutional changes that were taking place,

workplace level practices continued to be determined, to a notable degree, through industry level agreements.

Finally, the legislative measures that were introduced during this period set the direction for future years and what will be seen later in this chapter as a move away from voluntarism and coordination to an approach that focuses on individual employment rights.

1979 – 2003

Whereas, economically, the previous period was widely characterised by a prolonged spell of growth in Europe, up until the oil crises of the 1970s, a general trend towards growth in the period 1979 – 2003 was interspersed with periods of recession between the mid-1970s and early 1990s (Muriel and Sibieta, 2009: 4-6). Another important observation is that this period saw a general shift away from welfare capitalism as the dominant form of economic organisation in Europe to market capitalism (Likic-Brboric, 2007: 2). The discussion about varieties of capitalism in chapter two observed that Sweden is traditionally associated with the features of a coordinated market economy and welfare capitalism, while the UK is associated with the features of a liberal market economy and market capitalism (Coates, 2010: 10).

Sweden

This part of the chapter develops the discussion on one of the key issues that was identified towards the end of the 1945-1978 discussion on Sweden, namely developments towards the decentralisation of collective bargaining.

After being voted out of office in 1976, the Social Democratic party returned to government in 1982 and this coincided with a period of fundamental change to the industrial relations system. This was due in part to government policies as well as the wider macro-economic context in Sweden, and globally. Consistent with its earlier interventions, and in response to declining Swedish competitiveness on the European and global stage, the government looked to increase profits and private investment opportunities by devaluing the currency (Ekdahl and Johansson, 1996: 97). Moreover, the responsibility for stimulating productivity growth and industrial restructuring was entrusted to the employers (*ibid.*: 97). These developments put pressure on the centralised bargaining model that had been at the forefront of Swedish industrial relations since the 1930s and ultimately led to additional moves towards the decentralisation of Swedish industrial relations (Martin, 1995: 278).

Although it could be said that the wider policy environment was already leaning towards a more decentralised form of bargaining, and of industrial relations in general, what could be regarded as the main catalyst for this was the decision by the Engineering Employers' Association (VF) in 1983 to sign a bilateral, industry-level, agreement with the metal workers union (Peterson, 1987: 38). This was a clear break from the established tradition of supporting the central agreements reached between SAF and LO. The main reason for this decision was VF's dislike of the impact that the solidaristic wage policy was having on the convergence of wage levels between the higher and lower paid workers in the sector (Lash, 1985: 218), which made it harder for companies to recruit and retain appropriately qualified workers or to encourage others to re-train or up-skill (Visser, 1996: 202). Additional reasons for favouring a decentralised approach are the impact of changes to

work organisation, which focussed on human resource management (HRM) oriented practices, such as “team building”, “quality control” and “new methods of wage setting related to company performance” (*ibid.*: 202). Finally, centralised bargaining was not preventing the government from getting involved in wage-setting issues, as emphasised through its interventions to devalue the currency, and so VF adjudged that the added value that it used to derive from centralised bargaining was no longer evident (*ibid.*: 202). Commenting on this situation, Fulcher suggests that “the 1983 round was not the final break in central bargaining, but it was the first major breach in this institution since 1956” (1991: 218).

In addition, SAF considered that it was no longer getting the same degree of benefit from the centralised approach as it had thus far. Notably, this concerns the tacit understanding that the Saltsjöbaden Agreement had emphasised managers’ right to manage; that centralised bargaining limited rises in labour costs; and that SAF could affect government policies through its role in tripartite and bipartite bodies (*ibid.*: 187). It is against this backdrop that in 1990 SAF announced that subsequent wage negotiations should take place at industry and company level (Martin, 1995: 279). Visser (1996: 188) observes that the labour market reality was that employers were looking to move away from a collective approach to labour law and to focus instead on individual employee rights. This included abandoning the solidaristic wage policy so as to help Swedish industry, particularly manufacturing, to remain competitive through the terms and conditions of employment that companies were able to offer relative to those in other parts of Europe (Kullander and Eklund, 2010: 1).

Despite these notable changes, aspects of the Swedish model of industrial relations remained, including a desire for industrial peace between employers and employees with the government taking responsibility for an active labour market policy, prioritising full employment (Hammarstrom and Nilsson, 1998: 245). However, the government was also under pressure to deliver with the unemployment rate rising to over 5 per cent in the early 1990s, which was above the 3 per cent level, which, at the time, was generally viewed as the maximum that should not be surpassed (Anxo and Niklasson, 2006: 349). It can also be noted that, as a result of union pressure, sectoral bargaining provisions were introduced in 1993, which put some restraints on the extent of decentralisation (Visser, 1996: 200). It is these core elements – the Swedish industrial relations tradition; the economic situation of the time; the difficulties that successive governments²⁰ were having in delivering successful policy outcomes; and the prospect of further government intervention to address what had become a difficult labour market situation – that encouraged the unions and employers’ representatives to begin discussions “aimed at reforming industrial relations” (Anxo and Niklasson, 2006: 363). This was achieved through establishing a new approach to collective bargaining that “fostered both industrial peace and wage increases guaranteeing balanced growth and a return to full employment” and which led to the 1997 Industry Agreement on Cooperation on Industrial Development and Salary Formation (*ibid.*: 363).

The Agreement was signed by 12 sectoral employers’ organisations and 9 sectoral trade union organisations (Almega 1999: 9) and covered industrial operations in the broadest sense, including, among others, building materials manufacturers; food; forest; and textile industries (*ibid.*: 9). It sought to provide a “framework for balanced industrial

²⁰ Social Democrats 1982-1991; centre-right coalition 1991-1994; Social Democrats re-elected in 1994 through to mid-2000s.

development” (Anxo and Niklasson, 2006: 363), including “a better functioning of the wage negotiations that would be more in line with the European average of wage increases” (Kullander and Eklund, 2010). To help achieve this, the agreement reached in the manufacturing sector became the benchmark against which agreements in other industries were encouraged to be aligned. This was due to the international exposure of this sector and the desire to ensure the competitiveness of Swedish industry as a whole (*ibid.*: 1). The Industry Agreement applied to roughly 17 per cent of the employed population (600,000 workers) at the time of its adoption (Anxo and Niklasson, 2006: 363). Accompanying this agreement was a separate Negotiation Agreement. Elvander observes that the purpose of this Agreement was to put in place appropriate conditions for “constructive negotiations on agreements with a balanced result without the need to resort to industrial action” (2003: 153). Notably, this included the general provision that negotiations on a new agreement are to be concluded before the existing one has expired (*ibid.*: 153), which implies a degree of stability and certainty, while avoiding lengthy negotiations or even industrial action. A joint industrial committee was created to enforce the Agreement’s provisions and to advocate conditions for wage setting that took account of companies’ competitiveness (Anxo and Niklasson, 2006: 364).

Agreements deriving from the Industry Agreement were functioning in conjunction with the introduction of HRM practices, such as performance related pay (PRP) (Katz and Darbishire, 2000: 247). However, with PRP operating within the framework set by the Industry Agreement, unions and their workplace representatives continue to play a role at the company level in wage and non-wage matters (*ibid.*: 247). Therefore, despite the move towards decentralisation and a more individualised approach to the employment relationship than was the case during the 1945-1978 period, the overall nature of Swedish

industrial relations remains collective, if less centralised, as demonstrated by the benchmark setting role of industry. Reference can be made in this regard to Traxler who purported the notion of “organised” and “disorganised” approaches to collective bargaining decentralisation (1995: 3). In this vein, French observes that bargaining decentralisation in Sweden took place in an organised way in which negotiated adjustments enabled this process “to occur within a multi-employer bargaining framework” (2000: 198) in parallel to more issues being handled at the workplace level through HRM practices.

The final point to note in this part of the chapter is that Sweden’s initially cautious approach towards the EU ended when it joined in 1995. Membership was portrayed by a number of political parties and employers as something of a panacea for the recession of the 1990s and a means through which to stimulate employment and restore industrial peace (Miles, 2000: 7). Consequently, Swedish employers supported European integration that developed the Single Market, likewise the trade unions in terms of its possibilities for job creation, but with the caveat that the social dimension of the EU needed to be strengthened as a “counterbalance” (Karlsson in Miles, 2000: 83). Therefore, Sweden’s decision to join the EU can be closely associated with economic and employment goals.

With EU membership came the possibility for the free movement of Swedish nationals to other parts of the EU and vice-versa for EU nationals to Sweden. At the same time, it could be inferred that the restrictions implemented in the 1970s on non-Nordic migration (see chapter three), along with economic prosperity and relatively good industrial relations, may help to explain why Sweden did not join the EU until 1995. It was also noted in chapter three that Sweden was experiencing a general shortage of labour in the early to mid 2000s, particularly skilled labour (Brunk, 2008: 1) and it could be inferred that opening the

Swedish labour market to the other 14 countries that constituted the EU at this time could have been viewed by the Swedish government and employers as a way to help address the demand for labour.

The UK

An important aspect of this period is that 18 years of Conservative governments, between 1979 and 1997, were followed by 13 consecutive years of (new) Labour governments that stretched up to 2010. Both parties introduced notable alterations to the industrial relations environment and the discussion in this section will explore the main ones.

What could be considered as one of the defining aspects of this period was the election of the Conservative Party in 1979 under the leadership of Margret Thatcher. Thatcher's time in office (1979-1992) saw the introduction of a number of legislative measures that aimed to remove perceived barriers to the functioning of the economy and the labour market (Marsh, 1991: 297). These measures were the Employment Acts of 1980, 1982, 1984 and 1990 and the 1984 Trade Union Act. These acts addressed a number of issues, including, among others, restricting and eventually abolishing the closed shop; making industrial action against non-unionised firms illegal; introducing the right that union members cannot be disciplined for refusing to take part in a strike or for crossing a picket line; and permitting the selective dismissal of unofficial strikers (*ibid.*: 295). Additionally, the government sought to lower wages and foster employment in low-wage sectors, which were typically non-unionised. This was facilitated by the abolition of the Wages Councils²¹ by the Trade Union Reform and Employment Rights Act (1993) (Dickens, *et al.*, 1993:

²¹ In 1990 Wages Councils established minimum rates of pay for approximately 2.5 million low-wage earners across a number of industries, such as hotels, catering and retail (Dickens, *et al.*, 1993: 515).

515). The privatisation of public services and the re-employment of former public sector workers by sub-contracted firms, but with less pay and benefits, was another way in which attempts were made to reduce wages (Longstreth, 1988: 417). Legislation, combined with macro-economic developments and changes in the labour market structure, had particular consequences for trade unions. In this regard, Mackenzie and Martinez Lucio observe that the Conservative Government pursued a strategy “that used coercive and legal processes to restrict the role of trade unions and joint forms of regulation, both formal and informal” (2014: 197). Marsh also comments that Thatcher had “an ideological aversion to unions” and that the legislative developments of the late 1970s were intended to significantly weaken unions, which were viewed as “a crucial constraint on the labour market” (1991: 297).

The macro-economic environment is another element that impacted upon union membership, notably as concerns wage and price inflation and rising unemployment (Disney, 1990: 167). Related to this, labour market composition and the structure of employment was evolving. Notably, by 1985, 25 per cent of workers were in part-time jobs compared to 15 per cent in 1971, with women accounting for a large part of this increase (Brown, 1986: 161). New firms were also being created in non-manufacturing sectors, which were typically identified as bastions of union membership (Disney, 1990: 169). Finally, Machin (2000: 642) suggests that, union decline can be attributed to the failure to organise workers in companies that were established from 1980 onwards, combined with an inability to gain workplace recognition. Therefore, it would appear that a combination of these features is the most likely cause for the weakening of unions during this time. Contrary to the situation for the trade unions, Marsh comments that “since 1979, employers’ support for legislation has grown, not because most large employers expect to

use it, but because they are well aware that it restricts the union's room for manoeuvre in relation to industrial action and, thus, bargaining" (1991: 301).

Trade unions' declining influence and their changing role, as well as that of employers and their organisations, can be exemplified through the progressive move away from multi-employer to single employer bargaining, which gathered pace in the 1980s. There are several factors that can be attributed to bargaining decentralisation. One factor, which could be considered to have resulted from the re-orientation to market capitalism during this period, was the increasing flow of foreign direct investment into the UK. This created additional competition between companies who became more concerned with productivity levels and performance controls and can be associated with a more individualised approach to contractual relationships and the use of PRP (Purcell, 1993: 10). Another factor is the creation of larger companies through mergers and acquisitions, which resulted in internal restructuring and the sub-division of tasks to smaller units and departments, which was accompanied by a decision-making role for managers at these levels (*ibid.*: 9). The trend towards single employer bargaining is said to have brought economic advantages to companies by giving them the possibility to "reshape the job descriptions, career patterns, skilling, pay levels, work practices, and contours of employment security of their workforces" (Brown and Wadhvani, 1990: 64). Consequently, the nature of the employment relationship was increasingly determined at workplace level while the institutional role of employers' organisations and trade unions at industry or cross-industry level declined, as did membership of these organisations and collective bargaining coverage (Purcell, 1993: 15). Therefore, in contrast to the organised approach that has been identified in Sweden, French asserts that the move from multi-employer to single-employer

bargaining in the UK is an example of disorganised decentralisation that “locked” the UK “into an exclusive bargaining system” (2000: 198).

These developments can also be associated with the introduction of HRM in the UK during the course of the 1980s and 1990s. MacKenzie and Martinez Luico observe that “new managerialism in the form of human resource management programmes began to aggressively colonise the regulatory space traditionally occupied by mechanisms of joint regulation, which had begun to decline in terms of their coverage, and where they had persisted now faced a challenge to aspects of their role” (2014: 198). HRM was seen as a way to tap into the full potential of a company’s workers – its human resources (Guest, 1990: 378) and provided a framework for “organisationally specific labour policies based on the internal labour market, in order to develop firm-specific, more highly skilled, labour practices” (Purcell, 1993: 21). Guest (1987: 511) observes that HRM was built on four dimensions: the integration of workforce planning into a company’s strategic management and planning; fostering employee commitment; the functional and numerical flexibility of the workforce; and the quality of a company’s policies in attracting and retaining staff, communicating with workers and handling grievances. These elements can be associated, to a varying degree, with a core-periphery distinction. In this respect, “core labour practices” (Purcell, 1993: 21) under HRM focus on the ability of individuals to multi-task and to develop a set of skills and competences that are required across different areas of a company so as to be able to fill in for and support other colleagues. In contrast, a peripheral approach sees a focus on numerical flexibility and the utilisation of part-time and temporary employees as a means to reduce costs (*ibid.*: 21). Therefore, it can be inferred that the core group comprises the functionally flexible workforce, while the peripheral group is the numerically flexible workforce. This core-periphery association

also implies a segmented labour market structure between those workers that are in stable and secure employment and those that are in part-time work or insecure temporary positions.

In addition to the growth in part-time work, Bach (2005: 16) identifies a broader trend towards an increase in “non-standard forms of employment”, namely employment that is not permanent and full-time, which accompanied the evolution of HRM in the UK between the 1980s and early 2000s. It could be added that temporary workers have also become an important source of labour as a result of the labour market flexibility that is associated with a market-oriented approach to economic organisation, as outlined in chapter two (BusinessEurope, 2012: 5), (Recruitment and Employment Confederation, 2008: 13).

A further consequence of the introduction of HRM and the wider industrial relations changes that occurred in the 1980s was for the labour movement to embrace efforts to strengthen European cooperation and the development of European social policy, through the framework provided by the EEC, and subsequently the EU, as a means to increase workers’ rights. In this vein, Ackers observes that “the shock of Thatcherism and the rise of European social policy forced the British Labour Party and trade unions to move from 1970s opposition to the EEC – supposedly a free market club for multi-nationals – to late 1980s enthusiasm for EU social protection” (Ackers, 2005: 102). This has remained the view of the majority of the trade union movement ever since.

The final point to address in this section is the election of the Labour Party in 1997 under the leadership of Tony Blair. Despite the change of government, the core of the 1980s trade union legislation remained intact, as did the pursuit of a flexible labour market

strategy (Labour Party, 1997). These aspects, combined with an approach that focused on individual rights, is evidenced in the introduction that Blair wrote to the Government White Paper “Fairness at Work”

The days of strikes without ballots, mass picketing, closed shops and secondary action are over. Even after the changes we propose, Britain will have the most lightly regulated labour market of any leading economy in the world. But it cannot be just to deny British citizens basic canons of fairness - rights to claim unfair dismissal, rights against discrimination for making a free choice of being a union member, rights to unpaid parental leave - that are a matter of course elsewhere (1998: 2).

It could be said that Labour was attempting to strike a balance between promoting a competitive business environment and providing a framework to re-assure workers about their rights through the establishment of minimum standards. Howell suggests that this represented a “third way” (2004: 16) for UK industrial relations, which aimed to combine aspects of the UK’s post-war political economy, which up to 1978 was primarily a CME and since 1979 has been identified with the characteristics of an LME. In this sense, the UK could be labelled a “hybrid political economy” (*ibid.*: 16) that is neither corporatist or neo-liberal. This helps to exemplify the theoretical discussion in chapter two about how VoC can help to shape an industrial relations system.

Leading on from this, it is important to explore the emphasis that was placed on bipartite and tripartite cooperation and the (indirect) influence that developments at EU level had in this regard. Brown (2011: 407) observes that in the 1990s and the first part of the 2000s,

the European social partners²² negotiated a number of agreements at European level, which were subsequently introduced in the member states through national legislation. This approach involved negotiating teams of national employers' organisations and trade unions, including the TUC and CBI. Agreements that were negotiated in this way covered issues, such as part-time work; parental leave; working time; and temporary and fixed-term contracts (*ibid.*: 407). This is important for several reasons. Firstly, it helps to exemplify why the UK trade union movement became more supportive of European social policy developments in light of their reduced domestic influence. Secondly, it demonstrates the emphasis that was placed on individual minimum rights at EU level and can thus help to build an understanding of why the Labour Party approached UK industrial relations in the manner that it did. Domestically, the Labour Party was also keen to show that it no longer gave trade unions preferential treatment. To this effect, Howell observes that "there has been an effort to depoliticise government action, and to disarm criticism that the government favours labour, by seeking prior agreement between employers and unions" (2004: 5).

Labour's approach towards promoting individual minimum standards could also be regarded as reinforcing the HRM style of employer-employee relations in which, beyond compliance with established minimum standards, employers would be relatively free to determine the terms and conditions of employment at the workplace level. This did not necessarily rule out a role for collective bargaining, but became dependent on whether a recognition agreement could be signed with a union at workplace level. Nevertheless, Howell (2004: 15) observes that, overall, the role of collective bargaining, at least in its traditional sense in the UK, was diminished by Labour's approach to minimum standards.

²² European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC); BusinessEurope; The European Centre of Employers and Enterprises Providing Public Services (CEEP); European Association of Craft, Small and Medium Sized Enterprises (UEAPME).

An example of this is the statutory national minimum wage (NMW), which was introduced through the National Minimum Wage Act. The Act stipulated that workers are to be paid “at least the national minimum wage”, which is an hourly wage set by the secretary of state (1998: 1) upon recommendation by the Low Pay Commission (*ibid.*: 3). The Commission is composed of three employer and three trade union representatives, nominated by the CBI and TUC respectively, as well as three academics as independent representatives (Brown, 2011: 407).

On the one hand, the introduction of the NMW is an example of what can be considered, for the most part, a tripartite approach to establishing the minimum wage level. Alternatively, the very introduction of a minimum wage could be viewed as a “substitute for collective regulation” (Howell, 2004: 12) and a means to ensure that government legislation, rather than collective bargaining, or indeed employer discretion, determines minimum pay levels (Anderman, 2000: 139). Independent of these two lines of argument, it could be inferred that labour market regulation through minimum standards was the dominant approach at EU level at this time, albeit with greater variation following the eastern enlargements between 2004 and 2013, and one that the Labour government was eager to pursue in light of the recent industrial relations history in the UK. Therefore, Howell’s (2004: 19) assertion that Labour’s approach to industrial relations was about adapting to the prevailing economic circumstances at the time appears to hold sway and has continued to guide the UK’s approach to labour market regulation during the course of the early 2000s and into the present day, as will be noted in the next section.

2004 – present day

The final period focuses on developments between 2004 and the present day. This period has generally been characterised by the further deepening of European integration, in terms of the enlargement of the EU, notably to the CEE countries, and in relation to strengthened economic and social coordination in an attempt to respond to the 2008-2013 economic crisis. In parallel, however, recent developments have seen the UK state its intention to leave the EU further to the 2016 referendum. This process was expected to be formally completed in March 2019 and possibly with a transition period up to the end of 2020 (European Council 2018), but the deadline for concluding the withdrawal agreement was extended until the end of October 2019 to allow additional time for its ratification by the UK and EU (European Council, 2019: 1).

Irrespective of recent political developments in the UK, this period is a particularly important one for both countries from a migration perspective. A detailed discussion has already taken place on elements associated with attempts to strengthen EU economic and social integration (chapter two) and on the enlargement of the EU and the labour market status of A8 and A2 nationals (chapter three). The final section of this chapter will focus on the subsequent industrial relations developments further to the opening of the Swedish and UK labour markets to A8 and A2 migrant workers.

Sweden

Collective bargaining continues to play the prominent role as the means for determining the terms and conditions of employment. Notably, there continues to be no legislation to

determine a minimum wage rate (Freedland and Prassl, 2014: 242) with wages determined through the benchmark set by the Industry Agreement. Furthermore, it is the unions, together with employers, that are the main actors in monitoring and implementing the agreed terms and conditions of employment. This process is particularly effective in cases where companies are members of an employers' organisation and thus automatically subject to the provisions of the applicable collective agreement (*ibid.*: 242-3). This accounts for the vast majority of Swedish companies with collective agreements covering nine out of ten workers in 2013. For the same year, bargaining coverage was higher for blue collar workers (around 94 per cent) than for white collar workers (77 per cent), but overall it could be said that there is a high level of coverage in Sweden (Kjellberg, 2013). However, it can also be noted that collective agreements are not legally applicable to an entire sector. Consequently, agreements do not apply to companies that are not members of an employers' organisation that signed an agreement. Nevertheless, individual employers can sign an "application agreement" with a union in the company, if they want to (International Labour Organisation, 2009: 6).

The 1997 Industry Agreement, and the accompanying Negotiation Agreement, provided the framework for several bargaining rounds. However, following the 2010 round, the Association of Swedish Engineering Industries (formerly VF and now called Teknikföretagen), which was the largest employers' organisation that was party to the agreement, decided to withdraw from it. However, a new version of the agreement was negotiated and came into force for the 2011 bargaining round (Kullander and Björnberg, 2011: 1). The reason why Teknikföretagen decided to withdraw was its assertion that the role of the manufacturing sector, as the benchmark setter for agreements in other industries, had gradually been reduced by other industries/sectors that have a more

domestic focus on the Swedish economy and which were using the Agreement as a platform for larger wage rises (*ibid.*: 1). The 2011 agreement puts stronger emphasis on the coordination of agreements so as to ensure closer comparability and advocated the promotion of the Industry Agreement as setting the benchmark against which others are to be set (*ibid.*: 2).

The Industry Agreement is now considered to be the “cornerstone of wage formation in Sweden”, delivering “reasonable cost increases for business, while providing satisfactory real wage growth for employees” (Swedish Food Federation *et al.*, undated: 7). At the time of the 2017 bargaining round the Industry Agreement had been signed by 19 unions as well as 8 industry organisations and employers’ federations, covering approximately 500,000 workers (*ibid.*: 4). Due to its role in setting the benchmark for wages across other parts of the Swedish labour market the effective scope is even greater.

The earlier part of this chapter, as well as chapter three, referred to a general demand for labour in Sweden and asserted that this could be one of the reasons why Sweden joined the EU and why it granted immediate labour market access to A8 and A2 migrants. However, it has also been observed that intra-EU migration to Sweden, particularly from the A8 countries appears to be relatively low with around 10,000 A8 migrants arriving between 2004 and 2006 (Krings, 2009: 54). This could be because there are fewer low skilled jobs in Sweden and a correspondingly lower demand for migrants to fill such roles than is the case in the UK, for example (Gerdes and Wadensjö, 2013: 18). Elaborating this notion, Gerdes and Wadensjö assert that “unions in Sweden have successfully implemented a high minimum wage according to agreements leading to the elimination of low wage jobs” (2013: 12).

It was also observed in the previous chapter that strong economic growth in the neighbouring Baltic countries between 2003 and 2007 may have accounted for relatively low numbers of A8 workers migrating to Sweden (Dudzińska, 2013: 1). However, it can be noted that in 2011 alone, 11,000 Lithuanians migrated to a Nordic country (including Sweden). Poles, Latvians Estonians and Romanians have also been migrating to the Nordic countries (Friberg and Eldring, 2013: 31) with Poles the largest group of EU labour migrants in Sweden (OECD, 2011). An increase in migration could be due, in part, to the impact of the economic and financial crisis. For instance, Latvia and Romania were among those countries that received financial support from the IMF in exchange for which they were required to implement labour market reforms. This included changes to wage developments, such as decreasing minimum wages and decentralising collective bargaining and introducing greater labour market flexibility (Schulten and Müller, 2012: 186-187). Furthermore, due to Economic and Monetary Union (see chapter two), individual member states can no longer devalue their currency to restore competitiveness, as Sweden did in the 1980s (before joining the EU) (Ekdahl and Johansson, 1996: 97). Therefore, another form of devaluation for those countries in economic difficulty is “increasing their competitiveness through a reduction of labour costs” (Schulten and Müller, 2012: 186). The result of which could be that workers migrate to member states where they can earn more. This could be Sweden or other western European countries, such as the UK, which has also been seen to have a demand for labour.

In addition to the possibility for EU migrant workers to access the Swedish labour market under freedom of movement, a notable means through which A8 nationals have been working in Sweden is as posted workers. The EU posting of workers directive enables

employers to contract workers from other member states to perform a service for a determined period of time (Pedersini, and Pallini, 2010: 2). This enables employers to directly source migrant labour to meet their specific needs. The conditions surrounding this possibility have proven to be, and remain, subject to considerable debate, in particular the approach that is based on the application of minimum levels of protection for posted workers (*ibid.*: 1). Notably this came to the fore in the so-called Laval case in Sweden in 2010.

Laval is a Latvian company that was awarded a contract for carrying out construction work in the Swedish town of Vaxholm in 2004. The company used Latvian workers that came to Sweden as posted workers (Bruun, 2006). While Laval was not subject to a collective agreement in Sweden it did fall under the scope of two such agreements in Latvia with the Latvian building workers union. Nevertheless, the Swedish building workers union contacted Laval to arrange a collective agreement so as to ensure that the Latvians were working under the same terms and conditions as Swedish workers, as per the collective agreement for the Swedish construction sector (Woolfson *et al.*, 2010: 337). However, Laval refused to sign such an agreement and this led the Swedish building workers union to blockade the site. This was followed by further “sympathy action” by the Swedish Electricians’ Union (*ibid.*: 337). A series of court cases followed and a referral was made to the European Court of Justice (ECJ) for advice. It can be asserted that the case came down to a debate between the free movement of workers within the EU – in this case as posted workers to provide a service – and the ability to take collective action. Ultimately, the ECJ adjudged that

the right of trade unions of a Member State to take collective action by which undertakings established in other Member States may be forced to sign the collective agreement for the building sector...is liable to make it less attractive, or more difficult, for such undertakings to carry out construction work in Sweden, and therefore constitutes a restriction on the freedom to provide services (ECJ, 2007: 42).

Therefore, the free movement of workers and service provision was deemed to be the key issue that needed to be respected in view of the EU treaties. While the Confederation of Swedish Enterprise²³ welcomed this outcome, the unions did not (Woolfson *et al.*, 2010: 341). The ETUC observed that it could facilitate social dumping and make it harder to ensure the equal treatment of migrant and domestic workers, not just in Sweden, but across the EU (Whitall, 2008: 3).

The outcome of the ECJ case and the appropriateness of the current posting provisions have been a source of much debate ever since and to the extent that a targeted revision of the directive was agreed in June 2018 with the hope of addressing some of the perceived shortcomings in the original directive (1996) and the subsequent enforcement directive (2014). Notably, the revised agreement contains the provision that “the same work at the same place should be remunerated in the same manner” for posted workers as for indigenous workers (European Commission (a): 2016: 2). This rule is established through law or collective agreements, according to the practice in individual member states (European Parliament, 2018). Additionally, “temporary work agencies...have to guarantee posted workers the same conditions that apply to other temporary workers hired in the country they have been sent to” (European Parliament, 2018). The decision to revise parts

²³ In 2001 SAF merged with the Federation of Swedish Industries to create the Confederation of Swedish Enterprise (Svenskt Näringsliv – SN), (Berg, 2001).

of the original directive could be viewed as responding to the issues that have been raised as a result of the EU's eastward enlargement in 2004 and 2007, in particular, and which has resulted in greater diversity within the EU in terms of wages and employment standards and opportunities, as noted in chapters two and three.

Although there is a clear distinction between the movement of labour as posted workers and those people that migrate under general freedom of movement provisions, which provides the context for the labour migration that is being explored in this research, a posted worker can, nevertheless, be viewed as a form of migrant worker. It is also an example of the way in which supra-national regulation at the EU level has impacted upon national industrial relations systems.

In parallel to intra-EU migration, it can be noted that highly skilled migrants from outside the EU, notably from China and India, have come to Sweden to work as IT specialists, engineers and technicians (Gerdes and Wadensjö, 2013: 12). This could be associated with the 2008 reform of the Swedish migration system. The reform made it easier for employers to hire third-country nationals to fill vacancies that could not be addressed by workers from Sweden or the EU. As such, the new scheme covers all skill levels and “there are no caps or quotas in place to determine how many labour migrants can enter the labour market” (Cerna, 2012: 117). The then minister for migration and asylum policy, Tobias Billström, outlined that “the main driving-force for our reform is the recognition that there are labour shortages in Sweden that will not be filled by people living in Sweden or in other EU countries” (2009: 4). This suggests that a central reason for granting immediate labour market access to A8 and A2 workers was to address worker and skill shortages, but that this has not proved to be sufficient to address employers' needs.

It was also noted in chapter three that over approximately the last three years EU countries have, to varying degrees, been faced with an increase in the number of asylum seekers and refugees that are fleeing war and persecution in countries in the Middle East and Sub-Saharan Africa (BBC News, 2015). Sweden is one of the main destination countries for these people. As result a Fast Track programme of labour market integration has been developed between the public employment service and companies with the aim of quickly integrating refugees into work, according to their skills and qualifications. The programme also provides training and language learning that enables refugees to work in sectors and occupations where there is an established shortage of workers (Government Offices of Sweden, 2016). The number of asylum applications in 2015 was around 160,000, double the amount in 2014 (England, 2016). This could be said to have caused social and political tensions, which were born out in the September 2018 general election in which the anti-immigration Sweden Democrats party saw a 5 per cent increase in its vote share to 18 per cent (BBC News, 2018).

The UK

Firstly, it can be noted that, today, employment regulation is primarily conducted through government legislation (Anderman, 2000: 1). The national minimum wage continues to be set according to a recommendation by the Low Pay Commission. In the private sector, the coverage of collective agreements is around 16 per cent (Department for Business Innovation and Skills, 2013: 31) and collective bargaining predominantly takes place at company or workplace level, although there is some industry level bargaining in the textile and furniture industries (European Trade Union Institute, 2016). Agreements typically

cover pay (in limited instances), working hours and holidays and, to a lesser extent, pensions (Carley, 2010: 15). The coverage of collective agreements in the public sector is roughly 63 per cent (Department for Business Innovation and Skills, 2013: 31) and there is a more prominent role for industry level bargaining on pay, although such agreements are “not considered to be legally binding” (European Trade Union Institute, 2016).

In terms of national developments, the 2016 Trade Union Act could be considered the main legislative initiative. Indeed, Bogg has described this as “one of the most radical and important pieces of trade union legislation to have been enacted in a generation” (2016: 299). The Act revises the thresholds for industrial action by stipulating that at least 50 per cent of eligible voters need to have voted in favour of strike action before it can be declared valid (Trade Union Act, 2016: 1). The Act also sets out that for those workers employed in the provision of “important public services”²⁴ a minimum of 40 per cent of eligible voters need to have supported strike action (Cawthray, 2016). Practitioner and academic analysis of the Act suggests that while it may make it harder, on paper, to take industrial action, notably to strike, it may also provoke a response that leads to strengthened worker organisation. In this respect, McFarlane, observed that the Act could lead to unions “seeking to cultivate more active support, so that they can gain the necessary numbers for industrial action” (2016) and more industrial relations matters could be settled in the courts. In a similar vein, Bogg comments that the Act may “precipitate the escalation of strike action, rather than the pacification of trade unions” (2016: 333). Additionally, the Act regulates time off for trade union representatives in the public sector and the financial support that unions can receive for their political activities (French and Hodder, 2016: 165). These developments lead French and Hodder to surmise that “under a dominant neo-

²⁴ This concerns medical services; transportation services; teaching services at non-fee paying schools and academies teaching pupils between 16-19 years old; fire-fighters; and border control services (Cawthray, 2016).

liberal paradigm, the ‘legitimate’ role for unions is, at best, one based upon productivity coalitions, lifelong learning and individual representation, not collective organisation, industrial struggle and political campaigning” (2016: 178). In this respect, they argue that one of the aims of the Act is to further weaken trade unions and their ability to challenge privatisation and the austerity measures that have been introduced in response to efforts to stabilise the public finances in the wake of the financial crisis (*ibid.*: 166). It remains to be seen what the impact of the Act will be in practice and if, and to what extent, it may in fact re-energise the labour movement towards more collective action. Irrespective of the outcome, the Act is another example of the type of legislative intervention that has come to characterise UK industrial relations since the late 1960s.

Beyond the Trade Union Act, what could be regarded as an overarching development that has impacted upon, and helped to shape, UK industrial relations is the opening of the labour market to workers from the A8 and A2 countries in 2004 and 2014, respectively. It was noted in chapter three that this development has the potential to undermine collective agreements and employment standards and conditions, particularly wages (Woolfson, 2007: 200). Chapter two considered the theoretical notion that employers may seek to encourage labour migration to increase the pool of labour so as to exert downward pressure on wages (Lewis, 1954: 176). Indeed, Gray (2004: 73) has suggested that the strategy behind EU enlargement and open labour market access for A8 migrants from the employers’ perspective was to encourage the mobility of low-cost labour to provide competition for jobs and to restrict wage levels.

However, the extent to which the migration of A8 workers is causing wages to fall in the EU15 is questionable. For example, Meardi *et al.* counter this suggestion by observing that

“real wages had already been stagnant in western Europe for a while, and unions declining, so there was no urgent need for EU employers to import foreign labour to stop wage or union growth” (2012: 8). While there appears to be relatively limited empirical evidence on the impact of EU migration on the wage levels of indigenous workers, research by the Bank of England supports Meardi’s assessment by observing that the share of EU migrants in the labour force “has had little or no impact on the pay rates of the indigenous population” (Nickell and Saleheen, 2015: 2). However, it might be inferred that if wage levels among the migrant workforce are at a fairly low level relative to indigenous workers this could point towards there being a segmented labour market, for example as concerns the tendency for EU migrants to be concentrated in minimum wage jobs in particular sectors (Jayaweera and Anderson, 2008: 40). At the same time, one of the reasons cited by employers as to why they employ EU migrants is that they might display a higher work ethic and can be more productive than indigenous UK workers (CIPD, 2013: 9), especially as they tend to be highly qualified and skilled, but at the same cost to employers as indigenous workers (French, 2014: 138). Therefore, it could be inferred that this results in lower unit labour costs, thus making EU migrants an attractive prospect, but not one which limits wage levels per se. Consequently, the notion purported by Castles and Kosack (1985: 119) in relation to initial post-war migration, that migrant workers could be used as a means to limit wage rises and the improvement of working conditions, does not appear to be born out in the context of present-day migration between eastern and western Europe.

It has been noted in relation to Sweden that the economic and financial crisis may have led to an increase in EU migration to Sweden. However, the evidence suggests that there was an overall decline in A8 migration to the UK between 2007 and 2010 (Office for National Statistics, 2017). Within this, there are different migration patterns. Between 2009 and

2011 there were a third fewer Polish migrants being allocated UK national insurance numbers compared to 2007 (Clark *et al.*, 2014: 9). Using the number of national insurance numbers as the information source, it can also be noted that there was a decline in workers from Slovakia during the recession. It can be recalled that Poles and Slovaks were among the top three A8 nationalities in the UK at this time (Home Office, 2011). However, there was an increase in people coming from the Baltic countries between 2008 and 2011 (Clark *et al.*, 2014: 9), which could help to support the assertion that the crisis, and the subsequent policy responses, encouraged out-migration from those countries. At the same time, recalling the discussion in chapter two, migration is also driven by family and social ties, which could help to account for continued migration during the economic downturn (Somerville and Sumption, 2009: 6). In parallel, it can be noted that since the end of 2012, migration into the UK from the EU15 (or EU14 without the UK) has been higher than for the A8 or A2 (Office for National Statistics). It is also notable that there has been a decline in all EU migration to the UK since the second half of 2016, which coincides with the outcome of the EU referendum and the decision to leave the EU (*ibid.*).

In the context of the UK's decision to leave the EU, it is notable that the government has prioritised the ending of the free movement of EU workers to the UK (Woolfson, 2017: 7), with better control over migration being one of the main reasons why people voted "leave" (Lord Ashcroft Polls, 2016). It is difficult to say with any clarity what potential impact the UK's impending exit from the EU could have on industrial relations, labour market regulation and the employment of EU migrant workers. Given these uncertainties, it is perhaps relevant to focus on what is the state of play in terms of UK labour legislation that has directly resulted from EU level action. There are approximately 70 EU directives in the area of social affairs, covering issues such as non-discrimination, health and safety,

information and consultation (BusinessEurope, 2018). Recent examples include the Posted Workers Directive (1996) (and its 2018 revision); Working Time Directive (1998); and Temporary Agency Workers Directive (2008), among others²⁵ (Russell and Maclean, 2016: 1). It should be recalled that these directives provide the minimum standards that EU member states need to comply with, but that they may go beyond them. It can also be recalled that several of these directives resulted from agreements reached between the European social partners, notably during the 1990s and in a way that echoed the UK government's approach to individual rights (Brown, 2011: 407).

While it could be postulated that the UK's exit from the EU is unlikely to see a reduction in workers' existing rights, it may bring into question the future expansion of such rights, should any be established at EU level. This situation is likely to cause unease among the trade union movement, particularly as the issue of workers' rights was one of the key reasons why the TUC campaigned for the UK to remain in the EU during the 2016 referendum (TUC, 2015).

Comparative analysis and summary

It was observed in chapter two that national regulation plays a fundamental role in governing the employment relationship and the present chapter has shown how this is the case in practice. This chapter has demonstrated how industrial relations systems not only provide the overall framework for the functioning of national labour markets, but also how they impact upon migrant workers, notably as concerns the level of the employer demand

²⁵ European Collective Redundancies Directive (1992); Pregnant Workers Directive (1992); European Works Councils Directive (1994); Parental Leave Directive (1996); Posted Workers Directive (1996); Part-Time Workers Directive (1997); Working Time Directive (1998); Acquired Rights Directive (2006); Temporary Agency Workers Directive (2008); Equal Treatment Directive (2010).

for such workers and the positions that they hold. Thus, due to the fact that labour markets in the EU retain rather diverse characteristics in terms of their structure and regulatory environment, the labour market situation of EU migrant workers could also be said to vary²⁶.

The institutional and regulatory context that a labour market is situated in as well as national public policies not only set the political framework within which migration takes place, but also impacts upon the extent of employers' demand for labour (Ruhs and Anderson, 2010: 6). The institutional and regulatory context includes the policies pursued by governments and the relative strength and role of the organisations representing employers and workers (*ibid.*: 42). This being said, it is likely to be the government that will ultimately be held accountable for the policies that are implemented. As well as differences between national labour markets they can also be observed within them. Ruhs and Anderson comment that "there is no one-size-fits-all approach as labour markets operate differently, depending, for example, on the sector, occupation, type and size of firm and on the extent of labour market segmentation" (*ibid.*: 17). In this sense, even though their actions might be constrained by wider socio-economic factors, individual employers can also play an important role in the regulation of the employment relationship, which in turn impacts upon the nature of the demand that companies have for workers (*ibid.*: 21). Equally, the relationship between the demand and supply of labour could be regarded as being heavily influenced by the regulatory environment and thus the industrial relations system. From this it could be postulated that the extent to which an employer will

²⁶ It is important to note that such variation is based on actual labour market circumstances and individual employment prospects and not on the grounds of unequal treatment or discrimination as concerns access to, and the terms and conditions of, employment based on nationality. The Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union clearly states in relation to EU migrant workers that "such freedom of movement shall entail the abolition of any discrimination based on nationality between workers of the Member States as regards employment, remuneration and other conditions of work and employment" (2012: 13).

be able to initiate a strategy that focuses on the recruitment of migrant workers will depend, in part, on the nature of the industrial relations system, notably the relationship between capital and labour, including the strength of the employer(s) relative to labour; the extent of their interaction and the level at which this takes place; and the role of government and the degree to which, and the form with which, it regulates the labour market.

In this regard, Devitt observes that some labour markets can be identified as highly regulated, such as in the Nordic countries, including Sweden, whereas others are much more lightly regulated, as in the case of the UK (Devitt, 2011: 568). Moreover, it is postulated that on the premise that migrant workers are willing to accept lower employment standards than indigenous workers “less-regulated economies and sectors which have been accorded lower employment standards are more likely to result in a demand for migrant workers” (*ibid.*: 568). The discussion in chapters two and three surrounding the employer demand for migrant labour appears to support this assertion.

This chapter has taken an historical approach to build up a picture of developments in the Swedish and UK industrial relations systems and the role of the labour market actors therein. In this way it is possible to identify key features of convergence and divergence and the extent to which the labour markets in these two countries might be considered to be segmented.

The points of convergence between the Swedish and UK industrial relations systems can best be noted in terms of overall trends that have characterised the two systems over the periods that have been explored. Firstly, it can be noted that the initial post-war starting

point was similar in both countries in that there was a limited role for legislation with organisations representing employers and trade unions playing a prominent role in labour market regulation, whether through tripartite and/or bipartite means. It can be noted that this process was more formalised in Sweden than in the UK, but was, nevertheless, evident in both countries. It follows that both countries began to see a more interventionist approach by their respective governments through the greater use of legislation from the late 1960s in the UK and from the 1970s in Sweden. Although this was the case for both countries, legislation has been seen to have played a much stronger role in the UK. Finally, both countries have a history of taking a relatively open approach towards labour migration. This was elaborated at length in chapter three and the present chapter has sought to discuss this in relation to the main industrial relations and labour market developments.

What could be identified as the key point of divergence concerns the pace and extent of the decentralisation of collective bargaining and its knock-on effects. In the UK this process began to occur in the 1960s and it has evolved into a significant reduction in the scope and coverage of collective agreements and collective employment relations in the present day. In Sweden, decentralisation occurred during the late 1970s and 1980s, but to a much lesser extent, which could be associated with the prominent role that centralised bargaining was afforded between approximately the 1950s and late 1970s. These divergent approaches are reflected in the present-day nature of these two countries' industrial relations systems and have been described in relation to Traxler's (1995: 3) notion of the organised and disorganised decentralisation of collective bargaining.

Leading on from this, while both countries faced changing macro-economic and labour market circumstances during the course of the 1980s and 1990s, it was the UK that saw a

particular weakening of collective action and a less institutionalised role for unions and employers' organisations. On the other hand, although these circumstances threatened the Swedish model and the collective approach to industrial relations, it could be said that Swedish industrial relations adapted so as to retain the spirit of the Saltsjöbaden Agreement. These points can be exemplified through reference to the progressively dominant role that single employer bargaining (workplace level agreements) has come to play in the UK, in those companies where unions are recognised. This is emphasised through a prominent role for labour market legislation, which has enforced the notion of individual rights. Underpinned by HRM practices, this could be said to have enhanced managerial prerogative in determining the nature of the employment relationship at company level and is a trend that unquestionably continues to prevail into the present day. This approach is very different to the Industry Agreement in Sweden, which has continued to ensure a strong collective and (multi) industry approach to bargaining for the setting of the terms and conditions of employment. In particular this concerns the benchmark setting role of the Agreement in wage setting across all sectors.

From this it could be inferred that a central impact of the different approaches in the two countries is greater differentiation among UK workers as concerns their role and labour market status, which could be said to contribute to labour market segmentation. This includes EU migrants working in the UK. On the other hand, it could be postulated that such differentiation is less evident in Sweden and that where it is evident it is likely to be identified between sectors and less so between individual workers within a certain sector due to the sectoral nature of collective agreements. Consequently, segmentation might be considered to be less prominent in Sweden's more highly regulated labour market than it is in the UK's flexible and less regulated labour market.

This analysis provides an important reference point for considering the extent of labour market segmentation at system level. At the same time, it is necessary to acknowledge that the characteristics of labour market segmentation may not be evident in a uniform way and will manifest themselves in different forms in Sweden and the UK in view of the differences in their industrial relations systems and economic organisation. An example of this could be elaborated on the basis of the views expressed by Brown and Wadhvani who have commented, in relation to the UK during the 1980s, that the decentralisation of decision-making and bargaining has led to the “insularity of insiders” (1990: 67). What is referred to here as the isolation of people inside a given company stems from the nature of single employer bargaining and the gap that is then created between employees inside a given company and those active in other parts of the (external) labour market (*ibid.*: 67).

Therefore, an initial assessment would appear to suggest that, from an industrial relations system perspective, segmentation should be less prominent in Sweden than it is in the UK. However, the discussion is less clear when viewed from a theoretical economic organisation (varieties of capitalism) perspective. It is from this basis that the following chapter will discuss labour market segmentation theory and elaborate on the extent to which factors that are associated with segmentation are evident in Sweden and the UK.

This chapter has attempted to discuss and compare industrial relations systems at the national level. However, as this final section has highlighted, important similarities and differences can also be identified within national labour markets, at the sectoral level. This is particularly important for this study in which the research findings are being compared on a cross-sectoral basis. It can also be noted that at the European level there are around 40

sectoral social dialogue committees, including for the food and road transportation sectors. These committees work on issues such as training, health and safety and restructuring (European Commission, 2010). This suggests that there may be more points of convergence between the same sectors operating in different national labour markets than there are between sectors that are located within the same national context. This point has been reflected by Marginson and Sisson (2004: 290) and is also referred to by Bechter *et al.* who observe that “each sector is shaped by specific product and labour markets, resulting in different workforces, different work practices and different economic context” (2012: 187). This suggests that the extent of labour market segmentation and the degree to which EU migrant workers help to meet employers’ demand for labour may not only vary between countries, but within sectoral labour markets. The extent to which this is the case will be discussed in the analysis of the research findings.

5. Labour market segmentation – theory and practice

Introduction

In seeking to identify a suitable theoretical framework for this study it was found that the majority of the migration theories that were reviewed in chapter two were conceived from a development-oriented perspective and written in the context of rural-urban migration. These theories pay limited attention to international migration between developed countries and the labour market situation in destination areas. Where the theories did look at these issues the notion of labour market segmentation was raised. Building on this, chapter three sought to provide an evidence-based perspective as to why people migrate within and into European countries and the role that economic, political and social factors play in this respect. This helped to demonstrate the labour market status and opportunities of migrant workers in destination countries. Chapter three, and particularly chapter four, also helped to exemplify the notion of varieties of capitalism, which was introduced in the discussion around the political-economic factors of migration in chapter two. This demonstrated that even if economies are broadly structured around a set of principles that lead towards a common policy orientation, namely market capitalism, there are specific nuances that result in different forms of national economic organisation and labour market regulation. This impacts upon employers' demand for (migrant) labour and also accounts for differences between workers, which again raises the notion of labour market segmentation.

Therefore, the focus of the present chapter is on labour market segmentation theory, which is elaborated through reference to theoretical models and ideas and a discussion of

different forms of work organisation and management control. Through this elaboration it will be demonstrated that labour market segmentation theory provides the most suitable framework for attempting to answer this study's research question. Following this, the rest of the chapter aims to identify the factors that can be considered to contribute to labour market segmentation in practice and in the context of the Swedish and UK labour markets in particular. This will be discussed in relation to the nature and extent of employers' demand for labour and the role that EU migrants play in this regard. In doing so it will be shown that, on the whole, segmentation manifests itself in different ways in the two countries, in line with their approaches to economic organisation and their industrial relations systems. Similarities will also be noted. This chapter will conclude by identifying several key points that will be used to help structure the data analysis.

Theoretical considerations around dualism and labour market segmentation

Firstly, it is relevant to briefly consider the facets that are considered to demonstrate dualism. In this respect, there are four components of a dual model that can be identified – a dual economy; a dual labour market; the consequences for workers from being active in a dual labour market; and the categorisation of labour according to race, ethnicity and gender (Hodson and Kaufman, 1982: 728). The following discussion will begin with the concept of a dual economy before focussing on labour market segmentation and related issues.

A typical starting point for considering a dual economy is the notion of a core-periphery structure. This was addressed in several forms in chapter two in relation to the world systems; new economics of labour migration; and cumulative causation theories. In the context of this chapter, Averitt (1968: 7) suggests that it can be understood as large

companies and corporations that have a national and international outreach, which comprise the core, while small, individual or family run, companies occupy the periphery. It could be argued that this has been reinforced by the process of globalisation and the increasing establishment of subsidiaries in production networks as well as the process of outsourcing in global supply chains (Dicken, 2003: 256). Pollard also describes the notion of a 'dual economy' in terms of there being "a modernised, mechanised, usually also heavily capitalised sector coexisting with unchanged traditional sectors in some industries and in agriculture" (1996: 385).

Developing the line of thinking that supports the notion of a dual economy through a core-periphery dynamic, the model "progresses from a distinction between modes of organisation of capital to modes of organisation of labour by linking dual economic sectors to dual labour markets" (Hodson and Kaufman, 1982: 729). The notion of a dual labour market, or what will be referred to from here on as a segmented labour market, is of particular interest in the context of this chapter and the wider study. Theories of segmented labour markets were initially associated with the economic and social structure of less developed countries. It was in the 1960s that these ideas began to be discussed in relation to the development of advanced industrialised countries, starting with the US (Berger and Piore, 1980: 15) and spreading to Europe in the 1980s, as a result of the drive towards flexibility and market capitalism (Saint-Paul, 1996: 2).

Piore draws on the notion of a dual economy to purport a dual labour market hypothesis in industrial economies and suggests that "the functioning of the labour markets is best understood in terms of a model in which the market is divided into a primary and a secondary sector. Migrants are found in the secondary sector. The jobs in the primary

sector are largely reserved for natives” (1979: 35). It follows that jobs in the primary sector are more stable and secure than those in the secondary sector (*ibid.*: 39). The starting point for this approach is the inherent differences that exist between capital and labour within a capitalist system in which “capital is the fixed factor of production” while “labour is the variable factor” that can be increased or decreased as demand requires (*ibid.*: 36). Thus, it is the owners of capital who control the production process and who decide how to deploy resources, which can occur in two main ways. The first involves a capital-intensive approach in which investments are made in technology and accompanied by a small, but stable workforce. The second is a labour-intensive approach, which involves a larger workforce, but with less employment security. Therefore, a capital-intensive approach is used to meet the basic, stable demand and a labour-intensive approach is used to meet seasonal or fluctuating demand (*ibid.*: 36). This suggests that distinctions not only occur within an economy and between capital and labour, but also among workers.

The central justification for Piore’s categorisation according to ethnicity is that migrants tend to have a “temporary attachment to the labour market” (*ibid.*: 39) in their host country and so are naturally predisposed to the secondary sector in which employment is more ad-hoc, less secure, less stable and typically low skilled (*ibid.*: 40). It could also be asserted that employers may view migrant workers as an ideal source of labour for responding to fluctuations in demand, thus highlighting their suitability to the secondary sector and that migration can be a deliberate response by employers to divide workers in the pursuit of cost-effective production practices (*ibid.*: 43). The categorisation of migrants in this way also returns to Massey *et al.*’s notion of “immigrant jobs” (1993: 452). In this vein, Piore comments that “it is clear in every country that migrants are not spread evenly throughout the industrial structure. They are concentrated in certain industries and occupations. They

also seem to be concentrated in certain types of firms and completely excluded in other types of firms, industries and occupations” (*ibid.*: 17). It could be inferred from this that migrants may be a factor contributing towards labour market segmentation and also that a structural demand for migrant labour can result from such a segmented structure. It is also suggested that low-skilled indigenous workers will be employed in the secondary sector. However, the combination of migrants’ characteristics and the nature of the work in the secondary sector leads Piore to assert that migrants are more likely than indigenous workers to occupy secondary sector positions (Piore, 1979: 35).

This perspective appears to define segmentation according to where workers are from. Chapter three demonstrated that there is historical evidence for such a categorisation, in terms of migrant workers occupying relatively menial, low-skilled roles in western Europe during the post-Second World War economic boom (Castles and Kosack, 1985: 29) and this may have influenced Piore’s thinking when developing his hypothesis in the late 1970s. The discussions in chapters two and three suggest that such a categorisation of workers is also evident in the present day. For example, it has been noted that in the UK labour market context migrant workers are more likely to be temporary and agency workers compared to indigenous workers (Morris, 2016: 15). It also tends to be the case that temporary workers are harder to recruit to a union and to organise (Scheele, 2002). Consequently, there is evidence to suggest that migrant workers are often concentrated in low-skilled, low-paid and insecure jobs (Forde and MacKenzie, 2009: 439), (Jayaweera and Anderson, 2008: 20), (The Migration Observatory, 2016: 5), (Migration Advisory Committee, 2014: 2).

At the same time, Piore (1979) pays relatively limited attention to the prospect of migrants being highly skilled and, therefore, occupying primary sector roles instead of automatically going into the secondary sector. Another issue that appears to be overlooked is the possibility that workers in the secondary sector may advance to the primary sector. While the absence of mobility between segments can be viewed as evidence of a segmented labour market (Leontaridi, 1998: 64), it would seem important to acknowledge that mobility may occur. A final point to note is Piore's (1979: 39) assumption that migrants are usually temporary workers. There is no mention that they may also seek permanent jobs, even if this is only an aspiration.

Following a revision of the segmentation framework, Berger and Piore (1980: 16) observed that the issue is more complex than dividing the labour market into a primary and secondary sector and that there is discontinuity in labour markets, which is reflected by a broader number of segments that are "qualitatively different" (*ibid.*: 16). Subsequently, a more advanced approach is purported in which there are three or, in some cases, four labour market segments. The basis remains the primary and secondary sectors. The primary sector is then split into the lower primary and upper primary tiers. There may also be an intermediate tier between the lower and upper segments of the primary sector (*ibid.*: 18).

Work in the *secondary sector* is characterised by low wages, low social status and poor working conditions. The jobs tend to be insecure and unskilled and offer limited prospects for career progression. Such positions are often filled by "women, adolescents, peasant or temporary migrant workers" (Berger and Piore, 1980: 18), among whom voluntary turnover is high. Compared to the secondary sector, jobs in the *lower primary sector* are

considered to be significantly more stable with higher pay and a better standard of working conditions and higher social status. The greater stability of employment leads to better prospects for internal career progression and higher wages (*ibid.*: 18). The work is considered to be relatively skilled. These skills are developed on-the-job and prior formal education is not a pre-requisite. Through the higher degree of job security and stability workers in this sector are more likely to have organised representation towards their employer, either informally or through trade union representation (*ibid.*: 18).

Jobs in the *upper tier of the primary sector* are identified as having the highest wages, status, job security and prospects for career progression. However, it is also to be noted that such progression is associated with geographic and/or horizontal mobility in terms of moving to another organisation to work at a similar level (*ibid.*: 19). Therefore, even though mobility is noted as a feature of the secondary and upper primary sectors, the context is very different. In the secondary sector it is presented as a necessity in order to find work and derives from the temporary nature of assignments. For workers in the upper primary sector it is about opportunities for new challenges and, potentially, higher wages in another organisation, even though the level of the work may be the same. In this sector, emphasis is placed on the level of formal education acquired before employment. Contrary to the lower tier of the primary sector, the notion of collectivism among the work community is considered to be less evident with workers in the upper tier of the primary sector more likely to follow internal rules of procedure than direct supervision (*ibid.*: 19). Finally, the *intermediate tier* primarily concerns craft jobs and the categorisation of jobs in this sector is largely oriented around skills and involves a significant degree of on-the-job training, which identifies these jobs with the secondary sector and lower tier of the primary

sector (*ibid.*: 19). On the other hand, craftsman work with a degree of autonomy and independence that is identified in those workers in the upper tier of the primary sector.

These sectors are thus identified according to job characteristics in the first instance and only according to the people that meet such requirements in the second instance. This is an alternative approach to simply differentiating between the groups of people that occupy the sectors, as was the basis in the more simplistic primary-secondary sector categorisation, and one that appears to be a more realistic interpretation of how labour markets are perceived to function. This approach also provides a useful framework against which further analysis of labour market segmentation theory can be developed.

Although the views developed by Piore (1979) (and Piore and Berger (1980)) were based on the labour market situation of the 1970s and 1980s, and primarily took inspiration from the US, a number of the elements that are outlined can be evidenced over the years in Europe and, to a significant extent, continue to be so into the present day. One example of this is the tendency that has emerged in some labour markets for migrant workers to occupy positions in what Piore referred to as the “secondary sector” (1979: 35). This is an important issue that is being explored in this research and will be considered further in the analysis of the findings.

Despite the seemingly enduring relevance of Piore’s (1979) framework, it can also be noted that other authors have critiqued aspects of this approach and advanced their own perspective on labour market segmentation. It has been observed that in their revised framework, Piore and Berger (1980) principally distinguish between the primary and secondary sector on the basis of job characteristics. However, Loveridge and Mok (1980:

396) suggest that this does not provide sufficiently thorough evidence of segmentation. In attempting to provide a more refined analysis, they purport that for segmentation to be claimed in its simplest form there should be evidence of stigmatised groups of workers, such as migrants, being “crowded” (*ibid.*: 396) into jobs with no career progression prospects, limited job security, and poor working conditions. It is further asserted that a more advanced assessment of segmentation could be derived from evidence of stigmatised groups that have “similar educational qualifications to non-stigmatised groups” (*ibid.*: 397) being concentrated, to a higher degree, in jobs with no career progression prospects, limited job security, and poor working conditions. This relates to the notion of the under-employment of migrant workers, which was introduced in chapter two (Andor, 2014: 13).

An additional assessment of what constitutes a segmented labour market structure is provided by Dickens and Lang (1985: 792) who observe that there is strong evidence for a primary-secondary sector labour market distinction according to the wages that workers in each sector receive. They suggest that higher levels of education result in a higher wage (*ibid.*: 785). Subsequently, a segmented labour market structure takes the form of workers with higher levels of education and wages occupying primary sector positions and those with lower levels of education and, correspondingly, lower wages having jobs in the secondary sector (*ibid.*: 785). Additionally, the same authors assert that a company (and workers themselves) are less likely to invest in firm-specific training if a worker is unlikely to remain with a company for a prolonged period of time, such as when a worker is employed temporarily (*ibid.*: 801). This contributes to the notion of “two markets with distinct wage profiles” (*ibid.*: 802). Therefore, the extent to which a worker is educated in the first instance, and whether they have access to further training once inside a company,

determines the wage that is received, thereby creating a primary-secondary sector distinction.

Related to this, Dickens and Lang (1985: 799) also suggest that more highly educated workers are expected to reject the poor working conditions of the secondary sector. At the same time, it can be recalled that chapter three identified a concentration of A8 workers in low-skilled roles in the UK (Office for National Statistics, 2011: 3) as a result of a shortage of (indigenous) workers in certain occupations and sectors (McDowell, 2009: 20). The researcher also inferred that A8 migrants may occupy such positions almost irrespective of their level of education or ability. Therefore, in the UK labour market context it may be that A8 migrants are working below their skill level, even if they might be earning more than in their country of origin, which returns to the notion of “contradictory class mobility” (Parreñas, 2001 in Lutz, 2008: 89). Consequently, it is questionable whether educated and skilled migrant workers are able to, or want to, reject jobs that would be characterised as belonging to the secondary sector. This point will be returned to in the analysis of this study’s findings (see chapters seven and eight).

The role of labour market and company structures in institutionalising segmentation

Building on the theoretical considerations that have been discussed thus far, this section will attempt to demonstrate that segmented labour markets can occur under different forms of work organisation and management control. In doing so, the discussion will focus on how a move away from standardised and tightly controlled forms of work organisation to a more flexible approach has affected the potential for labour market segmentation.

Taylorism, Fordism and bureaucratic control

Edwards *et al.* (1975: xi) observe that industrial development and the spread of mass factory production in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century switched the main focus from individual skilled craftsmanship to mechanised production techniques. This led to a broadly standardised approach to work organisation and labour allocation, and institutionalised labour market segmentation (*ibid.*: xi). This can be exemplified through reference to Taylor's (1911) principles of scientific management, which were conceived at the beginning of the twentieth century, and the related concept of "Fordism", and bureaucratic control as the associated management technique.

Taylor advocated four principles of what he termed "scientific management" (which also came to be known as "Taylorism") (Taylor, 1911, in Pugh, 1997: 275). The first principle involves gathering, recording and analysing information from workers about how they were undertaking their work and replacing this "rule of thumb knowledge" (*ibid.*: 276) and approach with rules and laws that would maximise a worker's output and the company's profit, enabling it to pay more to the higher performing workers (*ibid.*: 276). The second principle is about selecting workers and assessing and monitoring their character and performance to identify ways in which their output could be further increased, such as through the provision of training, so as to foster their professional advancement. This process continues on an annual basis. The third principle is about putting together the knowledge and information from the first principle with the selected workers of the second principle (*ibid.*: 277). The final principle concerns the division of tasks between management and workers, which is said to be on an almost equal footing as opposed to workers doing the lion's share. This interaction is also viewed as a way to limit conflict

situations. Describing this scenario Taylor comments that “first, the workmen does something, and then a man on the management’s side does something, and then the workmen does something; and under this intimate, close, personal cooperation between the two sides it becomes practically impossible to have a serious quarrel” (*ibid.*: 278). Taylor’s view was that while some disagreements will occur, especially in the early phases of adaptation to this approach, the two sides will ultimately put aside their differences as they need each other for their own individual benefit – that is management needs workers to work to the highest level possible and for the workers, high output results in higher wages (*ibid.*: 279).

A prominent example of the way in which Taylor’s work has been applied in industrialised economies is in the form of mass production. This was built on a standardised approach to the production process and a common set of rules and practices. This was termed “Fordism” (Storper and Scott, 1990: 574) as a result of the way in which the Ford car company became a pioneer in applying such methods to its assembly line operations and became a generic term for this form of production management, which was prevalent in the twentieth century (*ibid.*: 574). Storper and Scott describe Fordism as espousing a structure in which there was “a core group of high wage blue-collar workers and a periphery of low-wage workers employed in unstable production” (*ibid.*: 574). Thus, it can be said that companies following this approach followed a standardised production process that was underscored by “an institutionalised rigidity in their labour relations and labour markets” (*ibid.*: 574), which created distinct categories of workers, thereby resulting in a segmented labour market.

Fordism was particularly pronounced in the US as well as in the UK and Germany, where several Ford plants were located. This form of work organisation was implemented through a process referred to as bureaucratic control. Edwards identified bureaucratic control as work activities being “defined and directed by a set of work criteria - the rules, procedures and expectations governing jobs” (1975: 9). This was viewed as providing a consistent framework for the tasks that each worker was to perform, established the power relations and system of control within companies and set the criteria against which performance would be measured and decisions such as promotions or firings would take place (*ibid.*: 9). The formalisation of tasks in this way can also be considered as closely following Taylor’s principles of scientific management as it concerns taking a systematic approach to extracting the maximum possible from workers and increasing output.

Edwards observes that “bureaucratic control fostered employment stability by creating career ladders and instituting rewards for tenure and seniority within the firm” (1975: 15). This structure is referred to as an internal labour market (ILM), a concept that was initially elaborated by Doeringer and Piore and which is described as “an administrative unit...within which the pricing and allocation of labour is governed by a set of administrative rules and procedures” (1971: 1). An ILM differs from the external labour market (ELM), which operates according to market variables, in that jobs are “shielded from the direct influences of competitive forces” (*ibid.*: 2). Loveridge and Mok also comment that “the internal labour market is a description of the structured processes by which companies, and other employing bodies, allocate labour and distribute rewards” (1979: 6). In describing the relationship between ILMs and ELMs, Lovering asserts that “the labour market as a whole can be envisaged as consisting of sets of internal and

external labour markets, unevenly mapped geographically, offering a specific set of ELMs and ports of entry to ILMs in each local labour market” (1990: 13).

While Doeringer and Piore’s (1971) notion of ILMs was based around research on blue collar workers, they consider the concept to be equally applicable to white collar workers. The ILM structure is viewed as incorporating three factors: skill specificity; on-the-job training; and custom (1971: 13). The first two factors are intrinsically linked with skill specificity resulting from on-the-job training that is rooted in the work of the company that provides the training and which is structured according to the tasks that the worker performs. It could be inferred that a consequence of this form of training is that the worker becomes increasingly tied to the workplace where the training takes place as the more specific the training becomes the less possibilities there are to utilise the newly acquired skills in other companies. Therefore, while such training may enhance prospects for internal mobility within a company, it could simultaneously be detrimental to a worker’s mobility on the ELM. Where external mobility does occur this is likely to be in a similar occupation and within the same sector. Although providing job security, the limited mobility prospects could be viewed as evidence of labour market segmentation. Conversely, focusing on a general skills set can increase the possibilities to move between jobs across different sectors, but, potentially, at the expense of job security, which can also result in segmentation. It can be recalled that the first scenario is associated with the characteristics that Hall and Soskice (2001: 25) associate with a coordinated market economy (CME), whereas the second corresponds with the nature of a liberal market economy (LME) (*ibid.*: 30). This suggests that labour market segmentation can be associated with labour markets that have differing forms of economic organisation.

Finally, custom concerns the rules and practices that become established over time and which relate to all aspects of the employment relationship and workplace behaviour. The establishment of such customs is said to result from the stability of employment and practices that ILMs provide (*ibid.*: 23). An ILM structure can be a means through which employers try to limit turnover by providing on-the-job training, establishing a seniority-based pay scale and offering job security (*ibid.*: 29). Lower staff turnover is also cost-effective for companies (*ibid.*: 14). Trade unions also gain from the presence of an ILM structure because they “institutionalise the protective customs of their members and, through collective bargaining, reinforce existing regulations” (Loveridge and Mok, 1979: 6).

The presence of an ILM implies a significant degree of labour stability and that a company will, in general, look to promote from within to fill supervisory and mid-to-high level positions, rather than turning to an external appointment. It also suggests that companies will primarily use external recruitment to bring people in to the lower level positions from which they will develop their experience and be up-skilled. This would have the consequence of restricting, at least initially, externally recruited workers to low-end, secondary positions, which would serve to enforce the notion of structural labour market segmentation in terms of creating a distinction between workers, both as concerns those in the ELM compared to the ILM and within the ILM in a given company. Drawing together the different aspects, it could be suggested that ILMs simultaneously have the potential to foster mobility within companies, through training and job progression opportunities, and to create a segmented structure through institutionalising a secondary-primary sector structure within companies. ILMs could also contribute to a wider process of labour market segmentation by creating distinctions in recruitment and training opportunities and

practices between those workers that are part of an ILM and those that are in the ELM and looking for work. Therefore, ILMs could be viewed as both a cause of and a solution to labour market segmentation.

The lack of a definitive perspective on this issue can be associated with Loveridge and Mok's (1980) critique of Doeringer and Piore's (1971) work as concerns what they see as its failure to detail how ILMs are established and maintained. Notably, Loveridge and Mok observe that

it is difficult to ascertain...the extent to which internal markets are seen to be the result of unconscious, personally internalised, norms of behaviour or as the result of a conscious manipulation of their environment by employers and shop-floor leaders acting in collusion, or yet again whether they arise as the unintended consequence of the individual pursuit of hedonistic objectives (1980: 389).

Notable in this regard is Loveridge and Mok's assertion that descriptions of ILMs fail to take into account regulatory processes at the workplace level and their interaction with "product market conditions, with technology and the forms of organisational structure deployed by management and the unions across different situations" (*ibid.*: 400), which could help to advance an understanding of how ILMs develop and are shaped. Subsequently, it could be inferred that how an ILM is structured and the role and perspective of employers and union representatives therein, as well as the aspirations of individual workers, will impact upon the extent to which it contributes to, or helps to overcome, segmentation within a company and between an ILM and the ELM. This implies that there will be variation in the degree to which an ILM is a factor of

segmentation, depending on the role played by the labour market actors at sectoral and/or national level as well as by their representatives at company level.

In considering the role played by ILMs in a primary-secondary labour market structure, a further consideration is the notion that there are limited employment opportunities in the primary sector. In this respect, Mok (1975, in Loveridge and Mok, 1980: 396) suggests that the impact of technology and/or the impact of the economic and political context in a given country results in a shrinking or, with trade union action, a stable primary sector. Conversely, there are more job opportunities in the secondary sector (*ibid.*: 396). Dickens and Lang also observe that “primary jobs are more likely to be unionised and offer more stable employment and better job safety” (1985: 799). This can be associated with Piore’s (1979: 39) suggestion that primary sector employment is stable and secure, while employment in the secondary sector is of a more temporary and insecure nature. It could be suggested that this may also result in an inflated secondary sector in which there is a relatively skilled segment of workers alongside the low-skilled.

Building on this, Mok (1975, in Loveridge and Mok, 1979: 124) purports that there is a secondary internal and secondary external labour market segment as part of a multi-segmented model. Loveridge and Mok comment that such a model may help to better reflect “the complexity of social class and ethnic differences between marginal workers” (1979: 18), thereby providing a more detailed analysis of labour market segmentation than is derived from a simpler primary-secondary sector distinction. Furthermore, if, as Dickens and Lang (1985: 799) suggest, more highly educated workers reject the working conditions of the secondary sector, this could result in such workers being unemployed on the external

labour market until opportunities arise in the primary sector or until such a time as they are compelled to accept work in low-skilled, secondary sector positions.

A wider inference could be that if there are a limited number of jobs in the primary sector, a company's ILM may have limited effect in fostering mobility between lower and higher level jobs, even if workers undertake additional training. In such a situation it could be postulated that there would be no systematic career advancement as a result of additional training. This notion is elaborated by Wachter who considers that a scenario may occur in which because "the number of primary or skilled jobs is not responsive to the relative availability of skilled workers...expansion in human capital may not lead to an upgrading of the job structure" (1974: 639). It could be inferred that such a situation may be particularly evident in small and medium sized companies that tend to have a relatively limited hierarchy.

The continued presence of ILMs is an example of bureaucratic control. This form of control has typically been associated with international companies and corporations (Edwards, 1975: 8) whose scope and reach developed markedly throughout the twentieth century, as demonstrated in the earlier discussion on globalisation (see chapter two). Bureaucratic control was viewed favourably by such companies because it was seen as a means through which to mitigate the growing unionisation of workers around the early-to-mid twentieth century (*ibid.*: 8). It was also observed in chapter four in relation to the UK that the spread of market capitalism (from approximately the 1980s) and increasing flows of foreign direct investment fuelled competition between companies, which resulted in a greater focus by employers on productivity levels and performance controls. This was associated with a more individualised approach to contractual relationships (Purcell, 1993:

10) and the introduction of HRM (MacKenzie and Martinez Luico, 2014: 198). Despite such developments, bureaucratic control and the principles of Taylorism continue to be evident, although perhaps in a different form, in relation to how firms are structured and in how they operate. In addition to an ILM structure, just-in-time production systems, which originated in Japan and which were gradually introduced by European companies, provide further evidence of bureaucratic control as a form of workplace organisation. This approach seeks to maximise production efficiency in a timely and cost-effective way, while ensuring that there is no wastage or surplus materials or stock (Mercado *et al.*, 2001: 367). This system is underpinned by management decision-making, planning and problem solving and involves “worker incentives, staged promotion systems, performance-related payments, regular retraining and often, in Japan, guaranteed lifetime employment” (*ibid.*: 368). This demonstrates how more recent management concepts, including aspects of HRM, combine with elements of bureaucratic control and Taylorism to shape workplace organisation. It also suggests that enduring differences between jobs and workers can result in a segmented labour market structure.

It can also be noted that there are other forms of management control identified in the literature. This includes simple hierarchy, which is viewed as the precursor to bureaucratic control and was based on a form of control that saw “open, arbitrary, highly visible, direct command-rule by supervisors over subordinates” (Edwards 1975: 7). With the growth of international companies and corporations as well as larger companies operating in international markets, simple hierarchy began to become less prevalent during the course of the previous century (*ibid.*: 8), although it could still be considered as evident in small and medium sized enterprises.

The other forms of control are output-based systems and delegated control systems. The output-based system is structured around the principle that a company's approach to work organisation is significantly shaped by financial performance measures, as opposed to evaluating the efficiency of existing production techniques and processes (Whitley, 1999: 511). It follows that managers are more likely to retain central control than to delegate to sub-units, which is in contrast to bureaucratic control (*ibid.*: 511). Finally, delegated control systems see decision-making decentralised to smaller sub-units and can include a say on a company's practices and processes for members of these units (*ibid.*: 511). Such control systems are most likely to be found in primarily corporatist societies, such as Sweden, rather than Anglo-Saxon countries, such as the UK (*ibid.*: 519).

Therefore, it can be seen that there are different types of management control. Moreover, Whitley suggests that the various approaches reflect the institutional framework and the wider nature of economic organisation that a company is operating within.

The extent to which and ways in which owners, managers and different groups of workers are organised into distinct and separate interest groups varies greatly between market economies, and these differences affect both the division of labour within organisations and the division of organisational labour between them such that the nature of controlling groups and the interests they pursue are significantly different between societies (1999: 509).

Therefore, the nature of management control is not only shaped by technological factors but also heavily influenced by the form of economic organisation in a given country and the role played by its industrial relations actors. In turn, the form of control that companies implement will respond to national economic and institutional frameworks, which serves to

underscore the notion of varieties of capitalism and the relevance and impact of differences in national industrial relations systems on labour market structure and regulation (see chapters two and four). Elaborating this point, it could also be postulated that the structure and extent of labour market segmentation will vary according to, and under, different forms of VoC, different industrial relations systems and their related institutional structures.

Towards a more flexible approach to work organisation

It was identified in chapter two that globalisation is primarily about greater interconnectedness between nation states and world regions across a range of issues (Cox, 2000: 27). This is accompanied by a decline in the prominence of traditional industrial production and a corresponding rise in the economic importance and employment relevance of the service industry (European Commission, 2014). This can be associated with the emergence of new forms of flexible work organisation. Nevertheless, this does not mean that labour market segmentation has disappeared and that it should only be associated with the formalised working practices and organisational structures associated with bureaucratic control. Indeed, segmentation is just as evident when looking at the way in which flexibility is increasingly influencing labour markets and company structures.

This can be exemplified in the first instance through reference to Atkinson's flexible firm model, which seeks to demonstrate, from a management theory perspective, how companies have sought to structure their workforce so as to achieve maximum flexibility. The model is based on Atkinson's assessment of how UK companies were structuring their work and job profiles in the 1980s and comprises three forms of flexibility. These are

functional, numerical and financial (Atkinson, 1984: 28). Functional flexibility involves a worker switching between tasks as and when required, such as in response to changing product or service requirements and work practices. Numerical flexibility concerns increasing or decreasing the number of staff in response to changes in demand for products or services. This approach seeks to achieve the maximum possible efficiency by ensuring that the number of people working at a given time corresponds to the number required relative to the present demand. Finally, financial flexibility is about establishing a link between a company's pay and non-pay related costs relative to the availability of, and demand for, labour on the external labour market as well as introducing a payment system that takes into account functional and numerical flexibility, such as performance-related pay (PRP) (*ibid.*: 28).

Under this model differentiation is viewed as being “much less likely to be based on blue or white collar distinctions, but rather on the separation of jobs which are specific to a particular firm from those involving only general skills” (Atkinson, 1984: 29). This echoes Berger and Piore's (1980: 16) approach that focuses on qualitative differences between labour market segments. The result is two broad groups of workers. The first is a core group composed of full-time, permanent, workers who are responsible for the “firm-specific activities” (*ibid.*: 29). These jobs are characterised by functional flexibility and typically involve managers, quality control staff, technicians and craftsmen, among others (*ibid.*: 29). The second is a peripheral group of workers that surrounds the core and which is numerically flexible in response to changes in demand for the products/services that the company provides (*ibid.*: 29). The periphery is said to be composed of several sub-groups, which is contrary to Berger and Piore who identified a split in the primary sector. The first peripheral group are also full-time workers, but they are not on permanent contracts and

are recruited through the external labour market so as to provide numerical and financial flexibility. Examples of this type of work can include clerical and administrative work. Furthermore, such jobs are not firm-specific and so tend to be less skilled than those in the core and do not involve many, if any, training requirements. It follows that the lower levels of job security and limited career progression opportunities mean that turnover tends to be fairly high among this group (*ibid.*: 29).

A second peripheral group is identified in instances when functional flexibility is required at the same time as numerical flexibility. This often involves workers on part-time, temporary contracts or those who job-share. Additionally, when the work is either highly specialised or highly un-specialised, sub-contracted workers might be used (*ibid.*: 29). Outsourcing in this way has become a key means through which companies can achieve their desired level of flexibility and in a cost-effective way as a result of competition among external suppliers leading to lower costs. An important aspect in this regard is that outsourcing and sub-contracting has led to an increase in the number of small companies that fulfil this role in the UK (Ram and Edwards, 2010: 234). Such companies tend not to be unionised and fall outside the scope of collective bargaining (Storey, 2005: 198), thereby affording employers greater flexibility as a result of informality in the employment relationship and workplace practices in small firms (Ram and Edwards, 2010: 238). Project-based work can be cited as a further example of a means through which companies can achieve flexibility when a short-term approach may be required (*ibid.*: 192). The different forms of flexibility advocated by Atkinson are broadly shared by Storper and Scott (1990: 575) who refer to the ability to adjust wages downwards; internal flexibility within companies and external flexibility involving workers on the open labour market, thereby creating a primary-secondary labour market structure (*ibid.*: 576).

The flexible firm model, particularly the distinctions between core and peripheral workers, demonstrates how labour market segmentation can occur with the terms and conditions for core workers achieved at the expense of those in the periphery (Atkinson, 1984: 31). It could also be postulated that under the flexible firm model careers will be less linear and training opportunities become less systematic and more varied, especially for peripheral workers, while possibly becoming limited to on-the-job training in response to employers' pursuit of a functionally flexible workforce. This may also result in reduced opportunities for job advancement for peripheral workers. Pay is also likely to be less fixed and more variable for all workers, although through different means. For core workers it is likely to be determined through PRP, rather than a collective agreement, which further demonstrates the more individualised approach to the employment relationship, as elaborated in chapter four. For those in the peripheral groups, pay is likely to be set according to the number of hours worked, which emphasises the use of numerical flexibility as a way to achieve financial flexibility (*ibid.*: 31).

It is also important at this point to consider a more critical perspective of the flexible firm model. Pollert (1985: 285) comments that a substantive critique is that the model is based on an analysis of a limited number of company case studies, yet it is promoted as if it is generally applicable across the labour market. Moreover, Pollert asserts that the model is presented as

a prescriptive device; as a leading-edge example of best practice, its political deployment was (and remains) a powerful and attractive consultancy model combining visual clarity with conceptual ambiguity, legitimising an array of management practices ranging from

job enlargement to labour intensification, casualisation and de-unionisation (Pollert, 1991: 27).

However, Procter *et al.* suggest that the model should be viewed more as a “description, providing the framework within which changes in working practices can be analysed” (1994: 226). There is also an element of prediction in that the outcomes that the model purports may become prominent in the future (*ibid.*: 222). Procter *et al.* further observe that where companies have introduced changes akin to those identified in the model, notably as concerns different forms of flexibility, this has not been “as a result of a strategy on the part of management, rather they have been the piecemeal and *ad hoc* reactions to changes in circumstances” (1994: 222). This implies that the flexible firm approach is not something that all companies have introduced. In turn, Pollert (1991: 25) observes that the globalisation of production and finance has been the main driver for company restructuring, rather than flexibilisation strategies. This can also be associated with the discussion on restructuring and labour market segmentation in chapter two in relation to the social transformation perspective (Castles, 2010). It is also noted in the literature that, rather than representing a deliberate and fundamental shift in the structure of work organisation, flexibility could be viewed as a management technique to exert more control over labour (Hyman, 1991: 274), (Palloix, 1976), which could be seen in the context of globalisation and restructuring. These observations contribute to the narrative that the flexible firm model can primarily be seen as a reaction to the wider macro-economic context and that it can be situated within the existing body of literature around labour market segmentation. In this vein, Procter *et al.* (1994: 226) argue that the model provides an analytical framework for assessing the changes that have taken place within a company at a particular time and in a particular country. Therefore, it could be inferred that there is

analytical value to the notion of a functionally and a numerically flexible workforce, in particular, and the extent to which different groups of workers, or workers with certain profiles, are utilised by employers to address their needs.

A further critique purported by Pollert is the “vagueness” (1988: 297) of the flexible firm model as concerns the concept of the core and peripheral groups of workers. Notably, Pollert observes that “one problem in defining a ‘core’ is that either it is tautologous, if all permanent employees are ‘core’ workers, or the term masks basic differences in pay, status, terms and conditions within the permanent workforce” (1988: 291). To further exemplify the conceptual challenge of defining the core and peripheral groups of workers, reference can be made to the hospitality sector. In this sector temporary and part-time workers perform what can be considered as core tasks, in terms of their importance to the functioning of companies (Buultjens and Luckie, 1997, in Dyer, 1998: 229). Examples of positions occupied by such workers include bar and waiting staff and kitchen personnel (Hesselink *et al.*, 2004: 15). Additionally, further to Atkinson’s (1984: 29) suggestion that sub-contracted workers are primarily used to provide financial flexibility, Malloch (1991: 197) observes that the use of such workers is not only about reducing costs and that sub-contractors on fixed-term contracts play an important role in providing specialist knowledge that is not found within a company. In this regard they could also be considered as core workers. These examples suggest that it is difficult to determine who should be viewed as a core worker (and, by extension, who would be viewed as a peripheral worker) on the basis of their contractual arrangement and that it is necessary to give more consideration to the role that workers have within a company. For instance, to return to Atkinson’s (1984: 29) example of clerical and administrative work being located in the

first peripheral group, it could be asserted that such work may sometimes constitute part of the core tasks that workers perform, depending on the company.

Building on this, it could also be inferred that whether a worker, and the role that they perform, is viewed as being core or peripheral will vary from sector to sector. Indeed, Pollert asserts that there are “marked sectoral patterns, with enterprises in finance most likely to recruit employees at a higher level, and those in mechanical engineering, textiles, clothing and footwear and distribution (for manuals) recruiting at local level only” (1988: 292). An inference from this could be that core workers are recruited by high level management, whereas peripheral workers are recruited by HR managers or agencies. This suggests a broader level of differentiation between workers and sectors and also implies that some sectors may be considered as core to a national economy and others as peripheral. Irrespective of the merits of such an approach it does again serve to demonstrate the difficulties that arise from attempts to generalise a definition of a core and peripheral worker in view of sectoral specificities (*ibid.*: 292).

Lastly, Gallagher and Sverke refer to “traditional or core workers” (2005: 186), which are defined as permanent workers, both full-time and part-time “with either an explicit or implicit understanding that employment will be continuing or ongoing” (*ibid.*: 186). Conversely, different groups of “contingent” (*ibid.*: 187) workers are identified and these can be temporary workers that are hired by a private recruitment agency; workers directly hired by a company on a short-term basis; or self-employed workers that can perform a range of tasks according to a company’s needs. Finally, “alternative arrangements” (*ibid.*: 187) can be used to provide flexibility in the form of outsourcing or sub-contracting work or hiring a consultant. It could be considered that this approach provides additional clarity

on the distinctions between workers according to the nature of their employment and is more precise than the core-periphery terminology of the flexible firm model in this respect. Nevertheless, it is still necessary to take into account the tasks that workers perform and the status, or importance, of such tasks within a company. Taking these and the previous points into account it could be inferred that there may be workers performing what could be considered as core tasks, depending on the sector or company, but under a form of contractual arrangement that could be classified as peripheral or contingent. In this vein, Lovering comments that even though workers may be employed under “secondary conditions...they are by no means secondary to the needs of employers” (1990: 17) and that “part-time shift workers...may be the effective ‘core’ of an employer’s workforce” (*ibid.*: 17).

Looking beyond the flexible firm model, discussions around flexibility have advanced even further in the first two decades of the twenty first century due to technological advances and the wide-spread impact of digitisation on all sectors of economic activity. For instance, Vakaloudis *et al.* (2001: 1035) refer to the impact of distributed work arrangements in which, as a result of advancements in information and communication technologies, a new flexible approach to work organisation has emerged whereby members of the same team or production process are able to work in different geographical locations and at different times. A more informal approach to work and the notion of flexible specialisation also means that Fordism and the associated nature of bureaucratic control have evolved with demand-driven, flexible work organisation, operating in conjunction with elements of bureaucratic control. In this vein, Ferner (2000: 537) observes that multi-national corporations (MNCs) typically combine elements of bureaucratic control with other less formal approaches. It could be inferred that this mix of approaches is likely to be

found across a wide range of companies (of all sizes), to different degrees, and not only in MNCs. This returns to the discussion around workplace organisation drawing on aspects of HRM and elements of bureaucratic control and Taylorism. It could also be postulated that the approach that is taken towards management control and the extent to which a particular form, or combination, of flexibility is utilised will be influenced by national economic and institutional frameworks and the industrial relations system.

This contributes to the assertion that segmentation is a structural labour market issue, rather than being something that only occurs between different types or groups of workers within a company. Nevertheless, within such a framework it is apparent that workers with certain characteristics will be more suited to working in one area, or segment (and within that a particular occupation), than another. It follows that the most obvious means of determining a person's suitability for a particular job is to look at their skills and qualifications. At the same time, suitability can be determined according to the type of work that a person is looking for, be it full-time, part-time, permanent or temporary. These supply side factors need to be viewed in relation to employers' demand for labour and, in the context of this research, this includes the extent to which EU migrant workers play a role in helping to satisfy this demand.

Assessing the relevance of labour market segmentation theory for this research

In discussing the migration theories most commonly identified in the literature, chapter two concluded that the majority of these theories are conceived from a development-oriented perspective and focus on rural-urban migration with limited attention paid to international labour migration and the labour market situation in destination areas. Where

reference was made to international migration it primarily concerned movements between developing and developed countries and focused on the sending country perspective, rather than on migration between developed countries. The most contemporary theory discussed in chapter two, was the social transformation perspective. This asserts that social transformation in developed countries results from restructuring as investment, production and trade increasingly take place at the global level, while traditional working-class communities are in decline, the size of the working age population is reducing and new service industries are emerging. All of which is considered to lead to a requirement for migrant labour (Castles, 2010: 1580). This demand is said to be underpinned by changes to the nature of employment, which has become increasingly oriented around temporary and casual work as well as sub-contracting (*ibid.*: 1580), supporting several of the points elaborated in this chapter.

Chapter three sought to elaborate an understanding about why people migrate within Europe through looking at economic, political and social factors. In particular, it was observed that the movement of people within Europe is primarily, and inextricably, associated with labour migration and economic prosperity, which is fuelled by employment opportunities in response to employers' needs. Chapter three's focus on European migration patterns also served to underscore Piore's assertion that "the critical factors in understanding the migration process and its evolution over time lie in developed regions" (1979: 17).

It can also be inferred that national industrial relations systems and the mechanisms and extent of labour market regulation in individual countries will have a significant bearing on the transformation process in general and on the demand for migrant labour in particular,

as chapter four helped to elaborate. In the context of the social transformation perspective, the demand for migrant workers is viewed as a restructuring of the workforce, which results in labour market segmentation whereby “people’s chances of getting jobs depend not only on their human capital (i.e. their education and skills) but also on gender, race, ethnicity, origins and legal status” (Castles, 2010: 1582).

Reference to the earlier discussion of the social transformation perspective is particularly helpful at this point because it is the most contemporary of the migration theories that has been explored and one that addresses elements associated with migration and segmentation. Therefore, in the context of the current discussion, it is useful in identifying several points of cross-over with the theoretical perspectives and models that have been discussed in this chapter. This suggests that labour market segmentation theory continues to be pertinent and relevant for providing a framework in which to structure the present research and to analyse the empirical findings.

The first part of this chapter has shown that segmentation has been, and continues to be, an enduring labour market feature, despite changes to labour market and employment structures and to the prevailing form of work organisation and control. In this sense, Piore’s (1979: 36) assertion that differences between capital and labour and among workers are inherent in modern capitalist economies, resulting in segmented labour markets, appears to hold true. Subsequently, it can be postulated that segmentation is structurally embedded in the labour markets of developed countries, to varying degrees. The extent to which this is the case is likely to be dependent upon differing national characteristics. Notably, this concerns the form of economic organisation – the orientation

of the VoC, the industrial relations system, and the subsequent nature of employers' demand for labour.

The nature of employers' demand for labour and the extent to which EU migrant workers help to satisfy this demand is at the core of the question that this research seeks to address. Within this it is relevant to consider the extent to which employers have a quantitative or qualitative demand for workers. Closely associated with this is whether, and under what circumstances, employers require numerical and/or functional flexibility from their workers. On the basis of previous analysis outlined in this chapter, as well as the preceding ones, the researcher asserts that such considerations, and their outcome, are inherently associated with the concept of labour market segmentation theory and that an understanding and analysis of these issues can be advanced through using this theoretical basis as a framework for comparative research such as this. Furthermore, discussing the demand for labour in the context of segmentation theory allows for an assessment to be made about the potential relationship between the nature of this demand and the extent of segmentation in a given national and sectoral context. In this regard, a relevant line of investigation for the data analysis could be whether structurally segmented labour markets are conducive to helping employers to satisfy their demand for labour. From this, an assessment could be made as to the extent to which EU migrant workers help to meet such a demand in Sweden and the UK and whether this results in turn in a structural demand for migrant workers. Equally, it could be assessed whether the presence of migrant workers contributes to the structural segmentation of labour markets as a result of the categorisation of jobs and the workers that are considered most suitable to performing them.

Taking these elements into consideration demonstrates why labour market segmentation theory can be considered the most appropriate framework for addressing the research question. Having explored these theoretical aspects, the final part of this chapter will consider evidence of segmentation in the Swedish and UK labour markets.

Labour market segmentation in practice

A number of factors are identified in the literature as resulting in, or contributing to, labour market segmentation. These are: the contractual nature of the employment relationship; the nature and extent of employment regulation, which can be extended to the wider functioning of the industrial relations system; employers' demand for, and use of, migrant labour; the presence of an internal labour market structure within a company, including company-specific training policies; and an insider-outsider labour market structure. These elements will now be elaborated and accompanied by an assessment of the extent to which they are evidenced in the Swedish and UK labour markets.

Contractual relationships, employment regulation and the demand for migrant labour

Deakin observes that “segmentation occurs when the labour market is divided or structured in a way that is reflected in the forms taken by the employment relationship or contract” (2013: 1). There is said to be the “normal” or “standard” employment relationship, which is contrasted with the “atypical” one, which includes part-time, temporary and fixed-term employment, plus other casual forms of work, such as zero-hours contracts or bogus self-employment (*ibid.*: 1). Such distinctions closely associate divisions between jobs and the workers that perform them with the nature and extent of employment regulation in terms of

how the labour market is structured, the potential for using different forms of contractual arrangement and the degree to which emphasis is placed upon a particular contractual form by the industrial relations actors. A central feature in this respect would seemingly be the type of employment relationship and, therefore, the contract that would best respond to employers' needs. Labour market divisions along these lines could also be viewed in the context of creating a segmented labour market in the form of a secondary and primary sector, as per Berger and Piore's (1980: 18) approach. In this context, the crudest distinction could be that a standard employment contract would be associated with people in the primary sector, while atypical arrangements would be for those in the secondary sector. Such an approach also follows Atkinson's (1984: 29) notion of core and peripheral groups of workers. However, there might be part-time workers in the primary sector, while people in skilled or specialised project roles could be working on a temporary basis. This was also noted in the earlier discussion around the challenges associated with determining who could be considered as core and peripheral workers (Buultjens and Luckie, 1997, in Dyer, 1998: 229), (Malloch, 1991: 197), (Lovering, 1990: 17). Therefore, such a distinct categorisation has its limitations and suggests that it is difficult to determine segmentation purely on the basis of the nature of the contractual arrangement.

Elaborating on the form of the employment relationship and the nature and extent of employment regulation and the wider industrial relations system, reference can be made to the role and impact of the standard employment relationship (SER), which is associated with bureaucratic control. As the SER became the established practice after the end of the Second World War, Fudge observes that it provided a "stable supply of workers disciplined to accept managerial authority" (2017: 380). In parallel, trade unions were organising workers to try to establish boundaries to management's control and to achieve

job security and a reliable source of income (*ibid.*: 380). As such, the SER combined the contract of employment with regulation by the state or collective agreements (*ibid.*: 375-376). In this way, issues such as social security, taxation and corporate law are also linked to the SER (*ibid.*: 375). Bosch characterises the SER as a “stable, socially protected, dependent, full-time job...the basic conditions of which (working time, pay, social transfers) are regulated to a minimum level by collective agreement or by labour and/or social security law” (2004: 618). The premise that underscores the SER is that by establishing such minimum standards, a common playing field is created for workers and employers, which remains the same irrespective of the company or sector.

At the same time, and recalling the earlier discussions around VoC, it could be inferred that the economic context as well as the political and social environment in an individual country will impact upon the approach that is taken to labour market regulation and the associated elements of social security. Similarly, the nature of the industrial relations system and the role of its actors therein would be another important factor. For example, the extent to which employers and trade unions engage in collective bargaining and over what issues could be identified as one aspect of this. In this vein, Fudge observes that

the shift from industrial to financial capital, the rise in globalisation and the liberation of markets from regulation, changes in the capacity and willingness of nation states to regulate employment relations, the reconfiguration of product markets, the demographics of the workforce and the imbalance of power between capital and labour call the resilience of the standard employment relationship into question (2017: 377).

When viewed from a segmentation perspective, Fudge’s assessment that the SER is challenged by the present emphasis on a flexible approach to work organisation appears to

be well grounded. This is supported by the notion that the stronger the legal provisions associated with the SER, the greater will be the pressure for alternative forms of employment that provide more flexibility for employers and thus atypical employment practices emerge (Deakin, 2013: 5). The level and nature of legal protection around SERs varies from country to country, as is conveyed through reference to employment protection legislation (EPL)²⁷. The EPL index shows that between 2008 and 2013 there was a decline in the level of protection for permanent and temporary contracts in the UK. In Sweden the level of protection for permanent contracts remained stable, while it declined for temporary contracts (European Commission (b), 2016: 10).

Equally relevant to note is the number of people that are in temporary employment. Data for 2015 show that approximately 13 per cent of workers in Sweden were in temporary employment, compared to around 4 per cent in the UK. The EU28 average is about 11 per cent (European Commission (b), 2016: 4). The higher level of temporary employment in Sweden might be associated with the higher level of EPL for permanent contracts and the correspondingly lower level of protection for temporary contracts. Based on this data, an inference would be that the Swedish labour market could be considered as being more segmented than the UK labour market, even though it can be noted that in 2017 the UK had a higher working-age population at 64.1 per cent, compared to 62.6 per cent in Sweden (Eurostat, 2018) and so the absolute number of temporary workers in the UK could be higher than the percentage figure suggests. However, the Swedish EPL data implies that there is the potential for the stronger legal provisions associated with permanent contracts to lead to an increase in temporary employment.

²⁷ Employment protection legislation consists of rules and procedures related to the faculty of companies to dismiss workers, as well as to hire workers under different contractual arrangements (European Commission (b), 2016: 1).

A first observation in this respect is that if using a variety of contractual arrangements is considered to be a reaction to what is perceived as a rigid employment environment (in which an SER is viewed by employers as being insufficiently flexible relative to their needs), the prospect of labour market segmentation is likely to be greater in countries that are characteristically CMEs instead of those that are LMEs. Indeed, Yoon and Chung comment that the issue of labour market segmentation is typically discussed in relation to countries such as Germany and France, which have a “strong corporatist bargaining structure or the presence of a strong social democratic party” (2016: 615). Sweden, a country that is traditionally viewed as a CME with a corporatist approach, could also be viewed in the same bracket and, therefore, considered susceptible to the potential for segmentation.

Likic-Brboric *et al.* (2013: 688) also observe that the possibility for A8 and A2 workers to migrate to other parts of the EU has started to affect employment practices in more highly regulated labour markets, such as Sweden. Therefore, in view of the functioning of the industrial relations system, in which the focus is on regulation through collective agreements, there is a limited role for the Swedish state. Consequently, it is asserted that through its inaction the state “becomes itself part of a process of implicit sanctioning of growing informal labour practices and of a developing secondary labour market in which migrant workers comprise the staple segmented workforce” (*ibid.*: 688). At the same time, Woolfson *et al.* (2013: 699) cite the consequences of the Laval ruling (see chapter four) as showing the limitations of Swedish collective bargaining when it comes to regulating the employment of foreign workers. It is argued that “by circumscribing the right of national trade unions to undertake collective action to enforce domestic terms and conditions on foreign employers sending workers to Sweden, the ECJ in Laval highlighted the soft

underbelly of the Swedish model of autonomous collective bargaining pay formation” (*ibid.*: 699). Consequently, the assumption that because the Swedish labour market has traditionally been highly regulated through a strong focus on collective agreements means that segmentation is less likely may in fact not be substantiated in practice. This will be an important issue to assess during the analysis of the data.

Conversely, it is suggested that segmentation as a result of different forms of contractual arrangements is less likely to occur in LMEs, such as the UK, because of the existing institutional structure (Yoon and Chung, 2016: 615). Recalling the historical perspective of UK industrial relations, (see chapter four) it can be noted that the UK went from displaying the characteristics akin to a CME in the post-Second World War period (through to approximately the early 1970s), to the pursuit of labour market deregulation and flexibility in the 1970s and 1980s. This has led to a labour market in which the scope and coverage of collective bargaining are now rather limited, while the relative strength of unions is greatly diminished compared to what it has been historically (and also when compared to Sweden). There has also been a notable increase in part-time and temporary employment since the 1980s (Brown, 1986: 161), (Recruitment and Employment Confederation, 2008: 13). Therefore, it might be considered that the present-day UK labour market is already structurally segmented and that the use of different contractual forms is helping to sustain this.

It could be further postulated that segmentation in the UK labour market could be evidenced through the categorisation of workers that occupy certain jobs in particular sectors, in addition to the nature of the contractual relationship. This would suggest that segmentation can result from variations in employers’ demand for labour. Having

established that a labour market can become structurally segmented in this way it follows that certain types of workers will be attracted, and/or more suited, to particular types of work than others, which can lead to the concentration of EU migrant workers in certain occupations and sectors, as purported by Piore (1979: 39-40). Thereby, it could be asserted that a structural demand for EU migrant labour is a consequence of a segmented labour market.

Looking at the situation in Sweden and the UK, it could be suggested that Sweden can be associated with having a qualitative demand for labour and a focus on functional flexibility, whereas the UK could be associated with a more quantitative demand for labour and a focus on numerical flexibility. This notion is elaborated by Rönngmar who asserts that Sweden has a “quasi-corporatist model of flexibility focussing on functional flexibility owing inter alia to a tradition of strong employment protection rules and well-established mechanisms for consultation and co-operation” (2006: 60). In contrast, the UK “with its weak collective structures and trade unions and weak employment protection rules, represents the neoliberal model of flexibility which has a strong emphasis on numerical flexibility” (*ibid.*: 60).

Internal labour markets

The earlier theoretical elaboration of ILMs showed how they have been closely associated with heavily structured work environments and, therefore, with bureaucratic control. At the same time, ILMs are about “developing and practicing internal standards for hiring, training, promoting, and rewarding employees” (Lee, 2015: 338), which is compatible with modern-day HRM practices, as outlined in chapter four. In this regard, it could be asserted

that ILMs continue to be a feature of modern workplaces. At the same time, flexible work practices and organisation could be viewed as reducing the potential for ILMs to be established and maintained. This is also to be seen in the context of the approach that management and union representatives take towards work organisation, as previously noted through reference to Loveridge and Mok (1980: 400). Thus, it could be inferred that the extent to which ILMs are affected by such developments depends, to a notable degree, on the nature of national economic organisation, expressed through the variety of capitalism and the industrial relations system. For instance, the general trend towards labour market flexibility in Europe, which is evidenced through the use of various forms of contractual arrangements and the introduction of more individualised employment relationships, suggests, to varying degrees, that the structure of ILMs will differ in the present day compared to when Fordism and bureaucratic control were the main means of workplace organisation. Flexible labour markets might also lead to more permeability between ILMs and, therefore, the greater mobility of workers than was previously suggested.

Traditionally, it might be expected that ILMs will be more prevalent in Sweden, where there continues to be a more strongly regulated labour market, than in the UK, which takes a much lighter approach towards regulation. As concerns the UK, Lovering (1990: 16) observes that the decline in manufacturing and public sector employment in the 1980s, combined with an increase in the number of smaller and service-oriented companies, has resulted in fewer “traditional” (*ibid.*: 13) ILMs that are based on career ladders and seniority promotions. In their place are ILMs with a “segmented” and “truncated” structure (*ibid.*: 14). In parallel, a dual ELM has developed, which comprises an “elite” and a “secondary” ELM (*ibid.*: 13). Lovering suggests that the elite ELM is composed of people

with prior qualifications and experience that enables them to access the upper levels of (truncated) ILMs (*ibid.*: 21), which will simultaneously limit the opportunities for people lower down in the ILM. It will also impact upon the opportunities that workers in the secondary ELM, that are typically lower skilled and with limited prospects for career progression, have to access work (*ibid.*: 16).

Looking at more recent data, it can also be noted that labour turnover in Sweden averaged approximately 17 per cent between 2007 and 2014, which is the highest rate of all EU member states. It is roughly 10 per cent in the UK, while the EU average is around 7 per cent (European Commission (b), 2016: 5). The European Commission's analysis asserts that countries with high levels of turnover are "more dynamic and flexible" (*ibid.*: 4). This data appears to be compatible with the relatively high levels of temporary employment in Sweden (*ibid.*: 4). It could also be inferred from this that mobility between jobs may be relatively high in Sweden and so ILMs may actually be less prevalent and, therefore, less of a factor of segmentation than may be the case in other labour markets, such as the UK, which has lower levels of temporary employment and lower staff turnover. Further analysis of the nature and extent of ILMs in the two countries will be explored in chapter nine.

Insiders, outsiders and the role of trade unions

The notion of "insiders" and "outsiders" (Rueda, 2006: 386) touches upon core-periphery and ILM-ELM dynamics. In this regard, the main way in which insiders and outsiders are characterised is that insiders are those with "secure employment" while outsiders are those without such employment stability (*ibid.*: 386), which could include people in temporary

employment or other forms of non-permanent employment and the unemployed (Schwander and Häusermann, 2013: 252). From a migration perspective this distinction could also be applied to describing the labour market situation and opportunities of migrant workers compared to indigenous workers.

Beyond these general remarks, a more specific observation concerning the insider-outsider perspective relates to the institutional role played by trade unions. In this regard, unions may be said to respond to, and reinforce, labour market segmentation by controlling who can access certain jobs so as to protect and enhance the wages of insiders at the expense of outsiders on the ELM (Lindbeck and Snower, 1988: 467). This can also be associated with the notion that there is a limited number of primary sector jobs (Mok 1975, in Loveridge and Mok, 1980: 396) and that jobs in this sector are more likely to be unionised (Dickens and Lang, 1985: 799). In such circumstances, insiders can be associated with positions in the primary sector. The notion of controlling the supply of labour can be related to the concept of the closed shop, which was discussed in chapter four and which was a feature of UK industrial relations until it was abolished through the various legislative acts of the 1980s (Marsh, 1991: 295). It can also be noted that unions typically find it harder to recruit temporary and part-time workers, particularly migrants. For instance, Grugel and Piper comment that unions' "traditional mechanisms of exerting influence tend to be less relevant in relation to the workplace needs of migrant workers" (2011: 444). The basis for this is that unions have historically been concerned with organising experienced, full-time, skilled workers in formal sectors of the economy and their recruitment strategies have only started to actively look to recruit migrants and other workers in part-time and temporary positions, as well as in the service sector, over roughly the past 20 years or so (Ford, 2006: 305). In parallel, Meardi comments that "while trade unions usually have an interest in

controlling the supply of labour and limiting migration, once migrants have arrived (or when their imminent arrival can no longer be prevented), they have an interest in organising them – bypassing reciprocal scepticism” (2012: 105). Krings (2009: 59) also refers not only to trade unions’ opposition to the exploitation of, and discrimination against, workers as a reason for unions to reach out to migrants, but also to their own self-interest. This concerns ensuring that migrants work under the same conditions as indigenous workers so that the migrants do not undercut the terms and conditions of the indigenous population and the existing union membership (*ibid.*: 59). In other words, unions have an interest in preventing a segmented labour market akin to the initial distinction that was postulated by Piore in which migrants occupy secondary sector jobs leaving those in the primary sector to indigenous workers (1979: 35).

Summary

This chapter began by exploring the theoretical approaches associated with labour market segmentation and considered how changes in work organisation have impacted upon the nature and extent of segmentation. In doing so there has also been consideration of some of the main critiques of segmentation theory, ILMs and the flexible firm model that are elaborated in the literature.

It has been argued that labour market segmentation is multi-faceted in that it can be evident in different ways according to the context in which a labour market is situated. This is particularly relevant in view of the impact that the nature of economic organisation and national institutional structures, notably industrial relations systems, have on determining the form and extent of segmentation. Changes in these two variables over time also impact

upon the nature and extent of segmentation. While this variance might be seen as a limitation of segmentation theory, in terms of identifying a theoretical approach that is commonly applicable, it could also be viewed as a strength in comparative research. This is particularly relevant for this study in which the diversity of economic and institutional frameworks and labour markets is a central issue in understanding employers' demand for labour and the role that EU migrant workers play in this regard. Taking these aspects, and the aforementioned critiques into consideration, the researcher considers that, when viewed against the backdrop of the migration theories that were discussed in chapter two, segmentation theory provides the most appropriate framework for this study and the reasons for this have been outlined.

Finally, this chapter has identified factors that characterise labour market segmentation and these will be used as a framework for analysing the case study findings and answering the research question. Given the differences in the national industrial relations systems in Sweden and the UK, and considering the different factors of segmentation, it could be asserted that although the Swedish labour market is likely to be less segmented than the UK labour market, there is the potential for segmentation to become more prominent in Sweden. Conversely, it could be postulated that the UK labour market can already be viewed as being segmented and that this is being sustained by aspects of the various factors that have been identified.

Having established labour market segmentation theory as the theoretical framework for this study, the next chapter will discuss the use of a broadly pragmatist methodological approach and a case study strategy in this research and the role that this theoretical

framework has played in designing and implementing the data collection and in the data analysis.

6. Comparative European industrial relations (2): Developing the research methodology and outlining the case study approach

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present the design of the study and the selection of the research subjects. It will outline the research underpinnings and approach; the nature of the case study as a research strategy; and demonstrate why the case study approach is appropriate for industrial relations research, in general, and for this project in particular. It will elaborate on the research methods that were used and consider the practical and ethical issues associated with conducting comparative research. In structuring the chapter in this way, it will be demonstrated why this study can be regarded as a traditional piece of empirical industrial relations research that uses an overall deductive approach. As was elaborated in the previous chapter, the theoretical framework for this study is labour market segmentation theory, which is used to explore the employer demand for EU migrant workers in the Swedish and UK labour markets. The chapter will outline how an analytical comparison of the findings has been made, both within and between the two countries. It will also discuss the potential for literal and theoretical replication and the potential for the generalisation of the research findings beyond the scope of this study.

Research underpinnings and approach

At the start of this chapter it is helpful to outline the research underpinnings and approach, including an elaboration of how the researcher's views and experiences have shaped the choice of methodology and the research design. Firstly, it can be noted that the researcher

identifies with a broadly pragmatist methodological approach. Morgan refers to pragmatism as a “philosophical program for social research” (2014: 1045). Additionally, Watson suggests that pragmatism “is about attempting to make theoretical generalisations which might inform human practices and help us better appreciate the relationships between individual’s predicaments and institutional and historical patterns better than others” (2010: 921).

The researcher’s broad methodological approach has been informed by pragmatism as a result of previous research that he has undertaken in the form of a Masters level dissertation on the employment of EU migrant workers in the hotel industry in Norwich; a course on migration theory and research at Linköping University in Östergötland; and, in particular, through his professional work at the EU level. For the past seven years the researcher has been working for a European employers’ organisation where he works on issues related to migration, labour market, and education and training policies and research. Prior to working for a European employers’ organisation, the researcher worked for a European political party for over six years where he was also engaged in migration-related issues as well as social policy in a wider political context. Thus, the researcher has around 14 years of professional experience at the EU level on issues that are relevant to the present study. The experiences and insights that the researcher has garnered from his professional work, as well as his previous studies and research training, have demonstrated to him the relevance of a pragmatic approach to learning about and researching migration and have, in turn, shaped the way in which he has structured the design of this study.

While pragmatists appreciate the “philosophy of knowledge approach” (Morgan, 2014: 1045) to social research in which “assumptions about the nature of reality determine the

kinds of knowledge that are possible” (*ibid.*: 1049) and which is conceived around a researcher’s ontological position and epistemological approach, Dewey (2008 in Morgan, 2014: 1046) instead emphasises the role of experience in shaping social research. Capps and Capps also assert that experience “provides the basis of our knowledge and beliefs about the world” (2005: 35), which, in turn, researchers interpret and use to inform their research design. Therefore, if, as Dewey asserts, experience is the basis of a pragmatist methodology, the conception of research through a realist-idealist ontology is not a prominent issue (Morgan, 2014: 1048). This closely echoes the distinction that is made between post-positivism and constructivism, which has been identified as underpinning the philosophy of knowledge approach to social research (*ibid.*: 1048). In this regard Morgan comments that

post-positivists claim that the world exists apart from our understanding of it, while constructivists insist that the world is created by our conceptions of it. For Dewey (2008), these two assertions are equally important claims about the nature of human experience. On one hand, our experiences in the world are necessarily constrained by the nature of that world; on the other hand, our understanding of the world is inherently limited to our interpretations of our experiences. We are not free to believe anything we want about the world if we care about the consequences of acting on those beliefs. Within Dewey’s pragmatism and its emphasis on experience, ontological arguments about either the nature of the outside world or the world of our conceptions are just discussions about two sides of the same coin (2014: 1048).

Thus, Morgan argues that “pragmatism acts as a new paradigm to replace an older way of thinking about the differences between approaches to research” (*ibid.*: 1049). In this vein, while there may be a connection between some research paradigms and certain methods,

such as constructivism and the use of qualitative research methods and post-positivism and quantitative methods, “there is no deterministic link that forces the use of a particular paradigm with a particular set of methods” (*ibid.*: 1045). Consequently, this would suggest that the notion of distinctive ontology and epistemology is a false dichotomy with Morgan arguing that pragmatism “can serve as a philosophical programme for social research, regardless of whether that research uses qualitative, quantitative, or mixed methods” (*ibid.*: 1045). Furthermore, Wilson observes that pragmatists “use methods they consider to be the most appropriate in generating the most significant insights into their research” (2014: 19). Leading on from this, the researcher identified a case study strategy and qualitative research methods, in the form of elite, semi-structured interviews and documentary analysis as the most appropriate way to collect data in order to answer the research question. Indeed, the use of different research methods is characteristic of case study research and these methods can be exclusively qualitative, or quantitative in nature or a combination of the two (Eisenhardt, 1989: 534).

While pragmatism provides the possibility for a deductive and inductive research approach (Wilson, 2014: 19), the researcher has identified with an overall deductive approach in this study. Deductive research is “theory-driven” (*ibid.*: 164) and is about testing theory from the top down (Strauss and Whitfield, 1985: 10). Conversely, an inductive approach attempts to distil theory from empirical findings (Grix, 2004: 164) and can be described as a bottom up approach (Strauss and Whitfield, 1985: 10). The researcher considers that this study identifies with an overall deductive framework due to its strong foundation in the substantive literature review of migration theories and the driving factors behind migration; of historical patterns of migration in Europe since the end of the Second World War; and of the contrasting nature of national economic and labour market situations,

which has been explored in relation to industrial relations systems and VoC in Sweden and the UK (see chapters two to four). In addition, a detailed review and analysis of labour market segmentation theory provided the framework within which this research was designed and carried out (see chapter five).

Specifically, the literature played a central role in identifying the themes for the elite, semi-structured interviews. It is the researcher's belief that this deductive approach identified the issues that were the most relevant for structuring the fieldwork as well as against which the data was subsequently assessed. At the same time, and as has been noted, there may be limitations to segmentation theory and its related aspects. In this respect, the semi-structured nature of the interviews provided the flexibility and scope to consider other issues and to identify possible limitations to labour market segmentation theory and, inductively, identified ways in which this theory could be updated. In this respect, the choice of qualitative methods, particularly interviews, can be viewed as facilitating the collection of data that reflected the perspectives of different labour market actors (employers, trade unions and private recruitment agencies) in a more effective way than a quantitative approach, such as a survey, would have allowed.

It can be noted that most research can be considered as containing aspects of the deductive and inductive approaches (Grix, 2004: 114), (Strauss and Whitfield, 1985: 9). It can also be inferred that the distinction between the two approaches can be blurred. For example, in this study the data was coded and grouped according to the themes that emerged from the interviews. In this respect it could be considered that there is an element of induction as concerns building knowledge from the bottom up. At the same time, the headings under which the data was grouped and what was considered useful and what was discarded by

the researcher during the analytical phase was also influenced by the issues that emerged from the literature. In this regard, Arksey and Knight comment that “much data is discarded in the search for meaning...What gets discarded, or gets less attention from the researcher, is often a reflection of the influence of the literature on the researcher’s sense of what is important” (1999: 154). In parallel, it is noted that information and findings coming from studies “needs to be connected with relevant other work and thinking so as to make the value of the study clear” (*ibid.*: 44). Therefore, it is important to associate the interview data with the literature as this can aid the understanding of the research findings and place them into context with existing work and ideas in the subject area.

As part of the data analysis, there is a focus on the interpretation of the findings and whether they are replicated in multiple cases and, therefore, if they may be generalised, following the notion of analytical generalisation. This form of generalisation involves using an established theory as “a template against which to compare the empirical results of the case study” (Yin, 2003: 10). The generalisation of the findings in this research is based on the relevance of labour market segmentation theory for advancing a more detailed understanding of employers’ demand for EU migrant workers. In doing so, the case study findings are situated within the context of the contrasting national industrial relations systems in Sweden and the UK, their different forms of VoC and historical patterns of labour migration. Creswell (2014: 11) identifies context, notably political, economic, social and historical as an important element of the pragmatist approach.

Grix (2004: 168) observes that attempting to generalise the findings from a specific set of empirical data is a feature of an inductive approach and that this can subsequently be used to generate theory. At the same time, Southern and Devlin assert that the deductive

approach “advances understanding through replication and generalisation of findings” (2010: 84). With this research’s focus on analytical generalisation, the intention is not to generalise the data so as to purport a new theory. Consequently, while it might be considered that there is an element of an inductive approach to the analytical stage of the study, the researcher considers that the research design, execution and analysis reflects an overall deductive approach. The following sections will elaborate the use of the case study approach and the research methods.

The case study approach

This section will introduce the case study approach and determine that it can most appropriately be regarded as a research strategy. There will also be a discussion of the different types and nature of case studies before considering the relevance of a case study approach for industrial relations research.

Defining a case study

There is a debate in the literature about how to define the case study approach in terms of whether it should be considered a research design, a research method, or a research strategy. Each of these will briefly be discussed.

Gerring views the case study as a *research design* that is based on an “intensive study of a single unit for the purpose of understanding a larger class of (similar) units” (2004: 342). As a research design, the aim is to identify and define the unit that is under investigation,

rather than to analyse it (*ibid.*: 341). Therefore, by not including an analytical phase, this approach could be viewed as defining a case study in a relatively narrow way.

A case study can also be viewed as a *research method*. Gillham refers to a case study as a “main method” (2000: 13) within which different sub-methods are used to collect data, such as interviews, observation, document and record analysis. However, Van Wynsberghe and Khan observe that a “case study is not a method because case study researchers cannot actually collect data prescriptively using case study. Instead researchers employ various research methods..., which act to build or uncover the case” (2007: 82). Kitay and Callus also state that a “common misconception” about a case study is that it is a method or technique in its own right (1988: 103). Similar to the critique of the case study as a research design, the notion of it being a method does not take into account the interpretation and analysis of the findings.

Finally, a case study can be considered as a *research strategy*, or framework, within which different methods are used to generate data about the case under investigation and to structure the analysis. Jones and Lyons comment that while there is debate about whether case study is a method or design there “appears to be consensus that it is a comprehensive strategy” (2004: 72). Yin further comments that the case study is a “comprehensive research strategy” that covers the design, data collection and analysis phases of the research (2003: 14). Therefore, the design aspect is considered as one part of the overall strategy. The case study can employ a number of different research methods and these can be either qualitative or quantitative or a combination of the two (Yin, 1993: 3). Thus, the notion of case study as a strategy can be viewed as a broader approach that includes aspects associated with the initial design and selection of methods, as well as the analytical

process.

The development of theoretical propositions is also considered to be an important part of the research strategy, whether testing or developing a theory, and helps to structure its initial design (Yin, 2003: 28). In turn, the theoretical framework within which the research takes place helps to guide the data collection and analysis and provides the basis for considering whether replication is considered to have occurred in instances when multiple cases are conducted. From this it is possible to explore the extent to which the findings can be generalised (*ibid.*: 47-48). Therefore, theory plays an important role in the design, implementation and analysis of case study research “according to some relationship to the literature, policy issues or other substantive source” (Yin, 1993: 4). This is particularly the case when a deductive approach is followed. Although there is no definitive conclusion on how to define the case study, this brief review has demonstrated that the consensus gravitates towards regarding it as a research strategy and this approach has been applied to this study.

Types of case studies

Having identified the case study as a research strategy, it can be noted that there are different types of studies. Yin (1993: 5) proposes three types of study; exploratory, explanatory, and descriptive. Exploratory studies could be considered as the prelude to a main study in that they aim to define the “questions and hypotheses of a subsequent study or at determining the feasibility of the desired research procedures” (*ibid.*: 6). An explanatory study presents data relating to cause-effect relationships, thus “explaining which causes produced which effects” (*ibid.*: 6). Finally, descriptive studies describe “a

phenomenon within its context” (*ibid.*: 6).

Whatever the choice of study type it can be either a single-case or multiple-case study (Yin, 2003: 46). Single studies focus on one particular case and can be used to investigate an “extreme”, “unique”, “revelatory” or “longitudinal” case (Green *et al.*, 2006: 115). A multiple-case approach could be used if the intention is to compare cases and to find similar results across two or more studies (Noor, 2008: 1604). In other words, multiple studies follow a replication, rather than a sampling logic (Yin, 2003: 43). In the same vein, it could be said that multiple-case studies may also be used to demonstrate, and to help explain, differences and similarities between cases, which can be considered an equally important element of comparative research, notably in the area of industrial relations. This notion is supported by Yin (*ibid.*: 47) who observes that carefully selected multiple-case studies can either predict similar outcomes resulting in literal replication or lead to the anticipation of diverging outcomes, which are contrasting for predictable reasons, i.e. theoretical replication.

Using a case study approach in industrial relations research

Case studies are considered to allow for in-depth investigation into a particular issue or ‘case’ (Greene and David, 1984: 75). They are conducted as real-life studies, collecting data about actors and organisations as they function and within the environment in which they operate (Yin, 2003: 1). As such, case studies are widely used in industrial relations research. The reasons for this can be found in the nature of research in this subject area, which aims to explain and understand certain social phenomena and due to institutional analysis being an important aspect of such research (Kitay and Callus, 1998: 101). In this

sense, institutions can include labour markets, trade unions, collective bargaining (Whitfield and Strauss, 1998: 9), industrial relations (in the broadest sense), education and training, the state, and the employment system (Lane, 1989: 31). Industrial relations research can also involve the historical investigation of institutions and actors. This can be purely for a historical study or as contributory information for understanding how historical context has shaped a present-day situation (Kitay and Callus, 1998: 102).

In an industrial relations case study there is not considered to be one best method through which to collect data and it is common for a mixture of different data collection techniques to be used. The methods that industrial relations researchers frequently select from when conducting case study research are semi and unstructured interviews, archival work (including documentary analysis), observation and structured questionnaires (Kitay and Callus, 1998: 103).

Ethnography

While the case study has been identified as being the most relevant approach for this particular study, it can be noted that ethnography is another approach that can be applied in industrial relations research. The following is a brief elaboration of why ethnography is sometimes used for research in this subject area and the reasons why the researcher does not consider it to be appropriate for this particular study.

Ethnography is characterised by “the ethnographer participating, overtly or covertly, in people’s daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions” (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995: 1). Therefore, a

significant amount of emphasis is placed on direct, participant observation (Silverman 2010: 16). Interviews and surveys may also be used to gather information. However, they would be considered as “ancillary sources of information because what most distinguishes ethnography from other methodologies is a more active role assigned to observation” (*ibid.*: 17).

A specific form of ethnography is organisational ethnography, which involves observation within organisations. Van Maanen comments that this approach aims “to uncover and explicate the ways in which people in particular work settings come to understand, account for, take action, and otherwise manage their day-to-day situation” (1979: 540). This underlines the role that observation can play in collecting data with a focus on the actions of, and interaction between, research subjects in the context of the work environment. This could be regarded as a credible approach for a purely organisational study. However, in looking at the labour market situation of EU migrant workers in certain sectors and analysing this in the context of wider institutional frameworks, a broader perspective is needed than can be afforded when purely conducting and analysing research at the organisational level. This critique is particularly relevant in the context of cross-country comparative research.

In terms of the research strategy, Hammersley and Atkinson comment that the majority of ethnographic research is “concerned with producing descriptions and explanations of particular phenomena or with developing theories rather than with testing existing hypotheses” (1995: 25). A notable difference with the case study approach is that the role of theory is much more pronounced in the initial design of the research. This study is using

labour market segmentation theory to structure the data collection and to analyse the findings, rather than seeking to develop a new theory.

Given the nature of this study, which is broader than the interaction between research subjects and includes considerable focus on institutions and systems, a method that is oriented around direct observation cannot be considered as the most appropriate way to generate sufficient data. Furthermore, on a practical level, the researcher's circumstances of conducting this study on a part-time basis, together with the cross-country nature of the data collection did not allow for an extended period of time to be spent in organisations. The researcher is also not a Swedish speaker and so the added value of observation, in terms of listening to what is said, would have been limited.

Consequently, an (organisational) ethnographic-based study that uses direct, participant observation as the primary method would be too narrow an approach for answering the research question with which this study is concerned. Specifically, it is not as suitable as the case study approach, which can be considered more relevant for gathering, interpreting and analysing the data on a cross-sectoral comparative basis, taking into account the industrial relations systems in the two countries.

Application of the case study strategy

Building on the discussion thus far, this section will outline the application of the case study strategy to this research. Firstly, Yin (1993: 10) notes that the unit of analysis in a case study can be individual or multiple organisations or initiatives. The unit of analysis can also be determined according to the research question (Yin, 2003: 23). The researcher

has taken the view that there are several units of analyses in this study, which can individually and/or collectively comprise 'a case'. It follows that data gathered from a company, whether it involves one or more interviews, is regarded as a case. Equally, a case may also be viewed as data from a number of related sources in the same organisation, location or sector. This could include a combination of either a company representative, workplace trade union representative or a representative of a private recruitment agency. Consequently, there are a number of cases per sector and per country.

Establishing the type and nature of the study

While the different types of case study that were elaborated by Yin (1993: 5) can be considered as being open to interpretation, they could be seen as useful for helping to design and structure a piece of case study research and in helping to explain the study and its outcomes. It could also be said that more than one type of case study may be used within the scope of a project. Subsequently, this research could be described as comprising an exploratory phase, followed by a descriptive and explanatory study that uses a multiple-case approach.

As has been noted, case studies can take into account important historical context to inform present-day research. The historical dimension of this study was elaborated in chapter one in relation to two reference points. These are the end of the Second World War in 1945 and the eastern enlargement of the EU to the CEE countries, which started in 2004. The review of historical developments can, therefore, be regarded as an important element of this study's research strategy with the possibility to consider the findings in the context of these

historical developments providing further analytical insight and, potentially, credibility to this case research.

This study used qualitative methods, notably elite, semi-structured interviews and documentary analysis to collect data. The main research subjects were company representatives, workplace trade union representatives, and representatives of employers' organisations, trade unions, and recruitment agencies. The established concept of labour market segmentation theory (see chapter five) has been used to guide the research design and provides the basis for assessing the employer demand for EU migrant workers in the food manufacturing and transportation and storage sectors in Sweden and the UK, taking into account the wider institutional frameworks and structures in the two countries, notably their industrial relations systems.

As a comparative study, a multiple-case approach has been used to investigate the two sectors within their national setting as well as to undertake a cross-country sectoral comparison. Underlining the relevance of this approach, Gilgun (1994: 375) comments that the scientific value of case study research is found in the degree of replication and the similarities or differences observed across two or more studies and not the results of a single, individual study. Taking these aspects into account, Strauss and Whitfield also observe that

qualitative methods may be employed in a deductive fashion when, having completed one case study, the researcher undertakes another with the intent of determining whether the same relationships hold in both cases. Often they do not, and this may lead the researcher to look for explanations of the difference. This is a common approach in comparative international studies (1985: 14).

Consequently, the analysis includes an assessment of the extent to which replication and analytic generalisation may be considered to have occurred. The comments by Strauss and Whitfield help to underpin the approach that has been taken to the research design, as outlined earlier in this chapter.

Introducing the research locations and sectors

Initial background reading helped to inform the researcher's opinion that there is a demand for EU migrant workers in the food manufacturing and transportation and storage sectors in Sweden and the UK. This was further developed by what could be considered as an exploratory phase of the study, which involved interviews with EU level practitioners in Brussels (see below for further details). The choice of sectors was also made following a consideration of the potential for being granted research access. Finally, the researcher believed that it would be interesting to compare an industrial sector with a service sector. Having identified the two sectors, the researcher sought to find comparable locations in Sweden and the UK, taking into account the size of the population, geographic location and the prominence of the two sectors in each region. It follows that Östergötland (Sweden) and Norfolk (UK) were chosen as the locations for the fieldwork. The following information provides an insight into the main industrial relations features of the sectors and an overview of the key labour market characteristics in each location.

Sweden

In terms of sectoral industrial relations features, in 2016 there were approximately 49,000 people working in the Swedish food sector (Swedish Food Federation, 2016) of which around 31,000 were members of the food sector trade union (Swedish Food Workers Union, undated). Therefore, trade union density can be calculated at approximately 79.5 per cent. The sector is the fourth largest in Sweden in terms of production value and the number of workers (Swedish Food Federation, 2016). In the transportation and storage sector, approximately 70-80 per cent of workers are members of the Swedish Transport Workers' union (Transportarbetareförbundet, 2018). The Road Transportation Employers' Association has around 8,200 member companies covering 72,000 employees (Transportforetagen, 2015).

Turning to the fieldwork location, in 2011, Östergötland had a population of around 428,000, making it the fourth largest county in Sweden (County Administrative Board of Västra Götaland, 2016). The main cities in the region are Linköping (the county town) and Norrköping. Linköping is Sweden's fifth largest city with a population of 157,000 (Linköping Municipality, 2018) and Norrköping is the country's ninth largest city with 140,927 (Norrköping Municipality, 2018: 6). Östergötland is approximately two hours drive from the capital, Stockholm.

The employment rate in Östergötland in the first quarter of 2018 stood at 63.4 per cent (Statistics Sweden, 2018). Further understanding of the labour market can be achieved through exploring the main sectors of economic activity in Linköping and Norrköping. The aviation and IT sectors are prominent in Linköping with Saab and Ericsson notable

examples of companies located in the city (County Administrative Board of Västra Götaland, 2016 (a)) Additionally, data for 2010 show that 13.3 per cent of people worked in the manufacturing and mining sector, which includes food manufacturing (Linköping Municipality, 2012), while 3.6 per cent were working in transport-related positions. The largest employer was the health and social work industry at 17.7 per cent (*ibid.*).

Public services are among the largest employers in Norrköping (Norrköping Municipality, 2018: 10). Data for 2016 shows that 8.3 per cent of people were employed in the manufacturing and mining sector and 5.8 per cent were working in the transportation and storage sector. The main sector of employment was health and social work at 16.6 per cent (*ibid.*: 11). Norrköping is known for having developed good transport links by road, air and sea, including through the Port of Norrköping and the airport. There are also a number of logistics companies located in the area (Port of Norrköping, undated).

The UK

In terms of sectoral industrial relations features, the food and drink manufacturing sector is the UK's largest manufacturing sector and employs around 400,000 people, equivalent to roughly 17 per cent of all manufacturing workers (UNITE, undated). There are approximately 1.6 million people working in the UK transportation and storage sector (Office for National Statistics, 2018). Data for 2016 shows that trade union density in the manufacturing sector, which includes food manufacturing, was 17.8 per cent and for the transportation and storage sector it was 36.6 per cent (Office for National Statistics, 2016).

Turning to the fieldwork location, the population of Norfolk in 2017 was a little under 890,000 (Norfolk Insight, 2017(a)). The employment rate is 74.2 per cent, compared to the rate of 75.2 per cent for England (Norfolk Insight, 2018). Data from the 2011 census shows that 10.1 per cent of people were working in manufacturing, including food manufacturing in Norfolk (Norfolk Insight, 2011), while 4.1 per cent were employed in the county's transportation and storage sector. Other major employers in Norfolk by sector are wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motor cycles (17 per cent) and human health and social care activities (13.3 per cent) (*ibid.*). Norfolk is approximately two hours drive from the capital, London.

The largest city in the county is Norwich, which has a population of 141,041 (Norfolk Insight, 2016). The employment rate in Norwich in 2018 is 68.5 per cent compared to 75.2 per cent for England (Norfolk Insight, 2018). The 2011 census shows that 6.9 per cent of people were employed in manufacturing while 3.6 per cent were employed in transportation and storage (Norfolk Insight, 2011). The wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motor cycles sector is the largest employer in Norwich at 17 per cent of workers.

It can be noted that while some of the statistical data is from the 2010-2012 period, this represented the latest available information at the time that the research was being designed.

Data collection

This section will elaborate on why elite, semi-structured interviews and documentary

analysis were chosen as the research methods. Elite, semi-structured interviews are the primary method and are supplemented with information from documentary analysis. After outlining each method further detail will be provided about the practical undertaking of the data collection exercise and associated ethical considerations.

Elite, semi-structured interviews

The relevance of interviews in industrial relations research is noted by Whipp who comments that “the interview is the primary means of accessing the experiences and subjective views of actors. Detailed, vivid, and inclusive accounts of events and processes may be generated” (1998: 54). Arksey and Knight (1999: 13) also observe that interviews are used to gain an insight into what people say and how they interpret and view things, which in the context of industrial relations research could be said to focus on the views and perspectives of labour market actors. Conversely, the “subjective views of actors” (Whipp, 1998: 54) that are based on their interpretation of a situation or fact could be seen as a negative aspect of interviews. The data can also be influenced by an individual’s understanding of a particular question and their knowledge of the topics that are being discussed. At the same time, it could be said that situations or phenomena are often subject to some degree of interpretation, which affects how people think and act. This could be viewed as contributing to the richness of industrial relations research.

How an interviewee interprets a question is particularly pertinent when they are answering in their second language (Lawrence, 1988: 102). This is relevant in this research in which interviews were undertaken with non-native English speakers. In such situations it is important to be aware that a respondent may answer the question that they want to answer

according to what their linguistic ability allows, instead of the one that the researcher has asked (*ibid.*: 102).

There are different types of interviews ranging from the unstructured to semi-structured and structured. Completely unstructured interviews might be used during the preparatory phase of a project to gather information about the broad themes that could be investigated and to inform the main data collection phase (Bell, 2005: 161). This type of interview gives the interviewee freedom to talk about the issues they believe are relevant to the topic of the conversation with no set questions from the researcher (*ibid.*: 161). It is the lack of specific, or guiding, questions that is considered to be a limitation of unstructured interviews and why they may be most commonly associated with the preparatory phase of projects. On the other hand, the structured approach follows a detailed set of questions that have been prepared in advance (*ibid.*: 159). While this approach can yield a notable amount of data in a relatively short time, this information tends to be purely descriptive. Therefore, Arksey and Knight (1999: 4) suggest that it lacks the depth to try to understand or explain why something is as it is. This is due to the limited scope for deviation from the pre-determined set of questions or elaboration in light of an interviewee's responses.

In between these two types is the semi-structured approach. This sees the researcher work with an interview schedule composed of key questions and themes that guide the interview (Bell, 2005: 159). Thus, a semi-structured approach is guided by a set of pre-determined themes and questions that are derived from the literature, while offering a greater degree of flexibility and freedom to cover different issues and to follow up on points raised by respondents than is afforded by the structured approach. The researcher considered the semi-structured approach to be the most suitable and this was used as the primary data

collection method during both the exploratory and main fieldwork phases. The interviews can be considered as elite because they focus on people in mid-to-high level positions within the organisations concerned, such as those in management or representative positions. Given the focus on the employer demand for EU migrant labour, it is important to note that this project did not involve interviews with migrant workers themselves.

As has been noted, the researcher's approach to this project has been informed by the experiences that he has taken from his professional work, as well as what could be considered as an exploratory study in the form of a Masters level dissertation on the employment of EU migrant workers in the hotel industry in Norwich, and his research training. Moreover, as part of the preparatory stage of the present research an exploratory phase was also undertaken involving elite, semi-structured interviews with EU-level practitioners that had a specific knowledge of the sectors, locations or issues that this research is focusing on. This preparatory phase involved seven elite, semi-structured interviews in Brussels, Belgium between May and August 2013. Interviews were conducted with employer, industry and trade union organisations at sectoral and cross-sectoral levels as well as a representation office for a Swedish region. The purpose of these interviews was threefold. Firstly, they were conducted as a context setting exercise, designed to increase the researcher's knowledge of the sectors and issues concerned to help prepare the main data collection phase in Sweden and the UK. Secondly, they served to provide the researcher with contacts that could be approached for interviews in relevant organisations in these two countries. Finally, they enabled the researcher to gather relevant documents and publications that helped to shape the main data collection phase and which have contributed to the data analysis. These interviews provided valuable input to the research design. Some of the interviews developed a broad scope, but this was to be

expected considering that they were EU-level offices and representations.

Elite, semi-structured interviews were also conducted during the main data collection phase in Sweden and the UK. A total of 46 interviews were conducted with 23 taking place in each country. In Östergötland, there are three case studies in the food manufacturing sector and three in the transportation and storage sector. The case studies for the food manufacturing sector comprise six interviews with company, trade union and private recruitment agency representatives. The transportation and storage sector case studies comprise three interviews with company representatives. Complementing the case study data, an additional 14 interviews were held with representatives of regional and national level organisations in Östergötland and Stockholm. These people work for employers' organisations and trade unions at sectoral and cross-sectoral level and an organisation representing private recruitment agencies. In Norfolk, there are four case studies in the food manufacturing sector and four in the transportation and storage sector. The case studies for the food manufacturing sector comprise seven interviews with company, trade union and private recruitment agency representatives. The transportation and storage sector case studies comprise five interviews with human resources representatives. Complementing the case study data, an additional 11 interviews were held with representatives of regional and national level actors in Norfolk and London. These people work for employers' organisations and trade unions at sectoral and cross-sectoral level, an organisation representing private recruitment agencies and a migration research agency.

An anonymised overview of the interviewees that took part in the preparatory and main data collection phases is presented in Appendix 1.

Interviews with human resources representatives aimed to gather data on the demand for workers, the extent to which EU migrants help to address this demand and the type of positions they occupy. They also investigated issues related to in-company training provision and employment regulation. Interviews with workplace trade union representatives looked at the union's role in the regulation of the employment relationship and the nature of workplace negotiations, including the main issues that they address and, where relevant, the nature of the employment of EU migrant workers. Interviews with private recruitment agencies aimed to collect information about the demand for EU migrant labour and the type and duration of work that such migrants occupy. Finally, interviews with sectoral and cross-sectoral organisations representing employers and trade unions aimed to get a broader overview of sectoral and national perspectives on relevant labour market topics and an insight into the issues shaping the sectoral and national industrial relations environment. Similarly, interviews were held with organisations representing private recruitment agencies with the intention of acquiring a broader overview of sectoral and national perspectives and relevant policy aspects.

The indicative questions that were used to frame the elite, semi-structured interviews can be found in Appendix 2.

Documentary analysis

Documentary analysis has played an important role in this study as a secondary method to support the elite, semi-structured interviews. Arksey and Knight comment that “when they are used with other research methods documents can be invaluable as sources of background knowledge and for cross-checking the data” (1999: 15). The reason why this

method might be best used as a secondary data source is because it is not always possible to garner, from what tend to be descriptive texts, what was the context, positions or tensions behind certain points, which is information that interviews are more apt at collecting (*ibid.*: 15).

Therefore, this method was used in several phases. The first was in gathering background information about the sectors and locations where the interviews took place. The second, and main, use of documentary analysis was as a research method to further elaborate on and, where possible, verify the interview findings. Documents were sourced from national statistical offices, national and regional authorities, research institutes and employer and trade union organisations in the sectors and countries concerned. Some EU level documents were also used and materials were sourced from the exploratory interviews that took place in Brussels.

Practical issues associated with data collection in multiple countries

This part will comment on the practical issues that arose during the exploratory study and, in particular, the main data collection phase.

The exploratory phase of the fieldwork took place in Brussels, Belgium between May and August 2013. These interviews were facilitated through the researcher living and working in Brussels, which meant that he had a high degree of familiarity with the type of organisations that could be approached and where they were located. It also meant that no additional costs were incurred to undertake these interviews and that they could be arranged around the researcher's core working hours.

The main fieldwork phase in Sweden and the UK was subsequently conducted over the course of 2014. As the researcher was required to take leave from work, the timing of the interviews was influenced, to some degree, by his work schedule. The fieldwork in the UK took place over the first half of 2014 with the researcher making two trips to Norfolk. One of these trips included a two night stay in London in order to conduct the majority of the interviews with national level representatives over a three-day period. Structuring the fieldwork in this way helped to reduce the costs incurred by the researcher in travelling from Belgium to the UK. Having grown up in Norfolk the researcher had prior knowledge of the county and has family that continue to live in the area and so had access to accommodation and a car during the time spent there. This reduced the costs involved once in the county. That the researcher was familiar with the geography of Norfolk and had an awareness of some of the companies that were located there facilitated the preparation of the interview schedule.

The majority of the data collection in Sweden took place towards the end of August 2014. The fieldwork took place at this time so as to fit with the researcher's work schedule and to avoid the peak holiday period in Sweden. The researcher was familiar with Sweden and its geography and culture having previously completed an Erasmus semester at Gothenburg University as part of his Undergraduate studies. The researcher also completed a course at Linköping University in Östergötland as part of his PhD research training. This facilitated the planning of the logistical aspects of the fieldwork. In Stockholm, the researcher stayed in a central location, which was within walking distance of the areas where the interviews took place and the central train station. In Östergötland the researcher based himself in Linköping, which is the main city in the county. All but two of the interviews in

Östergötland took place in Linköping with the researcher using train and bus transportation to travel to neighbouring towns, when needed. The fieldwork in Sweden involved additional accommodation costs, as well as travel costs, and these were financially supported by the University. Given the logistical issues and related cost implications associated with conducting fieldwork in Sweden, the researcher put together an interview schedule that covered a nine-day period so that it was only necessary to make one visit to Sweden.

Research access in both countries was achieved through a combination of means. These involved identifying potential interviewees from internet and documentary searches, including business directories, as well as local knowledge, where appropriate. The researcher is working in a related professional environment and was also able to identify some potential participants through professional contacts. This was the case for the exploratory and main phases of the fieldwork. In addition, for the main data collection exercise the researcher was able to contact people who were identified by participants in the exploratory phase. During the main fieldwork phase the researcher also received further recommendations for people to approach for an interview.

Access for the main data collection exercise was initially secured in the UK and was subsequently achieved in Sweden. Given that this research is a comparative study, it was important that, as far as possible, access to similar organisations and research subjects was secured and that the same methods of data collection were used. As French *et al.* (2003: 25) noted in their study of workers' attitudes towards racism and racial discrimination in a British and German car plant, using different research methods in different countries limits the extent to which the data can be compared. Therefore, failure to achieve comparable

access in Sweden would have undermined the concept of this study. Fortunately, this was not the case and appropriate access was gained and the same methods were used.

All face-to-face interviews in both countries were held at the office or location of the company or organisation where the participant worked. In some cases this was in town and city centre sites. In others, notably in Östergötland and Norfolk, which are quite rural counties, several locations required car (Norfolk) or public transport and walking (Östergötland) in order to reach them. Additionally, eight interviews were conducted as 'telephone' interviews through the use of the computer programme, Skype – three in Sweden and five in the UK. Conducting interviews with Skype generally worked well, although it can be noted that they tended to be shorter than the face-to-face interviews. This might be attributed to the lack of visual interaction between the researcher and the participant. It was possible to audio record these interviews with suitable clarity and there was just one instance when the researcher lost the connection with the interviewee and needed to call back.

Finally, four participants provided written answers to the questions. Of these, three respondents were in Sweden and they preferred to provide a written response in instances when they were not available during the period when the researcher was there. The other respondent was in the UK and wished to provide written answers due to a lack of availability for a face-to-face or telephone interview. These respondents were available for clarifications and follow-up questions by email.

Given that a number of interviews took place in different countries it is necessary to briefly discuss practical issues associated with language. Firstly, it can be noted that even though

interviews took place in Belgium and in Sweden and, in most cases, with non-native English speakers, all interviews were conducted in English. In the case of the interviews that took place as part of the exploratory study, it can be noted that English is the de-facto working language in European organisations in Brussels. Nevertheless, just one of the interviewees was a native English speaker. However, it can be argued that this did not affect the quality of the information given in the interviews or the willingness of the participants to elaborate their answers. In some instances, notably where subject specific vocabulary was involved, respondents took several attempts to find the word that they were looking for or asked the researcher to clarify the meaning of a word. In such instances the researcher asked the question again, sometimes using a different formulation, and clarified the participant's answer to ensure that there was no misrepresentation of the respondent's views. This only occurred on a limited number of occasions and could not be considered as adversely affecting the meaning of the point that the participant wanted to make or the overall quality of the interview.

Moreover, interviews that were conducted with Swedish participants as part of the exploratory fieldwork informed the researcher's opinion that interviews could be conducted in Sweden in English. Subsequently, it can be noted that the interviewees in Sweden were sufficiently competent in English. This was particularly the case for those that were working for national level organisations in Stockholm. There were, however, two potential subjects in Östergötland that declined the interview invitation on the grounds that they did not feel comfortable replying in English. It can also be noted that the grammar of the Swedish respondents is not always at the same level as for a native English speaker and this can be seen in the findings chapters where respondents are quoted verbatim.

A further issue arising from conducting interviews with non-native English speakers was that in some cases their accent or pronunciation of certain words was harder to understand on the audio recording. Again, this was only an issue with certain words and on a very limited number of occasions and cannot be considered as affecting the researcher's overall understanding of the point that the interviewee wanted to communicate. Therefore, no substantial issues arose from conducting interviews in English with non-native speakers.

Additionally, given that the researcher is a native English speaker and has only a very limited understanding of basic Swedish the use of documents from Swedish sources was restricted to those that were available in English. In a number of cases documents from employer and trade union organisations were available in English, as were other reports and studies and these were a rich source of information. However, for reasons of language it needs to be acknowledged that the researcher had much wider access to documentary material in the UK than in Sweden.

With the permission of the participants, the interviews were recorded using a digital voice recorder. The audio recordings were subsequently transcribed verbatim, minus the pauses and hesitations. There were several reasons for transcribing the interviews. The main reason was to provide the researcher with a clear and detailed record of the interviews in order to facilitate the coding and categorisation of the data, which aids its interpretation and analysis. Additionally, due to the researcher conducting this study on a part-time basis while working full-time, it was anticipated that there would be a time lapse between when the interviews were conducted and when they would be analysed. Therefore, the researcher felt that it would be desirable to have a set of transcribed interviews available. It can be acknowledged that transcribing the interviews was a time consuming process, a point that

is made by Arksey and Knight (1999: 61) who suggest that it can take up to ten hours to transcribe a one hour interview. Nevertheless, it can be considered that transcribing the interviews was beneficial.

Ethical considerations

The researcher followed the ethical procedures and guidelines set out by the University (see Appendix 3 for confirmation of ethical approval).

Potential interviewees received individually tailored invitation letters that were sent by email, together with an outline of the indicative interview questions and a background information sheet (see Appendices 2 and 4). The questions were indicative because the interviews were semi-structured and participants were informed that extra questions may be asked as the interview progressed. In addition, the researcher provided further written or oral information by email or telephone as part of the follow-up process to the initial invitations. This was important in all cases and particularly for those potential participants that were not native English speakers. This helped to avoid the situation whereby participants might find themselves in an uncomfortable position during an interview due to not being fully aware of its purpose and direction. Furthermore, in the case of non-native English speakers this helped to minimise any potential disadvantages or difficulties that could arise due to language reasons. This approach was followed for the exploratory and main data collection phases. In some cases, invitations were specifically declined or a response was never received. However, as a result of sending the indicative set of questions and the background information sheet invitees were able to make an informed decision about whether or not to participate.

Those people that agreed to take part received two consent forms before the interview – one that was to be completed at the beginning of the interview, which confirmed the circumstances under which the interview was taking place, and another concerning the use of quotes, which was completed at the end of the interview. The researcher talked the participants through each form at the time of the interview and answered any questions of clarification. In instances when telephone interviews were conducted via Skype the researcher sent the consent forms to the participants in advance of the interview. Participants were invited to complete the pre-interview form before the interview and to complete the second one afterwards and to email both forms back to the researcher. In several instances the interviewees preferred to give oral consent at the time of the interview. As with face-to-face interviews the researcher presented the consent forms and gave participants the opportunity to ask questions before the interview started and again at the end.

With the obvious exception of the participants who provided written responses to the interview questions, all participants consented to the interviews being audio recorded and these recordings were subsequently transcribed. From an ethical point of view it is important to observe that in transcribing the interviews the researcher excluded the personal details of the interviewees. Therefore, it is not possible for anyone other than the researcher to discover the identities of the participants. This was important in case the transcripts should be lost or stolen.

Beyond issues associated with the invitation process and the conduct of the interviews, it has been noted that the researcher works for a European employers' organisation where he

works as a full-time adviser on a number of issues, including migration policy. In some cases, professional contacts were approached for an interview or with a view to recommending potential research subjects. These people were approached in the same way as all the others in terms of receiving an invitation, background information and an indicative set of questions. Moreover, the study was independently funded and was not associated, either formally or informally, with the researcher's professional work.

That there is some overlap between the focus of this study and the researcher's professional work can be seen as positive because it enables the researcher to bring additional personal knowledge, experience and expertise of the subject area into the research. This is what Polanyi terms "connoisseurship" (1958: 54). This refers to having a commitment to developing personal knowledge about a particular issue or subject area that enables someone to build up a comprehensive understanding that allows for information about the subject or issue in question to be objectively appraised (*ibid.*: 65). This notion is further elaborated by Turner who comments that "the good qualitative researcher needs...to become a connoisseur in the realm of social knowing, developing skillful knowing as an *addition* to analytic comprehension" and that the connoisseur participates "in the act of knowing and at the same time appraising the quality of that which is known" (1988: 115). Therefore, by working in a professional environment that is linked to the focus of this study it could be considered that the researcher brings additional personal knowledge and experience to the conception of the study and to the data analysis.

Data analysis

Comparative analysis

Lawrence (1988: 99) provides a useful starting point when considering the approach to analysing comparative research data in observing the importance of not falling into the trap of simply trying to identify and compare like for like, but to take a broader perspective. Therefore, it is important to consider at what level(s) comparative analysis will take place in order to best address the research question. In this respect Lind and Knudsen observe that

to students of European labour market policy and employment relations the diversity of EU member states makes it very complicated to do comparisons that go further than naked descriptions of similarities and differences. To make proper analyses, each national 'system' has to be interpreted separately and the specific features have to be understood in their national setting (2004: 17).

The literature also raises the importance of not only looking at national industrial relations systems, but in conducting comparative analysis at sectoral level. Notably, Kochan comments that international research is increasingly taking a "micro and comparative approach by drawing on common and varying practices and trends within and across national systems" (1998: 42). It could be interpreted that the reference to "within" national systems relates to a sectoral comparison, which is subsequently elaborated by a cross-country (sectoral) comparison. Bechter *et al.* (2012: 185) also observe that the sectoral level tends to be the most appropriate for analysing product and labour markets, the different roles of the industrial relations actors and the regulatory process. However, it is suggested that comparative studies do not sufficiently take into account these sectoral elements and instead pay more attention to differences between national industrial relations systems, thereby overlooking key sectoral features. At the same time, Locke and Thelen

(1995: 342) suggest that when looking at issues from a cross-country perspective it is important to contextualise the comparisons that are made to take account of variations in national practices. From this it could be inferred that different practices at sectoral level are one of the components and elements of context that need to be considered when comparing national industrial relations systems. Indeed, in order to capture the essence of a comparative study, Bechter *et al.* (2012: 199) observe that it is important to consider both the sectoral and national levels. Moreover, it is commented that, theoretically, it is at the sectoral level where distinctions can be most apparent, such as in the case of labour market segmentation (*ibid.*: 199).

Taking this into account, chapters seven and eight are structured around a presentation of the case study data by sector and location. This is followed by an analysis of the findings within each national context as well as a cross-country sectoral comparison of the case study data. This analysis is complemented by data related to the wider labour market context and the industrial relations system in each country, which was collected from representatives of national and regional level organisations, as well as the analysis of relevant documents. Subsequently, chapter nine attempts to answer the research question through assessing the nature and extent of labour market segmentation in the two sectors, drawing on the research findings, labour market segmentation theory and its associated models, and the factors of segmentation identified in chapter five. Thereafter, the analysis focuses on whether there is a concentration of EU migrant workers in each sector and their corresponding occupations as a result of labour market segmentation. This approach to the data analysis aims to overcome the issue of producing little more than “naked descriptions of similarities and differences” (Lind and Knudsen, 2004: 17) through basing the

comparative analysis on the sectoral findings and complementing this with data on the context provided by the respective national industrial relations systems.

Qualitative content analysis

Having described how the comparative analysis is structured, the focus now turns to the practical steps that have been undertaken to analyse the data.

This study used the process of qualitative content analysis, which analyses qualitative data through the interpretation of different perspectives, suggestions or ideas arising from the data and viewing them within the context that the investigation is set (Mayring, 2003: 42). In this research, the context is provided by the EU principle of the free movement of workers between member states; the Swedish and UK labour markets; and the wider industrial relations systems in these countries. Qualitative content analysis is considered to be suitable for “any kind of recorded communication” (Kohlbacher 2005: 14) and, therefore, for analysing transcripts and the analysis of documents in general (*ibid.*: 14). Data is analysed through reviewing the texts, establishing a series of categories and coding or storing the text in these categories (Titscher *et al.*, 2000: 58). Structuring the data in this way aids the interpretation of the findings and subsequent analysis (Mayring, 2003: 42).

It has been noted that interviews and documentary analysis are the research methods that have been used in this study and both lend themselves to qualitative content analysis in the form of the interview transcripts and the analysis of documents. Coding can be described as the process during which “ideas, concepts, interpretations and propositions” arising from the data sources are grouped together and when initial ideas are “refined, expanded,

discarded, or fully developed (Taylor and Bogdan, 1998: 151). This involves the researcher going through the data, either manually or with the aid of a computer programme, to identify which segments of data could be grouped together under the same theme or category (*ibid.*: 152). This process can be described as “funneling the data into relevant categories for analysis”, which aids the comparison of different cases (Dey, 1993: 42).

The researcher used NVivo, a computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software programme, to code the data and to store it in sets, according to the themes that emerged from the coding exercise. The coding process identified the core themes that emerged from the data in both sectors and countries. These have been used to guide the analysis of the findings in chapters seven and eight and are as follows: the demand for, and use of, temporary and EU migrant workers, including seasonal demand; recruitment and training; and workplace regulation.

Yin (2003: 110) notes that software programmes like NVivo help with coding and categorising large volumes of text, such as transcripts and notes from interviews. Indeed, it is the ability to effectively manage, bring order to and analyse qualitative data that are considered the key advantages of NVivo (Bringer *et al.*, 2004: 250). At the same time, di Gregorio observes that researchers need to be careful not to fall into a “coding trap” (2003: 1) and to code too much data and lose sight of their research aims. Using a software programme, such as NVivo, can also distance the researcher from the data if it is relied upon to make connections between different data sets (Baxter and Jack, 2008). Similarly, for all the assistance that NVivo can provide in terms of coding and searching data at a much faster rate than can be done manually, the analytical process remains fundamentally reliant on the interpretive skills of the researcher (Wiltshier, 2011) who draws on “their

firsthand experience with settings, informants, or documents to interpret their data” (Taylor and Bogdan, 1998: 141). On balance, it could be considered that NVivo is a complimentary tool to aid researchers in their work, as was the case for this study.

Triangulation, replication and analytic generalisation

Having coded and categorised the data a further step that can be undertaken as part of the analytical process is the triangulation of the data. Yin (1993: 69) observes that if the results of three research methods or sources all point to the same direction or outcome a sense of convergence is evident. If this occurs the data can be considered to have been successfully triangulated and the researcher and other readers can have a greater degree of confidence in the findings (*ibid.*: 69). Arksey and Knight (1999: 21) also suggest that the opinions of three stakeholders can be triangulated, such as representatives from a company, trade union and recruitment agency.

Thus, triangulation can be considered useful for providing an additional level of confirmation of the outcome and conclusions of this study as well as contributing to a more in-depth understanding of the cases. At the same time, it is important to caution that in following this approach “the individual strengths, weaknesses and biases of the various methods must, first, be known and, secondly, applied in such a way that they counterbalance each other...(and) it is important to try to blend and integrate the different methods, and not simply to design a study that comprises distinct, mutually exclusive approaches” (Arksey and Knight, 1999: 21). Taking this into account, it could be said that the methods that have been utilised in this study do complement each other. In this respect, the interviews provide first-hand insights into the opinions and perceptions of the different

labour market actors and the documentary sources provide additional context to the labour market and industrial relations circumstances in which these actors are operating.

It can also be noted that “triangulation is not an end in itself” (Arksey and Knight, 1999: 21) and that from a discussion about this technique and the relative strength and credibility of research findings, it is relevant to elaborate the issue of replication. It has been noted that there are two types of replication – literal replication, which points towards similarities or convergence, and theoretical replication, which leads to divergence (Yin, 2003: 47). In this study, it could be said that elements of convergence and divergence are evident and, therefore, that both types of replication may be found. It could be expected that there is more divergence, due to the contrasting industrial relations systems and labour market contexts, hence a focus on theoretical replication. However, there may also be convergence resulting from the cross-country sectoral comparison, in which case literal replication could be claimed. Hence both types of replication could be applicable to this study.

A final point to address is the extent to which case study findings can be generalised. One line of argument is that such findings cannot be generalised because they only relate to the specific case that has been investigated (Stake 1995: 7), (Van Wynsberghe and Khan, 2007: 85). However, Yin (2003: 10) counters this by suggesting that case studies are about analytical generalisation and concern the generalising of theories, rather than statistical generalisation, which relates to the frequency with which something occurs. As was noted at the start of this chapter, analytical generalisation involves using an established theory as a “template” (Yin, 1993: 50) for the comparison of the research findings. Subsequently “if two or more cases are shown to support the same theory, replication may be claimed” (*ibid.*: 50). It can then be determined that a degree of external generalisation of the findings

may be claimed. As has been noted, in this study replication and the generalisation of the findings is based on the relevance of labour market segmentation theory for advancing a more detailed understanding of employers' demand for EU migrant workers.

The triangulation of the data, and the extent to which replication has occurred, is elaborated in the concluding chapter, following an analysis of the findings in chapters seven, eight and nine. Consideration is also given to whether the findings can be generalised. It is hoped that this study may help to further inform academics and policy makers about issues surrounding employers' demand for EU migrant labour in Sweden and the UK.

Summary

In outlining the use of the case study strategy that has been applied in this study, this chapter helps to link the theoretical and historical discussions that have taken place in previous chapters with the practical undertaking of the research in the chosen sectors and locations. In doing so, it has been demonstrated why this study can be regarded as a traditional piece of empirical industrial relations research following an overall deductive approach. Elaboration of the nature of case study research has also shown the importance of the relationship between the literature and theory for guiding the different stages of the study through the design, data collection and analysis phases and thus why the case study approach can be considered relevant for this study.

The discussion of the research methods has shown their suitability for collecting data that can help to answer the research question. In turn, elaboration of the process of comparative

analysis has set the scene for the following chapters, which will be structured around the presentation and analysis of the findings from the two sectors and countries. These findings will also be considered within the context of the respective national industrial relations systems and through a cross-country sectoral comparison.

7. Findings (1): Presentation of data and comparative analysis - food manufacturing sector

Introduction

This chapter will present and analyse the data that was collected for the food manufacturing sector in Sweden and the UK. The presentation of the case study findings principally comprises the data from the company level interviews with human resources and trade union representatives, as available, and is the main data source. This will be complemented by information that was obtained through the national level interviews in Stockholm and London, as well as those that took place with regional actors in Östergötland and Norfolk. Documentary analysis will also be used to help assess and, where possible, verify the interview findings.

Chapter six identified the themes that arose from coding the data and these are used to guide the analysis of the findings using the process of qualitative content analysis. To recall, these are: the demand for, and use of, temporary and EU migrant workers, including seasonal demand; recruitment and training; and workplace regulation. Having presented and analysed the case study findings within their national context a cross-country sectoral comparison of the data is undertaken.

Case study findings – Sweden

Case study one – Company A

Company A is a meat processing factory whose operations include slaughtering, processing and packing. The company employs around 500 people on both a temporary and permanent basis. The company is unionised. This case study comprises data that was gathered from interviews with a representative from human resources (HR rep A) and from the workplace trade union representative for blue collar workers (Union rep A).

Both a quantitative and a qualitative demand for labour was identified in company A and this is addressed through the use of temporary workers. The quantitative demand arises from issues related to seasonality and involves the need for additional staff during peak periods of production and to cover holidays and sickness. HR rep A mentioned that the company has “a lot of temporary workers that we hire directly and through agencies”. Temporary workers are used to respond to increased product demand in the build up to Christmas and Easter. In summer, around 150 temporary workers are also recruited to cover for permanent staff who are on holiday. These positions are primarily filled by students on their summer holidays.

Additionally, the interviews highlighted the role played by temporary workers in addressing a qualitative demand in the form of a shortage of meat cutters. HR rep A commented that this need is currently met through using the local branch of a private recruitment agency, which has offices across Europe and which subsequently sources workers in Ireland and Poland. During the year that the interview took place, company A hired 25 EU migrants on a temporary basis and was set to source more at the start of the following year.

A recent development is that company A is starting to permanently recruit those EU migrants that are willing to move to Sweden. In parallel, the company has launched a campaign and programme to train its existing staff on how to slaughter animals and to cut meat. In doing so the company is seeking to reduce its future reliance on temporary agency workers from abroad.

During the interview with Union rep A it was commented that meat cutters are sourced from the EU countries mentioned by HR rep A, plus the Czech Republic and Slovakia, because it is hard to find people in Sweden. “We need people for de-boning, and meat cutting and its few people in Sweden who can do that work so we want the company to educate people to do that work and we have started that now”. The concern for the trade union is that because EU migrants are often employed by agencies outside of Sweden it cannot be certain that they are receiving the same pay as the Swedish workers (Union rep A). Related to this particular point, HR rep A mentioned that there are “pretty similar salaries and working conditions” for agency workers because the collective agreement for agency staff is the basis for the agreement established within company A.

So far, eight Swedish workers from among the company’s permanent staff have started to undergo such training. That company A has started to train people for these roles is a result of trade union action and includes a company level agreement on the training of the existing workforce to fill these shortage occupations.

When asked whether company A’s main motivation for using temporary EU migrants might be because they could be cheaper in instances when they are not covered by the collective agreement, Union rep A responded “not only, I think they are afraid to...if they

have to chuck someone it's much easier when they have temporary, they can just say tomorrow we don't need you, they can't do that with their own staff". Union rep A also noted that it is often hard to engage with the EU migrants to discuss their work situation because they do not always speak Swedish or English (in the case of the Poles, Czechs and Slovaks), although HR rep A noted that the company does offer Swedish language classes to help the migrants integrate.

The discussion about the use of EU migrant workers is closely associated with the wider theme of recruitment and training. In elaborating on the company's recent recruitment trends, HR rep A identified a distinction between different job profiles and how workers are sourced. While meat cutters and slaughterers are nearly always EU migrants that are brought in by a private recruitment agency, those working in the other roles are from Sweden. Those workers can be recruited through an agency or directly by the company.

Beyond the specific situation as concerns the training of existing workers to fill shortage occupations, the union pursues a general strategy of encouraging company A to provide training so that workers are able to move between tasks. This is considered to be important because the work is physically demanding and, therefore, it is better for the overall health of the workers if they can alternate their tasks (Union rep A). This view was shared by HR rep A who highlighted the role that training can play in helping staff to have a healthy and engaging work environment. However, the provision of training as a stimulus for intra-company mobility appears to be a relatively new approach with HR rep A commenting "we encourage that we like people to learn to handle different positions in their department and then we try to motivate them to change department too, but it's hard because we don't have that history so it's kind of hard work".

Another aspect is the opportunity for blue collar workers to apply for training that will enable them to progress within the company. This training programme lasts for one 1.5 years and combines practical and theoretical elements. In this respect, HR rep A noted that “it happens all the time” that blue collar workers are promoted to white collar roles. This does, however, depend on the skills and qualifications that are required for a particular job and sometimes the company prefers external recruitment to bring a new perspective and new knowledge to the company. In this sense there is no systematic approach to promoting from within.

The framework for workplace regulation is set through the collective agreement for the food manufacturing sector, which provides the minimum requirements for the terms and conditions of employment. Union rep A observed that, to his knowledge, everyone in the company now gets a higher salary than is specified in the sectoral agreement as a result of negotiations that took place at the company level.

HR rep A commented that there is a three-step approach to discussing and reaching agreement on the issues that arise in the workplace. A lot of issues can be discussed and addressed at the first step, whereas the more complicated ones that can impact upon the whole company are discussed at the third step. The sourcing of temporary EU migrant workers was described as a third step issue.

Finally, HR rep A noted that ongoing investments are being made in new technology. In the three years or so that the interviewee had been at the company the number of workers had fallen from around 700 to approximately 500. This was a result of the company trying

to be more efficient, of which part of the approach is to invest more in technology. The potential impact of the introduction of new technology on the labour force was not raised by Union rep A.

Case study two - Company B

Company B is a dairy manufacturer for a wide range of products, including milk, cheese and yoghurts. The company employs around 200 people on both a temporary and permanent basis. The company is unionised. This case study comprises data gathered from interviews with a representative from human resources (HR rep B) and the workplace trade union representative for blue collar workers (Union rep B).

The vast majority of the workers are permanent full-time, employees, with HR rep B observing that worker commitment is high with many workers having been at the company for 25 to 30 years. There is an element of temporary recruitment to cover for permanent staff during the peak summer holiday period (July to early August) and in these circumstances university students are hired. Students are also used on a temporary basis during the build-up to the mid-summer holiday around the middle of June. These students do sometimes return to the company as employees after finishing their studies. HR rep B commented that once they have spent some time in the company “they have a little bit of thinking in the right way and we can use them”. The interview with Union rep B confirmed this situation while noting that the company did previously have a greater presence of temporary workers, which has now been reduced.

We have some people who make temporary work, but the people who are coming in when we have high sickness ... are the people who work in the summer and the most of them are studying here in Linköping and we call them in ... But how many per cent? Not such a big per cent. We had a very big per cent a couple of years ago but now it's very little (Union rep B).

Where there are EU migrants in the company they are permanent employees that are living in Sweden, rather than being in the country on a temporary basis. HR rep B noted that the company has staff from Denmark and Finland. In this respect the 2004 enlargement of the EU to the A8 countries was not considered by HR rep B to have had any impact on the people that are looking for work at, or who are employed by, company B. There are also migrant workers that originate from further afield - Iraq, Syria and Turkey. HR rep B observed that these people tend to come to Sweden, and Östergötland, because there are problems in their own countries and because they already have friends or family living and working in the country and this area.

When asked about the wider recruitment trends and the demand for workers over recent years, HR rep B commented that “all of our dairies are under pressure because we need to be more effective and then we need to downsize. (...) Therefore, we are not taking so many into the company for the last five years I would say”. HR rep B also commented that “another thing we are doing now when we are recruiting is thinking of the mindset the people have, of lean thinking, communication, always discussion what we can do on another way”.

There are also possibilities for blue collar workers who start on the factory floor to receive training that will enable them to be promoted to white collar roles, such as team leader,

supervisor or manager. It was noted that since company B joined together with another dairy company in Denmark ten years ago there are “a lot more qualification demands on leaders, so today if you should be a leader you need to have done some dairy education in Denmark, because they have a special dairy school in Denmark and they have a university in Copenhagen where they are specialised on dairy products” (HR rep B). This training can last for a year or longer. In this respect, a structured and formalised approach to the training of the workers is provided by the company. At the same time, HR rep B commented that it can be difficult for workers to go to Denmark for this training as a lot of them have families or other personal commitments, which means that it is not always possible to be away from home for a year or more. On the other hand, Union rep B noted that all the team leaders in company B have worked up to this position from being blue collar workers on the factory floor, which suggests a willingness to undertake the necessary training.

Complementing these training opportunities, HR rep B referred to a scheme that enables dairy companies in Sweden to cooperate with universities to train students in food production before they enter a company. Under this approach, several companies, including company B, are cooperating with a university that provides food production education for students that already have an electronics or mechanics background. When company B is undertaking an external recruitment it tries to hire people that have gone through this training programme.

Another issue that arose was the level of motivation that workers have to take part in further education or training. This is associated with the last in, first out policy in Sweden when staff cutbacks and redundancies are made. Union rep B commented “you can fire if

you have boxed someone or steal something, but when we are talking that there is enough work ... the man who has worked longest is first in again ... If you say you have some university studying that you study to (be) some milkman or something it's very difficult to get work because in every plant there is people who shall go in before them”.

In discussing the challenges associated with the introduction of new technologies, and training people to use new equipment, HR rep B observed that the last in first out approach in Sweden is challenging for companies. For company B, which wants to recruit more highly skilled and qualified blue collar workers that are familiar with new technologies, this can be a particular issue when it is difficult to up-skill or re-train existing staff. HR rep B commented, “we have some troubles because we have older workers that was not so good at the high technology so we needed to place them on places where they could work that it was not so high technology until they go to pension.”

The functional flexibility of the permanent staff is something that appears to be a key element of the workforce planning and is achieved through a pool of (blue collar) workers that are competent to operate across the majority of the different production lines. In describing this approach HR rep B commented

we have a pool of, I think there are eight workers today, and they are trained so they can (work) almost all lines, so if one person is sick on one line you can take them on in the pool and get it on that line because you can't take one from that line to the line here because they don't have the competence, yet. These eight have the competences on all lines, almost all lines I would say, and now they are also training the other ones on different lines.

In addition to the pool and the advantage that this shared knowledge and competence of the different production lines brings, HR rep B also referred to workers being trained as “operators” to perform low level maintenance tasks, such as cleaning and oiling the machines. If pool workers are able to do these tasks the more highly qualified engineers can focus on the bigger jobs that arise. As a result, there are opportunities for blue collar workers on the factory floor to become increasingly highly skilled and competent across a range of areas (HR rep B).

Enlarging the number of competent staff that can work on maintenance issues is considered important as this is an occupation in which HR rep B identified a shortage of workers, not just in Östergötland, but across the country. The 24 hour / 7 days a week nature of production in company B also raises the importance of having workers that can cover lower level maintenance issues at any point during the day and night and at weekends.

In discussing the use of a pool of labour to provide functional flexibility, Union rep B commented that this is to be seen in the context of a reduction of staff across the company’s different production sites in Sweden, including at company B where five staff where recently made redundant. Union rep B stated that the union did not agree with releasing these people and that the labour pool is not currently big enough to cover for this reduction in permanent staff.

We have talked a lot with the company because we don't agree with them that we are five people too much because I think these people in a few days will come back and work again ... because they have people who can drive the machine but when they will be ill, we have

not so many people in for that. We have a pool with 14 people, I think it is, but it's not enough (Union rep B).

The approach to functional flexibility can also be viewed in the context of company B's use of new technology. In the 14 years that HR rep B has been working at the company the number of staff has reduced from about 350 to 200. The gradual introduction of technology, which is becoming increasingly advanced, is considered by HR rep B to have played a significant role in the reduction of workers as part of an overall strive towards greater efficiency. For example, the company uses a combination of machinery and robots that provide a nearly fully automated packaging process. The role, and use, of technology has also been discussed with the trade union in the context of this being a means to reduce injury and sickness in the workplace (HR rep B). Union rep B did not refer to the impact that the growing use of technology has had on staff numbers.

Due to the 24/7 nature of production there is a workplace agreement, in addition to the sectoral collective agreement, which details the provisions for staff that work on so-called "red days", such as weekends, evenings, Christmas and the mid-summer holiday (HR rep B). People working on these days receive additional pay. HR rep B acknowledged that the trade union is "strong" and for the company it is essential to be productive "every hour a day" and they are ready to pay for this (HR rep B). Union rep B also mentioned that working time is the main issue that is discussed in the workplace level agreement.

In terms of recruiting workers to the trade union, Union rep B speaks to all new employees that are hired permanently. This is only done with permanent workers because the fees of 644 Swedish Krona (approximately £58) per month are considered rather high. Part of this

money goes to the union and part goes into the unemployment insurance fund. Union rep B mentioned that the costs of joining the union have increased since the government took over the running of the unemployment fund a couple of years ago and that the number of union members has fallen as a result.

Case study three – Company C

Company C is a confectionary manufacturer. The company employs around 300 people on both a temporary and permanent basis, including EU migrant workers. The company is unionised. This case study comprises data that was gathered from interviews with a representative from human resources (HR rep C) and from the private recruitment agency that is part owned by company C (PRA rep 1).

While staff planning is undertaken six weeks ahead so as to ensure that the required number of workers are available, it was noted that the demand for workers can change with a couple of days' notice, depending on the needs of the clients. As a result, company C appears to have a notable reliance on the use of temporary workers to provide a numerically flexible workforce. HR rep C commented that around 15 to 20 per cent of the workforce are employed on a temporary basis.

The company has two approaches to the recruitment of temporary workers. One is through working with a private recruitment agency, which company C part owns, along with other industrial companies in the local area. HR rep C observed that this arrangement helps the company to effectively and efficiently respond to its staffing needs. However, the company is not obliged to use the services of this agency. The temporary workers that are brought in

through the agency might be employed for one or two days at a time and potentially on short notice in response to fluctuations in product demand. HR rep C commented that the agency “are really good, they manage to do it, but probably not with the right quality every time and that's what we noticed this summer when we needed like 70 people in one day, so that was tough, but they managed and we managed our goals”. PRA rep 1 also commented that it can be a challenge to find the required number of workers, especially for the temporary, lower-skilled roles. In broad terms, PRA rep 1 noted that there is a distinction between the type of work that is available and the nature of the contractual relationship, whereby “it's more permanent on the high scale of job and more temporary the low scale.”

Commenting on the role of the agency, PRA rep 1 explained that they have a pool of potential workers that company C, and others in the area, can utilise as and when needed. To a certain extent, university students were noted as comprising an important part of this pool. In particular, they help to respond to the demand for workers over the summer period to cover for permanent staff that are on holiday, which coincides with their own holidays from their studies. Students can also be available for up to two weeks at other times of the year when they are in between courses or have a mini break. Another source of temporary workers are pupils that have just left school at 18 years old and which are looking for temporary work before they start university or while they are looking for a permanent job (PRA rep 1).

In addition to the workers hired through the agency, there are temporary workers that are recruited directly by the company, and which might be employed for around three months at a time. This is often the approach when it comes to hiring people in response to seasonal variation in demand. Although seasonality appears to be less pronounced in company C

than has been observed in companies A and B, HR rep C noted that, in addition to staffing the summer holiday period, there is a need for extra workers in the autumn to prepare for Christmas. PRA rep 1 also observed that autumn is a busy period for company C and a time when additional workers are needed. The agency might place people in the company for one or two weeks or three to four months.

As concerns the use of EU migrant workers, HR rep C commented that occasionally they have workers from other factories within the group to which company C belongs who spend time in Östergötland. For example, at the time of the interview there were several workers from Italy working on various projects. It was commented that the company has around 16 different nationalities from across the world among its workforce and that all of these are permanent workers living in Sweden. In this respect there were considered to be no temporary EU migrants that are recruited directly by the company or through the agency (HR rep C).

Providing additional context, PRA rep 1 commented that there are no workers from other EU countries responding to job advertisements that the agency places. This includes EU migrants applying from abroad or within Sweden. It was suggested that the reason for this could be linked to a lack of knowledge of the Swedish language.

If I compare with the UK, well a lot of people they speak a little English and can handle a job, but if you come from Poland and don't speak any Swedish it's much harder because the production team leaders in the food industry, I don't know how eager they are to speak any English. They prefer to do their management in Swedish, so maybe our labour market isn't that open and one issue is actually language (PRA rep 1).

PRA rep 1 also commented that while the agency does not actively look to recruit workers from other countries it is something that has been discussed and which could be an option for the future. However, this would most likely be in the health care and IT sectors. If there are EU migrants in Sweden, PRA rep 1 observed that these tend to be found in the construction sector. It was also noted that there are workers from India, Russia and Ukraine working in the IT sector or people from Ethiopia or Somalia who find work in other jobs through the public employment service, rather than the private recruitment agencies.

In view of the fluctuations in demand that company C experiences, numerical flexibility was cited by HR rep C as the central reason why the company uses temporary workers, rather than because it might be a cheaper way to operate. “If you hire some permanent and you don't need to, if the production goes down, you know the volumes, that's tougher to fire. If you have a temporary it's just done.” This view was shared by PRA rep 1 who said in general terms, and not just in relation to company C, that “everything is so more into efficiency, cutting costs and chasing costs all the time so I think temporary employment is one effect of that”. PRA rep 1 commented that the flexibility that the company achieves through hiring such workers is a key reason why it uses the agency's services. In this way company C only needs to inform the agency if it needs less workers one day or one week and the agency takes care of this. Otherwise the company would need to provide two months' notice if they were permanent hires (PRA rep 1).

Commenting on the wider approach to recruitment, HR rep C observed that recruitment had been fairly stable over the past five to ten years, but that it had increased within the last two years as a result of increased production and two new product lines. Company C also uses its relationship with the local agency to help it recruit permanent workers. The role of

the agency is to conduct a pre-selection of candidates who then have an interview with the line manager and human resources to see if they will be hired. It can also be the case that if temporary workers perform well they can be permanently recruited when a position becomes available.

HR rep C noted that people with relevant technical knowledge at university level are increasingly valued, but hard to find. The company aims to recruit one to two people with this background per year as technical operators. Once in the company they would be able to go on to become a line manager or team leader. While a university education helps an external recruit to enter at a higher level, it was also noted that prior experience of working in a food manufacturing environment enables people to become team leaders and supervisors.

Related to this, people that start out as blue collar workers, such as process operators on a production line, a role that requires no education, do have opportunities to up-skill and to be promoted to higher positions, such as team leader and supervisor (HR rep C). It was mentioned that company C recently started a programme of internal competence development, which is operated in partnership with a local high school and paid by the company. The purpose of this programme is to provide workers with minor technical competences so that they can become more autonomous and solve low-level technical issues on the factory floor without needing to call for a fully qualified engineer, which “saves time and money”, while raising their competence level (HR rep C). PRA rep 1 noted that the agency has been discussing whether it should start to provide training to the workers that it places. Notably, a forklift truck driving licence was mentioned as something that other recruitment agencies are starting to train people for because companies are

always looking for people with this qualification. HR rep C commented that the company has good cooperation and frequent dialogue with the trade union, including on issues such as the internal competence development programme with the local high school. This initiative came from the human resources department of the company and was initiated in consultation with the trade union.

Beyond the sectoral agreement for the food sector, it was commented that “we negotiate every week, like for the schedule, the working times, if someone's temporary hired, if they want to extend the period we need to negotiate” (HR rep C). Company C also pays its employees more than is specified in the sectoral agreement. While it was not mentioned if there are workplace agreements on these issues, they are, if nothing else, topics for dialogue between the management and union. PRA rep 1 also commented on the importance of a good relationship with the trade union in company C because of the influence that it exerts on the company’s approach to recruitment and the use of an agency. For instance, “...they could say that if we're using a staffing company, we don't like this company but we like this company, we want you to go with that one, so it's also very important for us to have good relationships with them because they are very much involved in decision taking” (PRA rep 1).

Additionally, PRA rep 1 mentioned that the agency usually sticks to paying the wage level that is set in the collective agreement for the recruitment industry. Because they are dealing with different companies, they consider that it is fairer and more transparent to work in this way. However, it was mentioned that if the agency really struggles to find someone with a particular skill set that is demanded by one of their clients they would consider paying more than the collective agreement.

Case study findings – The UK

Case study four – Company D

Company D is a meat processing factory, which includes slaughtering, processing and packaging. The company employs around 650 people on both a temporary and permanent basis, including EU migrant workers. The company is not unionised. This case study comprises data that was gathered from interviews with a representative from human resources (HR rep D), the head of training and health and safety (H&S rep A) and the representative of the private recruitment agency used by the company (PRA rep 2).

Company D has an external private recruitment agency located on-site to facilitate the recruitment of temporary workers. A recruitment agency is used because it helps the company to ensure that it has the required number of staff. The agency primarily sources people to work in the lower-end, entry level positions on the factory floor, such as a production operative, for which it is harder to attract people (HR rep D). No particular element of seasonality was identified, although it was mentioned that there are students working during the summer months to cover for permanent staff that are on holiday. The workload, and associated use of the agency, was mentioned as being relatively stable (HR rep D). PRA rep 2 commented that December, in the build up to Christmas, is a particularly busy time when the agency is continuously recruiting temporary workers.

HR rep D commented that the advantages of using an agency are that it shoulders the main costs of recruitment, carries out the interviews and induction and does most of the related administrative work. The flexibility that the company achieves in terms of how many

workers are needed and when was also cited as important. Potential downsides of using temporary agency staff are the high turnover and the negative impact that this can have on productivity and efficiency.

You get somebody in today and you train them up on a certain task, tomorrow if the manager's expecting that person to turn up and do that task again, they may not turn up. The agency has a quota of numbers to fill, but as long as they have 100 people in, they may call different people in to be part of that 100. It does give us issues with skills, which has a knock-on effect with efficiencies so there are downsides. If you've got a stable workforce you can train them all to do every task. The reliance on agency is that you may not get the same people (HR rep D).

Company D has a temporary to permanent approach to its use of agency workers so there are opportunities for temporary workers to remain in the company when vacancies arise and if they perform well and want to stay there (HR rep D). H&S rep 1 complemented this by saying that the company always tries to fill permanent positions with people already working in the company and that this happens 99 per cent of the time. Additionally, PRA rep 2 described company D as providing “ongoing” work for people that enter through the agency so long as they work well, develop the skills and have a good attendance. This approach provides an element of continuity and stability for the company and the workers.

HR rep D observed that the vast majority of the agency workers are EU migrants and that since 2004 these are primarily east European, in addition to the Portuguese community that is present in Norfolk and which has been working at this factory, and others in the area, for a number of years. At the time of the interview, HR rep D commented that it was still to be seen if the company would experience a change in the composition of its workforce

following the ability for Bulgarian and Romanian workers to freely access the UK labour market. As concerns the A8 migrants, it was noted that “a lot are still here, a lot of them perhaps come for six months and then go home again, and once, I think, some are sort of established here they then look to see, because bearing in mind a lot of them are very qualified people; doctors, teachers, chemists.”

HR rep D also commented that the majority of the EU migrants enter the company as production operatives. This is because the agency is primarily used to provide people for entry level positions. While the EU migrants are sometimes highly qualified in a different profession their lack of English can be a barrier to accessing equivalent positions in the UK. For instance, it was mentioned that “one of the issues is, is if you're a fully qualified chemist in Latvia, if you haven't got the English skills, to transfer them here, you have to sort of take the work that is available” (HR rep D). PRA rep 2 also observed that the food sector is “easier to get into, lower requirements than in an office job” and that while some workers are well qualified in their own countries, they lack the English language skills to use those qualifications in the UK.

Elaborating on the issue of the recognition of prior qualifications and skills, H&S rep 1 mentioned that between half to three quarters of the forklift truck drivers working in the company are EU migrants. Those EU migrants that initially come into company D holding a forklift truck licence from another country would first be assessed to see if they meet company D's standards. If they do not, but do subsequently become company employees, they would be provided with the necessary training to meet the required level. “We're not going to still spend £1000 on someone who is not here tomorrow. When that's a key job we need to guarantee they are going to be here. So, if they get to a stage where they're constant

day in and day out, week in week out, they turn up, they do a good job, then we look at recruiting them onto company D's²⁸ books and go on from there" (H&S rep 1). It has been noted that the vast majority of the recruitment carried out by the agency is for temporary workers. However, company D also uses the agency for more skilled, permanent positions, such as when looking for an engineer (HR rep D).

There are also possibilities for further training for those workers that show potential and a commitment to staying in the company. In some cases training can also be provided while a worker is still on the agency's books, if the company has determined that they would like to recruit a particular person on a permanent basis. "It's obviously in our interests if they've got to that point that we do look to employ them because otherwise they are going to take those skills and go somewhere else" (HR rep D). Further training can help those people that arrived in entry level jobs to become a line leader or machine minder and it was commented that there is a good mix of EU migrants and UK nationals in these roles. Once people achieve these positions there are various promotion opportunities for those that are willing to work for it (HR rep D).

It was also noted that if EU migrants improve their knowledge of English and show a desire to have a higher position, they can work as an assistant to a departmental manager. As this involves liaising with workers on the factory floor, it was commented that having an EU migrant in this role means that they can end up talking to other migrants in their own language, which can sometimes help to facilitate the work flow, even though this is not necessarily encouraged by company D with English being the working language (H&S rep 1).

²⁸ The name of the company has been replaced with "company D".

Related to this, language proficiency was raised as an important issue with EU migrants often said to have a low level of English. For example, H&S rep 1 mentioned that when you are trying to explain something “you have to think of initially speaking to them so that they understand before you can go too quick or too slow or what terminology you can sometimes use to see if they do understand or some say, they’re going, “yes, yes” and you know they're not understanding!” It was mentioned that this is particularly important in formal discussions, such as disciplinary meetings, where interpreters are sometimes used and written statements are taken in a migrant’s native language and then translated into English to ensure that everything is clear and understood by all sides (HR rep D).

The limited language ability of some EU migrants was exemplified by H&S rep 1 who recalled a time when he was trying to take a worker’s name to report his disregard of health and safety rules to his supervisor and the agency, but the worker struggled to respond to the questions that were being asked. H&S rep 1 added that a low level of English is a particular challenge that they face from hiring EU migrants. HR rep D also commented that the company does “have a standard of entry English, but equally if we need staff and we know the staff will work, we have to have a bit of compromise” (HR rep D).

Despite these challenges, EU migrant workers appear to play an essential role in company D, both as temporary and permanent workers, for those that stay on. When asked if EU migrants bring a different skill set or other attributes to the workplace compared to UK nationals H&S rep 1 commented that they bring a good work ethic and that in some cases they can be “too keen” in terms of always wanting to do overtime. “When they come here,

the British ones, they go, I'll do as much as I've got to, and you've got the bloke next to him who is Lithuanian and they're going, good old boy, I'm quite happy working with you because you're doing half of my work” (H&S rep 1).

HR rep D observed that company D has had to adapt, which has been difficult “but, equally, without the migrant workforce we couldn't run our business. That’s the crux of it. We’re now looking to recruit another 150 staff. Well, I can guarantee that there won't be many English people within that group because if they wanted to work they’ve either been here or they don't want factory work.”

Company D is not unionised. However, in 2010 a local union branch was campaigning outside the factory, targeting the practices of the on-site recruitment agency of the time. This primarily concerned issues related to holiday pay and other grievances expressed by some of the agency workers. HR rep D commented that when the company met with the union and discussed the issues that were being raised, including in relation to the poor attendance of some agency workers, the union better understood and agreed with the way the company was working. It was also mentioned that the agency addressed the issue of holiday pay and the union was satisfied with this. While some individuals joined the union as a result of this action, there was not a wider call for a recognition agreement between the company and the union (HR rep D).

Another outcome was that company D started to consult its workers on pay issues and a system of employee representatives was introduced. These people are part of a consultative committee, together with the company’s health and safety representatives. The company aims to have EU migrant workers on this committee to make it more representative of the

workforce, but H&S rep 1 noted that there is often a reluctance among these workers to engage because of the perception they have that they may be seen as troublemakers by the management.

An additional element in relation to workplace regulation is the audits that are carried out by the two major supermarkets that stock company D's products. While they continue to focus on the quality of the products, H&S rep 1 mentioned that the supermarkets increasingly want to explore the nature of the employment relationship in terms of how workers are treated, if there is a difference between the agency workers and permanent employees and the like. HR rep D complemented this by adding that they changed the on-site agency that they work with in order to be sure that it would meet the issues raised by the supermarkets.

We weren't happy with the ethics of the last agency, mainly because the risk is that if we have an ethical audit, we've got to be 100 per cent sure that everything is being done correctly and there were niggly issues that we felt had to be eradicated. I mean the new agency have come in, you know, and they have done six months. They're getting there, but they are doing the same service in terms of same numbers of staff, they took on the staff that were with the old agency so it just carried on (HR rep D).

It was also mentioned that the agency workers are treated the same as the permanent employees in so far as they have comparable pay, access to overtime and the same on-site facilities (HR rep D).

Case study five – Company E

Company E is a manufacturer of party food. The company employs around 40 people during peak periods of production on both a temporary and permanent basis, including EU migrant workers. The company is not unionised. This case study comprises data that was gathered from an interview with a representative of the human resources and operations management (HR rep E).

HR rep E observed that production is very seasonal with roughly double the level in November, in the build up to Christmas, than in January or February. There is also a slight peak in the summer months. Correspondingly, there are fluctuations in the demand for labour with there being around two to three production operatives in February and up to 20 in November (HR rep E).

To respond to these fluctuations the company is structured around a group of permanent staff that is complemented by a number of temporary workers, which varies according to demand, and which is sourced through a private recruitment agency. HR rep E commented “we are continually recruiting, but sort of one or two at a time, rather than dozens at a time”. It was also mentioned that occasionally the company uses a recruitment agency to help it hire people in specialised positions, such as engineers (HR rep E).

The company applies a temporary to permanent approach, meaning that if there is an opening for a permanent recruitment and if there is a good candidate from among the temporary agency workers that person will be taken onto the company’s payroll. While the company usually has around one or two students as part of the temporary agency

workforce, it was noted that approximately 50 per cent of the temporary workforce are EU migrants, primarily from Poland, Latvia and Bulgaria (HR rep E).

Additionally, there has been a “considerable increase” (HR rep E) in the number of EU migrants in the company and looking for work since the enlargement of the EU to the A8 countries in 2004. It was also commented that the ability for Bulgarian and Romanian workers to have unhindered access to the UK labour market following the end of the transition period in January 2014 had currently not had any impact on the company. At the same time, it was observed that there was already a presence of Bulgarian workers. It was commented that EU migrants tend to stay for around three to five years before returning home. In this sense they look for a stable employment situation, instead of changing jobs on a weekly or monthly basis (HR rep E).

The high presence of EU migrant workers is considered by HR rep E as having a negative impact on the company’s ability to retain indigenous UK workers. This is because UK workers often feel excluded during breaks because the migrant workers tend to group together according to their native language, which results in no-one speaking to the UK workers. Even though company E insists on conversational English among its migrant workforce, they cannot be required to speak English during their breaks.

Despite the apparent focus on a numerically flexible workforce, it was also commented that functional flexibility can be important during peak periods of production when people with “key skills” (HR rep E) are deployed across different shifts. “When we’re very, very busy we’ll occasionally go onto two shift working, which means we need to spread those key skills across two shifts, rather than one, and if you’re not careful you can leave

yourself quite light on those (...). Anyone who volunteers or asks to be trained on something then we will train them up pretty much” (HR rep E). It was also mentioned that training is offered with a view to providing cover for the holidays and sickness of other workers.

HR rep E commented that members of the permanent workforce are offered further training with a view to them being able to progress to higher level positions. In this respect, it was said that “all of our supervisors have been promoted from within and quite a few of the frontline management have been recruited from within the business” (HR rep E). The majority of the training that is provided is targeted to people working on the factory floor, where most of the EU migrant workforce is located, and takes place as on-the-job-training, with the aim of ensuring that all these workers have the “key skills” that are necessary for the production process (HR rep E). On the participation of EU migrants in training, HR rep E observed “one of our supervisors is eastern European and she came up through that route – agency, full-time, and then supervisory – and we have two of them that are trained in sort of first aid and health and safety as well, so we do try and get them into slightly more responsible positions, if they want to do it”.

Company E is not unionised and this is not something that HR rep E was aware of as being a possibility or being requested by the workers. If there are grievances raised these are dealt with according to the Advisory, Conciliation and Arbitration Service (ACAS) Code of Practice.

It was also mentioned that the nature of the business is “job and finish” (HR rep E), which means that the working hours can vary greatly according to the level of production at

different times of the year. The result is that the workers are on what were described as “sort of a zero hours contract, but they never work zero hours” (HR rep E). The workers will start at a set time, but there is no defined finishing time and they will continue until that day’s production has been completed. Whereas “the average working week in sort of the first quarter of the year is probably around 30 to 35 hours a week and then during the busier parts of the year it will be over 50 hours a week” (HR rep E).

Case study six – Company F

Company F is a food processing factory that prepares convenience food for home use. The company has around 1,700 employees, excluding agency workers. EU migrant workers form part of the permanent and agency staff. The company is unionised. This case study comprises data that was gathered from an interview with a representative from human resources (HR rep F) and a trade union representative (Union rep F).

HR rep F noted that production in company F is highly seasonal with Christmas and Easter being particularly busy periods. For example, in the lead up to Christmas there is a 30 per cent increase in the number of orders that need to be fulfilled. While there is a strong element of seasonality in terms of peaks in production at these times, HR rep F also mentioned that production levels fluctuate throughout the year, which determines the number of staff that are required.

To respond to these changes in demand, the company uses a private recruitment agency, within which two approaches are used and which jointly account for the hiring of around 15 per cent of the workforce. The first is the use of agency workers on a temporary basis.

HR rep F described these as “ad hoc workers who might come in here, there and everywhere.” The second approach is the use of agency workers on a fixed-term basis for 12 weeks, following a so-called “derogation model.”²⁹ This means that when, after 12 weeks, a worker’s assignment finishes, they continue to be paid by the agency and can then come back to company F for another fixed-term assignment when required.

HR rep F also commented that the company’s approach to flexibility, notably the use of the flexi contract, is an ongoing issue that is being discussed within company F from an ethical and recruitment perspective. It was noted that “lots of people don't like it as it doesn't give them the ability to plan so although we need it to run our business, a lot of our workers find it very frustrating. I think that will be our biggest challenge in the next two years, how we deal with that and how we can cover what we need” (HR rep F). This contract enables the company to hire people for 32 hours work per week, over a seven-day period, but a flexibility clause means that people can work up to 48 hours per week, if needed, and in line with the UK’s working time provisions. It was commented that “this enables flexibility in terms of the work that we do on a weekly/daily basis so it’s varied” (HR rep F).

Although precise figures were not available, HR rep F commented that there are a “considerable number” of migrant workers, particularly EU migrants, in the company. Notably, these are from Poland, Lithuania and Latvia. It was also expected that there

²⁹ The Swedish derogation - so called because it was introduced into the EU temporary agency work directive at the request of the Swedish government - provides an exemption from the provisions in the UK Agency Workers Regulation, which entitles agency workers to the same basic pay and conditions as comparable employees after a 12 week qualifying period. It does not affect agency workers' entitlements to other provisions under the regulations, such as annual leave after 12 weeks, day-one rights and rest breaks. For it to come into play, the temporary work agency offers an agency worker a permanent contract of employment and pays the worker between assignments (ACAS, 2013).

would be more Bulgarian and Romanian workers arriving following the lifting of restrictions on their access to the UK labour market. Union rep F commented that around ten workers from either Bulgaria or Romania had arrived within the last two weeks and “that’s going to be the next influx.”

EU migrants occupy positions across the company, which is something that was noted as having evolved over time. For example, there are migrants working in quality assurance, finance and human resources as well on the factory floor as production operatives, line leaders and supervisors (HR rep F). It is also the case that EU migrants are directly entering higher level, supervisory or managerial positions when they first enter the company, rather than having to work their way up from entry level positions. Nevertheless, the main entry route into the company for EU migrant workers is through the agency with HR rep F commenting “if I think about my direct staff, quite a good split in terms of migrant versus British citizens but when I think of my agency pool, I would say it is a much higher percentage of migrant workers.”

When the company is undertaking direct recruitment onto its own payroll it tries, in the first instance, to recruit employees from among the agency staff. In this way these workers act as a pool of trained people that already know how the company operates. In this respect, company F provides on-the-job training to people that enter the company as low-skilled operatives. HR rep F also noted that it can be difficult to find skilled operatives through an external recruitment and so the company aims to fill these roles through promoting from within. Union rep F further commented that the company approach is to try to encourage those agency workers that have been identified as having ability to apply for permanent positions. At the same time, it was observed that agency workers, especially

those that are EU migrants, are not always looking for permanent work and sometimes prefer to have a flexible working arrangement. “I spoke to them about coming to work direct - oh no I like to go home for two months or I like the freedom of being in the agencies - so while some who will happily come across there is some that want to work in the agency which that is their choice I suppose” (Union rep F).

Similarly, there are training opportunities for workers, if they want to take them. However, it was commented that the company could potentially be more pro-active in encouraging its workers to participate in training. “We tend to grab those that do show an interest and really run with it. We are probably not very good at picking out those who could do it, but don't necessarily want to for reasons of nervousness, for example” (HR rep F). Training can lead to people progressing from unskilled to semi-skilled and skilled roles, such as team leader, if they are prepared take part in the necessary training and to remain in the company.

The problem we get is that either people leave before they get to that point or equally people don't want to progress because an unskilled operative role is easy, there's no stress, no responsibilities, you just do what you're told, but as soon as you get into semi-skilled, you are starting to get some responsibility and starting to have to think a little bit and we do find that a lot of our workers don't want that, and that can be a real challenge (HR rep F).

It was also suggested that a by-product of people taking part in training could be that it increases their commitment to the company and results in a more stable workforce, which is desirable from a human resources perspective (HR rep F).

HR rep F commented that a particular challenge associated with the EU migrant workforce is that they do sometimes go away without notice. “One of the biggest things we deal with is people just disappearing, AWOL type situations, quite often because they have gone off on extended holidays back to wherever they're from and that can be quite a challenge for us” (HR rep F). One explanation for this could be that EU migrants generally have less attachment to the company or the location where the company is situated and they purely view the job as a means to earn money. For example, Union rep F commented that

when you speak to them and you get to know them over a period of time, you discover that they, well they are doing jobs that are probably a lot below their educational abilities really, but when I say why are you doing that then, yes good money and availability of work and all of that. You know, there are people who are qualified and quite well educated in their own country and I say to one or two of them, don't you get bored doing some of these like menial type roles? Need the money, need to do – that's how they pass it off (Union rep F).

HR rep F commented that pay is the main issue for discussion with the trade union. Union rep F elaborated that there are agreements on the terms and conditions of employment at company level. Additionally, disciplinary hearings and health and safety issues are the main areas where there is dialogue involving the union representative(s) and the company. The relationship between the management and the company was described by Union rep F as being “pretty good.”

When it comes to recruiting workers to join the union, Union rep F noted that “a lot of recruiting is done generally week to week. We get involved in the induction process, we have an induction presentation, which we present to all hourly paid and salaried employees

so that is from day one really that we let them know we are there and try and encourage them to join the union³⁰ when they join the business.” Some of the EU migrant workers are union members, but it was noted that it can be particularly difficult to reach out to them because of the scepticism that they have about unions in their own countries (Union rep F).

Nevertheless, it was noted that there are migrant trade union representatives from Lithuania, Poland and Portugal and that they play an important role in communicating with their fellow countrymen. This can be invaluable for recruiting other EU migrants to the union. It is also important if there are disciplinary discussions to make sure that a worker’s views are fully expressed and understood. Without this it was noted that there can be a “language barrier”, which can be an obstacle to a detailed discussion (Union rep F).

Case study seven – Company G

Company G processes food for ready-made meals. The company employs around 300 people, which includes approximately 70 agency workers. EU migrant workers form part of the permanent and agency staff. The company is not unionised. This case study comprises data that was gathered from an interview with a representative from human resources (HR rep G).

HR rep G identified a greater demand for the company’s products in the winter, which means that more workers are required during this period. An external private recruitment agency, which has an office at company G, is used to provide temporary workers to meet this seasonal demand and at other points throughout the year (HR rep G). In this regard,

³⁰ The researcher has replaced the name of the union with “the union”.

“the whole point of the agency is to fill the unskilled jobs that we don't recruit to permanently because today we don't need, but tomorrow we might” (HR rep G). It was mentioned that the majority of these workers are from Latvia and Lithuania and that the largest number come from Poland. There are also some Portuguese workers and a small number from Iraq. The company has thus far not experienced Bulgarians or Romanians looking for work, either as a direct hire or through the agency, since this became a possibility (HR rep G).

It was commented that there is a dominance of EU migrant workers among the lower-skilled roles. “We do note we don't tend to have very many applicants from the UK in the first place for lower skilled jobs, they are not particularly interested, but what we do find, the odd one or two who come along, they don't want to remain for very long, they are looking for stop gap. There are opportunities to move upwards” (HR rep G). Due to a lack of interest among UK workers for this type of work, HR rep G noted that the company would be “struggling hugely” without the migrant workforce and that there is no easy way to make the lower-skilled production operative roles more attractive to UK workers. One option could be to increase wages, but it was thought that this would lead to “a whole problem with the supply chain. Our customers would not be happy with us increasing our prices, we couldn't maintain production with wage increase for unskilled workers and end up being cost-effective with the suppliers” (HR rep G).

It was also commented that automation could help to reduce the company's reliance on EU migrants in the face of a lack of UK workers, but it was said that this would be “very, very expensive. We are talking about robots” (HR rep G). The company already has a certain amount of machinery, where it is viable, but the nature of the products that the company

makes requires people to cut vegetables, prepare the meat and sauce and to place this in plastic containers for sale. Therefore, HR rep G considered there to be limits to the role of machinery and that only robots could fulfil the tasks that are currently performed by low-skilled labour.

While there does appear to be a concentration of EU migrants in the lower skilled positions, there are opportunities for these workers to progress up to more skilled roles, notably as line leaders and supervisors. Company G has ten production lines and nine out of the ten line leaders are EU migrants and one is from the UK. There are also EU migrants in positions as supervisors (above line leaders) with there being approximately a 50-50 split between EU migrants and UK workers (HR rep G).

The use of temporary agency workers is noted as providing company G with a numerically flexible workforce to respond to fluctuations in product demand.

There are peaks and troughs in production, it is very much around what our customer wants. Today is “X” number of products, therefore today we need “X” number of workers. Tomorrow the orders are halved, for example. One can't then employ those, so we have a level of employment based on what we need to produce our minimum requirements. We might have slightly above that to allow for holidays/sick cover etc. but our agency workers are there to cover our peaks in requirement (HR rep G).

Elaborating on these fluctuations in demand, HR rep G commented that the leaders on the production lines are semi-skilled people who are able to work across different lines and that they are continually needed. However, it is not always necessary to have 20 or so unskilled workers on these lines. “Perhaps they're producing half that day or perhaps not

going to run that line at all that day, line leader may have to go on different line. We can flux the number of unskilled, but cannot flux the number of skilled as we need that number to be here, trained, and to be available, even if we don't always make use of them” (HR rep G). This appears to demonstrate functional flexibility in parallel to numerical flexibility.

There are approximately 230 permanent staff and when permanent recruitment is undertaken it is primarily to replace people that have left this group. In this respect, direct recruitment by the company follows an established trend and there is generally a fairly stable workforce. There is turnover of staff, which is at approximately the same rate for the EU migrant workers as it is for the UK staff (HR rep G). Company G’s approach is to try to recruit permanent employees from among the agency staff and so there are opportunities to be directly employed by the company, as and when positions arise and if a person is performing well. “We recruit permanent employees, advertise internally so our agency workers would be our recruitment pool so they would tend to have the opportunity to apply for those jobs” (HR rep G).

As concerns training opportunities, HR rep G referred to English language learning for EU migrants as an important focus area. Even though the company requires its workers to undertake language, literacy and numeracy tests it was noted that there are sometimes problems among the EU migrants in terms of their ability to understand and communicate to a satisfactory level of English. This can be a challenge to achieving a smooth working environment and so the company has translators that it can call upon, if needed (HR rep G). English language classes are available to company G’s permanent employees, but HR rep G observed that there are challenges around the provision of, and participation in, these classes. Notably, line leaders and supervisors find it difficult to release their team members

to take part in training when they have deadlines to meet. At the same time, EU migrants are not always willing to participate.

They don't want to learn. They have been here, our Portuguese workers, number of them here 10 to 15 years and still speak very little English. It may not have been working for us for 10 to 15 years, but they have been in the country for that long and still speak very little English and that is not improving, but those are our current staff and we are working with them and keep trying to improve (HR rep G).

While English language issues typically concern the migrant workers, it was also noted that some UK workers have been found to lack the required literacy and numeracy skills (HR rep G).

The company is not unionised and HR rep G commented that there had been no requests for this. “We do a UK based survey which looks at how our employees feel about certain things, high level of feelings at this site that they are committed, engaged, so not a call historically” for unionisation (HR rep G). The company does, however, have a works committee that is composed of workers from different sections of the factory who are nominated by their co-workers, as well as management representatives. The committee meets once a month and its purpose is to discuss workplace issues and to get input and ideas from the workers about how things are done, including, for example, the way disputes are handled (HR rep G). Training is provided to the committee members with a view to encouraging them to further discuss issues with their co-workers in between meetings so as to help them to be representative of the workforce (HR rep G). With EU migrant workers comprising the majority of the workforce there is a strong presence of migrants on the committee.

Table 1 (below) provides an overview of the key characteristics of each case study in Östergötland (Sweden) and Norfolk (UK) before the chapter moves onto a comparative analysis of the data.

| Company | Main form of activity | Number of workers | Type of contract(s) offered / nature of work | Unionised workplace | Presence of EU migrant workers | Use of recruitment agency |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|---|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Östergötland, Sweden | | | | | | |
| A | Meat processing | 500 | Permanent and temporary / full-time | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| B | Dairy processing | 200 | Permanent and temporary / full-time | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| C | Confectionary | 300 | Permanent and temporary / full-time | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Norfolk, UK | | | | | | |
| D | Meat processing | 650 | Permanent and temporary / full-time | No | Yes | Yes |
| E | Party food | 40 | Permanent and temporary / full-time | No | Yes | Yes |
| F | Food processing | 1700 | Permanent and temporary / full-time | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| G | Food processing | 300 | Permanent and temporary / full-time | No | Yes | Yes |

Comparative analysis of the sectoral case study findings

This section will analyse the data within the context of the respective industrial relations systems and from the perspective of a cross-country sectoral comparison, identifying points of convergence and divergence. To advance the analysis of the case study findings, additional information will be used from the interviews with national and regional actors as well as documentary analysis. This will provide important contextual information in relation to the national labour market structure and industrial relations system in the two countries.

The demand for, and use of, temporary and EU migrant workers, including seasonal demand

A first element of the demand for temporary workers in the Östergötland companies arises from seasonal fluctuations. This concerns both staff cover during the summer holiday period and peaks in production. Increases in production typically occur in the build-up to Christmas, Easter and the mid-summer holiday. This was found to be particularly relevant for companies A and B and, to a lesser extent, in company C. In these three companies, the temporary workforce is largely composed of local students and private recruitment agencies are used by all three companies to source these workers. In the case of company C the agency is part owned by the company.

Another element of employers' demand for workers concerns the role of EU migrants. In the case of company A it was found that EU migrants are hired on a temporary basis through a private recruitment agency to staff occupations in which there is a shortage of

Swedish workers, namely in butchery-related roles, such as de-boning and meat cutting. It was found that companies B and C have workers from other EU countries, although seemingly to a lesser extent than in company A. In companies B and C these are permanent employees that live in Sweden and who originate from countries, such as Denmark, Finland and Italy. However, there are no temporary EU migrants in companies B and C. This is despite the relationship that company C has with its agency.

Additional information from interviews with a representative of an employers' organisation for the food sector (SE food employer rep) and a representative of a trade union for the same sector (SE food union rep) further demonstrated that some meat processing companies, such as company A, do lack skilled workers and use temporary migrants from eastern Europe. It was also mentioned that some food manufacturing companies try to permanently recruit these workers, but that they often return to their own country after several months instead of staying in Sweden (SE food employer rep). This was also noted by HR rep A. Nevertheless, company A is starting to directly employ some of these EU migrants. Therefore, in this particular company there appears to be a two-pronged approach, which involves training the existing workforce and hiring some of the EU migrants as permanent employees. Data gathered from the SE food union rep confirmed that in cases where temporary EU migrants are utilised in the sector it tends to be in meat processing companies and as "trained slaughterhouse workers." It was also noted that around two to three per cent of the sector's workforce are EU migrants and that this has not changed following the 2004 EU enlargement with agency workers from other European countries already coming to Sweden before this point (SE food union rep). However, it has been seen that this is a contentious issue between the trade union and the management in company A and has led to a company level agreement to train existing

workers in the shortage occupations so as to reduce the reliance on temporary EU migrants. These findings suggest that there is an element of a qualitative structural demand for skilled EU migrants in the sector, particularly in the area of meat processing, to address specific skills shortages. It could be inferred that this also constitutes an example of EU migrants performing core tasks for companies in this sector, while being employed under a peripheral or contingent contractual arrangement, as was considered in the discussion around the flexible firm model in chapter five.

While addressing skills needs appears to be the main reason for the use of temporary EU migrants, a representative of a national cross-sectoral employers' organisation (SE employer rep 2) observed that because these workers are recruited and paid by the agency in their country of origin there is the potential that they will be paid less than the minimum wage that is specified in the sectoral collective agreement. This concern was also raised by Union rep A as an additional reason why the union has been pressing the company to train its existing workers, rather than relying on temporary EU migrants.

Additional context on the hiring of temporary workers in Sweden is provided by a representative of a national organisation for recruitment agencies in Sweden (SE agency rep 1). Notably, workers that are employed by private recruitment agencies in Sweden on short-term assignments can have an open-ended employment contract. These assignments can be temporary and last for a matter of weeks or months, but the worker still gets paid between assignments if the agency does not find them work. Specifically, the collective agreement for the staffing industry (2010: 13), which is signed by Swedish Staffing Agencies and LO unions (blue collar unions), including the food workers' and transport workers' unions, provides for a "guaranteed wage" and states that "during the time when

the employee is not outplaced, working at the staffing agency or participating in training, a guaranteed wage per calendar month of 90 per cent of average earnings during the latest three month period shall be paid” (*ibid.*: 13).

Additionally, SE agency rep 1 elaborated that “something quite particular to the Swedish staffing industry is that there is a predominance of white collar and I think now the ratio is 60/40 (with blue collar workers)”. Therefore, it could be inferred that in Sweden there is less of an association between agencies as recruiters for low-skilled, low-paid jobs than might be considered the case in the UK. Data collected from a representative of a private recruitment agency in Östergötland (PRA rep 3) supports this assertion through showing that the agency is mostly involved in the recruitment of highly skilled temporary workers, including to companies A and C. It was also commented that these temporary workers often go on to be hired by the companies after a set period of time. This suggests that it is not always possible to determine evidence of labour market segmentation through the nature of the contractual arrangement with the evidence from PRA rep 3 demonstrating that temporary workers can directly access primary sector positions on account of their skills and educational background. It also suggests that temporary work can sometimes be a route into more stable employment.

A representative of a national cross-sectoral trade union organisation (SE Union rep 1) also observed that the Swedish Staffing Agencies-LO trade unions collective agreement is based on sectoral collective agreements and, therefore, agency workers do not receive less than the average earnings for comparable workers at the company where they are placed. Reference to the agreement confirms this (Swedish Staffing Agencies and LO, 2010: 10). In this regard, SE agency rep 1 noted that “it is not cheaper. That is the whole purpose of

that agreement from the union's point of view. It mustn't be cheaper to take on agency workers".

Despite the seemingly well-regulated nature of temporary recruitment in Sweden, a report by Bevelander and Irastorza observes that "strict employment regulation for permanent work coexists with relatively lax employment regulation for temporary work, so many of Sweden's (limited) low-skilled jobs are organised through temporary contracts" (2014: 4). As a result, it is asserted that labour market segmentation may develop and lead to people that use temporary employment to get a foothold in the labour market, such as migrant workers, to be confined to low-skilled and low-paid work (*ibid.*: 4) or, it could be inferred, occupying positions in the "secondary" ELM (Lovering, 1990: 13), in situations where they move between temporary work and the ELM. This observation echoes the European Commission (b) data (2016: 10) that was referred to in chapter five as concerns the higher level of employment protection legislation for permanent contracts in Sweden than for temporary ones. It also helps to substantiate the remarks referred to by Woolfson *et al.* (2013: 699) in chapter five about the limitations of Swedish collective bargaining when it comes to regulating the employment of foreign workers, which was discussed in the context of the outcome of the Laval case. This appears to be particularly relevant in the case of company A and its use of temporary EU migrants that are employed by an agency outside of Sweden and which may not follow the conditions of the Swedish collective agreement for the staffing industry.

Summarising the demand for labour in the Östergötland companies, it could be said that company A uses temporary migrants to respond to a qualitative demand for labour. While company B has little demand for temporary workers, it places greater importance on

having a functionally flexible workforce in the form of a pool of workers that are trained to work across different production lines. This also implies that the company has a qualitative demand for skilled workers. It was only really in company C that the importance of having a numerically flexible workforce was addressed and this corresponds with the company's part ownership of a recruitment agency. Within this it can be noted that the agency plays a specific role in providing summer holiday cover for permanent workers, which is usually fulfilled by university students. Additional workers are also recruited on a temporary basis, either by the agency or directly by the company, during peak periods of production. It was noted in chapter five with reference to European Commission (b) (2016: 4) data that temporary employment is higher in Sweden (13 per cent) than in the UK (4 per cent). However, the evidence from the case study research does not appear to support this. As will be elaborated below, employers in the Norfolk case studies have a stronger demand for temporary workers than is the case in the three Östergötland case studies.

Looking at the situation in the Norfolk case studies, and similar to the findings in Östergötland, company D referred to the role played by students as temporary cover for the permanent employees during the summer holiday season. This was, however, not referred to by the other companies in Norfolk. A slight seasonal fluctuation in production and an associated additional demand for workers was also observed in company D in the lead up to Christmas. However, such fluctuations appear to be more prominent in companies E, F and G with the HR representatives all commenting that the winter months and pre-Christmas period are the busiest times of the year. Increased production around Easter was also noted in company F. In all the Norfolk case studies private recruitment agencies are used to provide temporary staff.

A notable point of divergence between the Östergötland and Norfolk findings is that EU migrants are more prominent in the Norfolk case studies. It was also noted in all four cases that EU migrants primarily enter the companies as agency workers. This appears to be a key point of differentiation compared to the observation by PRA rep 1 (in relation to company C) that EU migrants do not respond to the agency's advertisements. The data also demonstrates an established trend whereby the EU migrants in the Norfolk companies tend to originate from eastern Europe, especially Poland, Latvia and Lithuania. There are also Portuguese workers in companies D and G, which can be associated with the established Portuguese community in Norfolk. For example, in their own case study of Portuguese migrants in Norfolk, Almeida and Corkill (2010: 28) observe that Portuguese migration to the UK dates back to the 1950s and 1960s and could, therefore, be associated with the post-war demand for labour that was discussed in chapter three. The most recent flow of Portuguese workers to the UK occurred in the late 1990s and early 2000s when the Portuguese economy was in recession. Combined with factory closures and rising unemployment, migrating to the UK became an attractive proposition (*ibid.*: 30). With its agricultural and food manufacturing industry and the associated (seasonal) demand for labour, Norfolk became an attractive destination for Portuguese workers and this explains why there is an underlying presence of these workers in the region (*ibid.*: 30). Portugal has been a member of the EU since 1986 and so its workers could enter the UK under the free movement of workers provision and, therefore, establish themselves prior to the accession of the A8 member states. Nevertheless, the findings from this research suggest that A8 migrants are now the dominant EU migrant grouping in the case study companies. This observation reflects the notion that different groups of migrant workers replace each other "to maintain a competitive advantage based on low labour costs" (Forde and MacKenzie, 2009: 438). In this respect, while there continues to be a presence of Portuguese workers in

low-skilled positions in companies D and G, A8 migrants have gradually become more prominent. The relatively recent lifting of the restrictions on the labour market access of A2 workers meant that at the time the data was collected there had not been any particularly notable increase in workers from these countries, although the feeling from the respondents was that this is likely to become more pronounced in time.

All the Norfolk companies apply a temporary to permanent approach when it comes to the use of agency workers. Therefore, these workers act as a pool from which the companies can recruit employees as and when vacancies arise and according to their performance. This implies that a core-periphery structure, akin to that purported in the flexible firm model (Atkinson, 1984) could be evident in the four companies with temporary EU migrants concentrated in the periphery. It also suggests that there are opportunities to transition to permanent employment, thereby moving from the peripheral to the core workforce. However, as the discussion in chapter five demonstrated, a person could also be considered as a core worker, in terms of the role that they perform, while being on a temporary or part-time contract (Buultjens and Luckie, 1997, in Dyer, 1998: 229), (Lovering, 1990: 17). This notion is substantiated by the apparent reliance that companies D and E have on migrant workers, as expressed by the respective HR reps, and despite the fact that these are temporary agency workers. In this respect, the findings lend some support to Pollert's (1988: 291) critique of the flexible firm model, notably as concerns the complexity around determining who is a core worker. Furthermore, the findings appear to substantiate the analysis in chapter five that determining who is a core or peripheral worker according to contractual status alone is not sufficient and that consideration also needs to be given to the tasks that workers perform and their relative importance to the company and/or sector concerned.

The practices and outcomes as concerns EU migrant employment vary within the different companies. For example, in company D it was noted that turnover among the EU migrant agency staff tends to be fairly high with these workers either returning to their country of origin or moving elsewhere for work. Therefore, while the company values a certain degree of stability and continuity in their staff and tries to achieve this through taking on some of the temporary workers as permanent employees, this does not necessarily correspond with the needs of the migrant workforce. Similarly, Union rep F observed that EU migrants sometimes prefer the flexibility that temporary employment affords them and they do not want to become permanent at the company. At the same time HR rep E observed that the EU migrants that go on to be directly employed by company E tend to stay for around three to five years before returning to their country of origin.

It was observed in chapter two that in addition to the possibility of finding work, the extent to which migrants may stay in their new location can be dependent, *inter alia*, on the type of work that is found and whether this is seasonal or permanent, the opportunities that it gives for career progression and skill development (Mabogunje, 1970: 6). Additionally, the data suggests that there is a notable element of individual circumstance influencing which workers stay in the companies and for how long. This could relate, in part, to the notion of individual aspiration as a determining factor in the decision to migrate, which was identified by Haas (1980: 11). In this regard, reference can also be made to the comments by Union rep F that EU migrants are inclined to return home for periods of time or once they have earned the money that they were hoping to get. This can be associated with the neoclassical economics theory of migration, which suggests that people migrate due to a perceived income differential (Massey *et al.*, 1993: 433).

It was also observed in chapter two that migrants can end up in situations in which they are concentrated in certain sectors and occupations (Lee, 1966: 52) and a central element of Piore's (1979: 35) concept of labour market segmentation theory is the assertion that the indigenous population occupies stable jobs within the primary sector, while migrants occupy less stable positions in the secondary sector (see chapter five). One outcome of such a labour market structure is the potential under-employment of migrants who operate below their skill level (Andor, 2014: 13) and who become concentrated in low-skilled, low-paid and insecure jobs (Forde and MacKenzie, 2009: 439), (Jayaweera and Anderson, 2008: 20), (The Migration Observatory, 2016: 5), (Migration Advisory Committee, 2014: 2). This can also be associated with Loveridge and Mok's (1980: 397) assessment of how to determine evidence of labour market segmentation (see chapter five). This particularly concerns their assertion that segmentation is evident when there are stigmatised groups of workers, such as migrants, with "similar educational qualifications to non-stigmatised groups" (*ibid.*: 397) being concentrated in positions that have poor working conditions and limited job security.

The Norfolk case study findings appear to provide evidence to support these assertions as concerns the under-employment of EU migrants. For example, in company D it was mentioned that a number of the EU migrants start in entry level production operative roles, even though they may be qualified doctors, dentists or chemists (HR rep D). A similar point was raised in company F where it was mentioned that "good money and the availability of work" (Union rep F), relative to what they could earn in their own country, are the main concerns of the EU migrants and that they do not mind working below their educational ability in order to achieve this. A representative of a national cross-sectoral

trade union organisation working in the food manufacturing sector (UK union rep 1) also commented that “there are people who are very highly qualified in their home countries, but the qualifications don't translate to British equivalents. They could end up doing something below their capabilities”. This suggests that the under-employment of EU migrants is indeed something that could be a wider feature of the sector in the UK.

It was noted for companies D and G that EU migrants occupy the lower, entry level, positions because those are the ones that agencies are used to recruit for and which UK workers are seemingly not interested in doing. Therefore, the findings suggest that EU migrants tend to occupy low-level and relatively low-skilled positions when they find work through a private recruitment agency, irrespective of their educational level, which points towards migrants occupying secondary sector positions (Loveridge and Mok, 1980: 396). It was only in company F where it was noted that EU migrants are beginning to enter the company in medium to higher level positions, rather than starting at the bottom and working up. In this respect, it could be said that EU migrants appear to be primarily recruited from what Lovering referred to as the “secondary” ELM (1990: 13), while only a small proportion are recruited from the “elite” ELM (*ibid.*: 13).

Documentary evidence further supports the notion that EU migrants in the UK occupy low-skilled work, at least initially, which suggests that this is seen as an entry route into work. For example, research conducted for the Bank of England shows that there is a concentration of EU migrants in low-skilled occupations, compared to indigenous workers and non-EU migrants (Nickell and Saleheen, 2015: 12). Frattini also observes that A8 and A2 migrants that came to the UK after the 2004 enlargement “were more likely to be employed in elementary occupations than their compatriots who emigrated earlier” (2014:

11). This is because those arriving after their countries had become members of the EU could do so under the freedom of movement principle and did not need to fulfill certain skills criteria that apply for non-EU migrants coming to the UK³¹ (*ibid.*: 11). A report by the Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development (CIPD) also observed that the growth in the number of migrant workers in low-skilled positions in the UK is partly due to the increased labour market presence of A8 migrants and “the decision made by successive governments to incrementally restrict the supply of non-EU labour to highly skilled roles” (2013: 5). This demonstrates that even though the UK government is unable to regulate the nature of A8 migration into the UK, as a result of the free movement of labour principle, its approach to regulating non-EU migration is influencing the labour market opportunities that are available to EU migrant workers. It could be inferred from this that non-EU migrants are more likely to occupy higher skilled, better paid jobs while EU migrants are concentrated in low-skilled, low-paid jobs. This raises the notion of a primary-secondary sector distinction between migrant groups within the UK labour market.

Despite the apparent concentration of EU migrants in low-skilled jobs, A8 and A2 workers are generally highly educated, often more so than indigenous UK workers. For example, analysis conducted by Frattini (2014: 5) suggests that 37 per cent of EU migrants coming to the UK between 2000 and 2012 were highly educated (leaving full-time education at the age of 21 or later), compared to 16 per cent of indigenous UK workers during the same period. At the same time, it is noted that EU migrants appear to progress to higher level positions in the labour market as they gain experience and take part in further training (*ibid.*: 11). These findings appear to support the notion of the under-employment of EU migrants in the UK and constitute further evidence of a segmented labour market in which

³¹ Between 2008 and 2010 the UK introduced a point-based immigration system with five tiers. This replaced the former work permits approach (UK Government, undated).

EU migrants are concentrated, at least initially, in the secondary sector, as per Piore (1975) and Loveridge and Mok's (1980) assessments.

While the data and documentary analysis suggest that there is a concentration of EU migrants in lower skilled positions in certain sectors, of which food manufacturing is one, a report by the UK Migration Advisory Committee (MAC) identifies that there are also a number of skill shortages in highly skilled positions and that European Economic Area (EEA)³² migrants “especially from countries in the EEA before 2004”, play an important role in filling these vacancies (2018: 8). This suggests that there could also be segmentation within the UK's EU migrant workforce whereby A8 and A2 workers are seemingly more prevalent in low-skilled work, despite often being highly qualified or skilled, whereas pre-2004 enlargement migrants are found to occupy more highly skilled jobs. It could be inferred that this corresponds with Frattini's (2004: 11) identification of a general trend for EU migrants to advance to higher level positions over time and could help to explain why EU15 migrants in the UK are more likely to be in such roles, compared to the comparatively newer migrants from A8 and A2 countries.

The evidence from the Norfolk case studies appears to suggest that the four companies place particular value on having a numerically flexible workforce as a result of seasonal fluctuations in demand for their products. This is demonstrated through the use of temporary agency workers of which EU migrants are a significant component. It has also been seen that temporary workers are used in the Östergötland case study companies to cover for seasonal peaks and holidays, but EU migrants seemingly play a less prominent role in this regard than in the Norfolk case studies. The use of EU migrants was only

³² EU28, plus Iceland, Lichtenstein and Norway.

observed in company A, to any notable degree, due to a shortage of skilled Swedish workers, the result of which could be viewed as employers having a qualitative demand for labour. Conversely, the Norfolk case studies identify a quantitative demand for labour due to a general shortage of UK workers willing to occupy low-skilled positions.

In parallel, the Norfolk findings also identify the importance of functional flexibility in some cases. In relation to companies E and G, there is a group of staff that are trained to have a broad skills set that enables them to operate across different shifts and production lines in response to changes in production schedules as demand for these companies' products fluctuates. In this regard, there is seemingly a reasonable level of coherence with the Östergötland findings. This implies that elements of numerical and functional flexibility are required by the case study companies in Östergötland and Norfolk.

Recruitment and training

There appears to be no general trend when it comes to the wider recruitment practices of the three companies in Östergötland. Looking beyond the use of temporary workers, company A is trying to recruit from the group of EU migrants working in shortage occupations in parallel to its efforts to train more people from the existing workforce. Company B referred to the need to make efficiency gains and to reduce the size of the workforce, which is in line with its approach to pursuing a functionally flexible workforce in parallel with capital investments in technology. Company C was found to have a relatively stable workforce, although it had been recruiting more over the previous two years due to an increase in demand for its products.

All three companies offer training to their workers and referred to the possibility for people in lower level, production operative, roles to be promoted to supervisory or team leader positions. Therefore, opportunities exist for promotion from within, but this does not appear to be systematic. This can be related to the discussion in chapter five in which reference was made to Wachter's (1974: 639) suggestion that because the availability of skilled, primary sector positions does not correspond with the supply of skilled labour further training does not necessarily lead to the attainment of a higher position.

Companies A and C also referred to the importance of external recruitment processes in cases where a different way of thinking or specialist knowledge is desired. This tends to relate to higher level positions or specific technical knowledge. Conversely, it can be recalled that company B trains people so that they can work across different production lines and so that they can also perform low-level maintenance tasks. In this respect, while training is available in all three companies, it appears to be in company B where there is a certain perspective towards training to encourage functional flexibility. This was referred to in a less prominent way in company A with HR rep A noting that the company does not have the culture of people moving between departments or doing different types of work, even though they are trying to encourage it. HR reps B and C also mentioned that people that have previously worked in the companies, either as temporary workers or as students, can be hired permanently, if a position arises. In such cases the companies highlighted the value of work experience and prior knowledge of how the company works as assets.

All three companies provide training opportunities that can enable blue collar workers to progress to white collar roles as a team leader or supervisor. This is something that the SE food union rep highlighted as a key issue for trade unions. "The workers in our sector, in

our factories, should be trained and have the possibility to advance in the system to learn more and in fact because of that they can get higher wages and raise themselves in the labour market.” Furthermore, it can be noted that the sectoral collective agreement between the Swedish Food Federation and the Food Workers’ Union provides that employees not only receive introductory training, but that “employees shall have the opportunity to supplement their knowledge when work duties, work equipment and work methods change and in conjunction with extended absences from work duties” (2013: 22). Although this training appears to relate to re-skilling, rather than training for individual advancement it is nevertheless relevant to see that this is provided for in the collective agreement.

A further point of analysis can be made in relation to Lovering’s assertion that “traditional” ILMs are being replaced by a “truncated” ILM structure (1990: 14), which limits the possibilities that people have to work their way up to more senior positions. Evidence substantiating this within the case study data can be interpreted from the finding that production operatives are able to undertake training to advance to a supervisory or team leader position, which could be viewed as a mid-level management role. However, no reference was made to people working up to more senior level management positions. Combined with the findings from companies A and C as concerns their use of external recruitment for specialist roles and to bring new knowledge into the companies, this could suggest evidence of a truncated ILM structure in the Östergötland case study companies.

As concerns how the training is provided, a notable point of distinction in relation to companies B and C is the links that they have with external education and training providers to train their existing workers and to educate people in preparation for working in food manufacturing. This suggests that they take a proactive approach to training. At the

same time, reference by HR rep B to the last in, first out policy, which has been in place in Sweden since 1974 (Bornhäll, 2017: 3), revealed a potentially negative impact on workers' motivation to participate in training if it is known that the workers that are to be retained are prioritised according to who has been at the company the longest. At the same time, it could be suggested that training can always be beneficial, even if the acquired skills will be used in a future job. Older workers that have been in the company for a long time may also question the added value of training as they know their jobs are not under threat and they may not be interested in updating their skills, as was referred to by HR rep B in relation to older workers not being competent in using new machinery and being reluctant to undergo training to this effect.

Equally, it may be inferred that the motivation to take part in the training scheme in Denmark may be limited as the last in, first out policy means that going through further training will not necessarily help workers to advance in the company if they have only been employed there for a relatively short time. Data from a representative of a national cross-sectoral employers' organisation (SE employer rep 3) supports this observation in commenting that "job security in Sweden is quite high...(and) it is quite hard to motivate people to make in-company training because they feel if they work at a company for a number of years, they are secure at the job anyway."

On a more practical level, it could also be assessed that while it may be good to have a structured, qualification-based approach to the training that is offered, the fact that this training takes place in Denmark may be a barrier to the participation of some workers. For example, if they are unable to spend time away from home due to family responsibilities, or if they are more suited to, or their work requires, a more vocational training approach

than an academic one. In addition to the collaboration that companies B and C have with external education and training institutions, the SE food employer rep referred to the possibility for workers to receive training through courses run by the public employment service. This is not part of an active labour market policy approach for the unemployed, but rather training in occupations where there are a lack of skilled workers and unfilled vacancies.

Turning to the Norfolk case study companies, it has already been mentioned that all four companies operate a temporary to permanent employment approach and this provides the main route through which the companies recruit permanent employees. Beyond this there appears to be a fairly stable permanent workforce in each of the companies. Additionally, companies D and E referred to the use of a recruitment agency to find people for more highly skilled roles, such as an engineer.

In combination with this approach, all four companies provide on-the-job training that can enable people in low-skilled roles to progress to be a team leader. Comparing this approach with that in Sweden, the training offered in the Norfolk companies seems to be more job-specific than might be the case with the training opportunities that are available in companies B and C through their partnerships with education and training institutions. Although this training could also be viewed as sector-specific it potentially has a more generic element to it and could provide skills and competences that are relevant in other sectors and occupations. This is particularly the case as concerns the course that company B offers in collaboration with the university in Denmark.

Considering that there is a concentration of EU migrants in the lower-end positions in the four Norfolk companies, training could be viewed as being particularly important for this group of workers. Even if they enter these companies as highly qualified and skilled in their own countries, if they lack the relevant experience and skills that are required in the positions that they occupy in Norfolk they are likely to benefit from the training that is available. This is exemplified through the fact that in all four companies there are EU migrants that have moved up to be a team leader. Notably, in company G, nine out of ten line leaders are EU migrants with one being from the UK. This also supports Frattini's (2014: 11) assertion that EU migrants progress to higher positions as they gain experience and participate in training.

The case study findings highlight the difficulties the companies have in recruiting and, in some cases, retaining indigenous workers. This has been reflected in the assessment that they have a quantitative demand for workers, which is addressed, to a notable extent, by EU migrants. A lack of UK workers entering food manufacturing companies at lower level positions and committing to them could provide an explanation for why there are examples of EU migrants in team leader roles and why companies seek to identify good performers among the temporary staff and to permanently recruit and train them up. Consequently, there appears to be progression opportunities for EU migrants that start in entry level positions as temporary agency workers and who can become permanent employees, if they are willing to commit to the company. The Norfolk case study findings appear to suggest a mixed picture as concerns the nature of the ILMs. For the main part, progression opportunities for production operatives are seemingly limited to advancing to team leader or supervisory roles. However, reference was also made in relation to companies D and E of people progressing further up, including to more senior management level positions,

which suggests evidence of a traditional ILM structure, at least to some extent. In company F, there are examples of EU migrants directly entering the company in medium and higher level positions. This implies that EU migrants are not always recruited from the secondary ELM into secondary sector positions in the ILM. At the same time, recruiting workers, whether migrant or indigenous, to medium to higher level positions from the “elite” ELM (Lovering, 1990: 13) could limit the progression opportunities of people in entry level roles in the secondary sector of the company, in terms of how far up they can progress, and could, therefore, constitute evidence of a truncated ILM structure.

Workers’ skill development is also an important issue for trade unions and a representative of a trade union affiliated training organisation (UK training union rep) commented that part of the trade union agenda has been to try to develop collective agreements at company level on the amount of training that employers provide for their workers. However, given the limited extent of unionisation in the case study companies, there are no direct examples of this that can be referenced, even from company F, which is unionised. The UK training union rep also mentioned that it can be difficult to motivate workers to take part in training.

Some employees don't want to go near it because some workers don't want training as they are comfortable doing what they want to do and don't want to raise their heads above the parapet. There's a range of areas where they don't do training and development because they lack confidence, don't want to show themselves up in the workplace. That's one of the things union reps do... they have supported people (to take part in training) (Union rep F).

It could be argued that these findings further imply that the Norfolk case study companies have a dependence on EU migrants that are willing to commit to a company and that have

a desire to do further training and progress in their work. This was most clearly highlighted in companies D and E where it was commented that “without the migrant workforce we couldn’t run our business” (HR rep D) and the company would be “struggling hugely” (HR rep E) without migrant workers.

The notion that UK workers are not attracted to working in lower level roles in the food manufacturing sector was also observed by a representative of a private recruitment agency in Norfolk (PRA rep 4). Firstly, it was observed that 90 to 95 per cent of the temporary positions that this particular agency provides workers for in unskilled manufacturing roles are filled by EU migrants (PRA rep 4). In explaining why there tends to be such a high concentration of EU migrants in these roles, including in the food manufacturing sector, it was commented that it is

because that is the level of applicant you get for every vacancy you advertise in manufacturing ... We look at health care workers, we look at call centres, which again is a volume based recruitment, but because by nature the environment is better, the pay rates are often slightly better, the UK-based workforce would tend to go to other roles as opposed to the unskilled food manufacturing so it’s not by desire it’s by availability. It’s market driven (PRA rep 4).

A similar observation was made by a representative of a national trade union organisation (UK union rep 4) who commented that

companies have decided to take on more temporary workers, therefore, they are recruiting more migrant workers as temporary workers. It's the pull factor. Those are the only jobs that are being offered and I don't think we would identify anything specific about the

migrant experience there, these are the sorts of jobs that are being offered to new entrants to the labour market wherever they are from (UK union rep 4).

Therefore, it could be inferred that a central reason why there is such a concentration of EU migrants in the case study companies in Norfolk is because these are the workers that are available and willing to work in the low-skilled roles that agencies are used to fill. In this regard, it could be postulated that, in the first instance, employers do not necessarily set out to hire EU migrants per se, but they are the workers that are responding to the particular demand that companies have in terms of the type of jobs that need to be filled and the flexibility that employers look for. Allied to this, there are the comments that have been made by some respondents about the higher work ethic of the EU migrants compared to indigenous workers. Collectively, these factors could see EU migrants being perceived by employers as more suitable workers for the positions that they have available, which could support the notion that there is not only a structural demand for labour, but for EU migrant labour in particular. Evidence for this could be derived from the comments by HR reps D and E in relation to their stated reliance on EU migrants. These findings return to the notion that was elaborated in chapter five that the concentration of migrants in low-level positions with limited job security constitutes a determining factor of labour market segmentation (Loveridge and Mok, 1980: 397). The comments by PRA rep 4 can also be associated with Pollert's (1988: 292) assertion, which was discussed in chapter five, about sectoral variation in recruitment patterns. To link this with the research findings, PRA rep 4 referred to work in the health care sector as seemingly being more highly skilled and attractive to indigenous UK workers, in terms of the level of pay, than unskilled and lower paid work in the food manufacturing sector. In this respect, sectoral variation is evidenced between indigenous and EU migrant workers, which points towards a segmented labour

market structure in which EU migrants are more likely to be concentrated in some sectors than others.

The notion of a structural demand for EU migrant labour is given further credence in a MAC report, which observes that one of the reasons why employers hire EU migrants is because they “are prepared to do jobs in difficult conditions that the UK-born workforce are not interested in” (2018: 8). The same report observes that migrants also tend to be more motivated and are, therefore, more productive and committed to their work (*ibid.*: 8). Reference was also made in chapter two to Anderson and Ruhs who commented that “what employers want can be critically influenced by what employers think they can get from different groups of workers” (2010: 16). In this regard it is interesting to note the comments that were made during an interview with a representative of a migration research agency in the UK (UK migration agency rep) who observed that

if employers have an easy supply of migrant labour, they won't look at alternatives. So if the supply was cut off they might look at changing shifts to make the work more attractive, they might pay a bit more, there are various ways they could improve their working conditions. In any job, if the supply of labour changes, then they adapt to that, but while they have the easy access to migrant workers then there aren't any incentives to do it.

Taking these comments into account and considering the findings from the MAC report, which is based on evidence gathered from employers and other labour market actors, it appears that employers see migrant workers as a productive and reliable labour source and one that is particularly valued for its willingness to do the jobs that are difficult to fill with UK nationals. In this regard, migrant workers may even be viewed as a preferred option in certain sectors and occupations.

At the same time, a report by the Recruitment and Employment Confederation (REC) (2017: 27), the body that represents private recruitment agencies in the UK, has identified that it is becoming harder to attract and retain EU migrant workers to the UK, particularly in low-skilled jobs. There are several reasons for this, which include a falling pay differential between the UK and A8 countries compared to the situation in 2004; an associated increase in economic growth and employment opportunities in the A8 and A2 countries, which may enable those migrants in low-skilled jobs in the UK to work in higher skilled positions in their own country; and the uncertainty created by the outcome of the UK's decision to leave the EU (*ibid.*: 27). It is also observed that “personal recommendations play a significant role in EU workers’ decisions to relocate. If fewer EU workers in the UK are recommending moving to the UK to their compatriots ... fewer EU workers are likely to relocate to the UK” (*ibid.*: 27). This helps to exemplify the role that migrant networks play in fostering migration, as was observed in the review of the network theory in chapter two (Stark and Wang, 2002: 159).

Moreover, it appears that some companies in the food manufacturing sector, including the Norfolk case study companies, may begin to face challenges in hiring sufficient levels of labour. In looking at the consequences of fewer EEA migrant workers in the UK after the UK leaves the EU, the MAC observes that “lower migration would very likely lead to lower growth in total employment, and lower output growth. It would not necessarily mean lower growth in output per head which is more closely connected to living standards” (2018: 12). It is also noted that training UK nationals to fill the gaps left by EEA migrants can be part of the solution. However, this appears to be less relevant in the context of the Norfolk case study findings. The main issue is one of encouraging indigenous UK workers

into the food manufacturing sector in the first place, particularly to the lower skilled roles that are likely to be less attractive. It could be suggested that this requires more of a culture shift in the mindset of UK workers. There may also be an issue around the supply of labour in Norfolk in terms of who could respond to companies' demand for seasonal and temporary workers if EU migrants are no longer available.

A final point to mention in this respect is the comment by HR rep G that automation could be a way to reduce the company's dependence on EU migrants, but that this would be very costly. While there was no particular evidence of this approach in the wider case study data, automation has been identified as one of the main challenges for the industrial sector as a whole, especially in relation to the skills and training that are needed to operate and programme new machinery (REC, 2010: 12).

Therefore, it can be seen that the two sets of case study data display contrasting dynamics when it comes to recruitment and the role that EU migrants play in the sector in Östergötland and Norfolk. Notable in the Norfolk case studies is that there is a quantitative demand for workers, which arises from a shortage of indigenous workers to occupy the low-skilled positions. Differences can also be identified in the approach to training with the Norfolk companies providing on-the-job training, while in the case of companies B and C this appears to be more formal and, in some ways, general.

Workplace regulation

In the three Östergötland case studies the framework for workplace regulation is set through the collective agreement for the food manufacturing sector. Beyond this, it was

noted that in company A there is the workplace level agreement on training provision to up-skill workers to address skills shortages, and to reduce the dependence on temporary EU migrants, and that the employees receive more pay than the sectoral agreement provides for. In company B, there is a workplace agreement on working time. There also appears to be frequent dialogue between the union and management in company C on issues of working time and temporary employment. It was also noted that employees receive more than the sectoral agreement. However, PRA rep 1 observed that agency workers in company C are paid according to the collective agreement, which implies a pay differential between the agency workers and permanent employees. It is notable that the use of temporary workers in companies A and C is a key topic of discussion between the management and union, which demonstrates the added scope for workplace level regulation of this issue. This is particularly evident in company A with the workplace level agreement that was concluded.

As has been covered in detail in chapter four, the institutional role played by trade unions and employers' organisations, and the collective agreements that they negotiate, has a long history in regulating the Swedish labour market. This is exemplified by the case study findings and the interviews that took place with the national and regional actors. It can be recalled that under the Swedish industrial relations system a company is required to implement a collective agreement if it is a member of the employers' organisation that signed the agreement (Freedland and Prassl, 2014: 242-3). In this respect, it is interesting to note comments made by SE union rep 1 that "our trade union membership rate is declining, but membership in the employers' organisation is increasing. So 80 per cent of employers are organised and if you are a member of an employers' organisation you are

obliged to apply the collective agreement. So it is the high membership rate that the employers have that keeps the coverage rate high.”

Additionally, SE employer rep 2 observed that the high level of company membership of employers’ organisations is due to the provision for maintaining industrial peace during the period of a collective agreement.

Being a member of an employers’ organisation brings security and stability and they can get on with doing their business without industrial action or any other kind of disturbance ... Compared to other countries, I do think that the level of disturbances in the workplace and the commitment by workers in relation to the leadership is quite good (SE employer rep 2).

As concerns the food manufacturing sector specifically, SE food union rep commented that about 75 per cent of workers in the food manufacturing sector are organised by the union. While this is lower than it was in the 1980s it is still considered to be fairly high. At the same time, it was observed that it is harder to recruit and organise EU migrant workers and to involve them in the union as

most of them come to Sweden to work for a short time of course and also you could say a language problem. We have a lot of meat cutters from Ireland, they are not a problem, but we have a difficult time with Romanian, Hungarian, Czechs and Slovaks. They can’t really speak English so that’s a big issue about the migrant workers. They are very hard to organise, they don’t understand, they don’t have the experience of Swedish unions, how they work and what we do and so on (SE food union rep).

The situation in the Norfolk case study companies and in the wider UK industrial relations climate is markedly different to Sweden. Notably, only company F is unionised while there have been no moves to sign a union recognition agreement in companies D, E or G.

In company F, workplace level agreements are negotiated on issues related to the terms and conditions of employment. Aside from this, it was noted that company D had previously been targeted by a local union in relation to its former recruitment practices. Representatives of the management met with the union and although no recognition agreement was concluded the company did establish a consultative committee made up of employee and company representatives. This demonstrates the impact that the union had, even without concluding a formal recognition agreement. It is also interesting to note that an ethical audit is conducted by some of company D's main customers. This provides what could be described as a form of market regulation of the way the company operates, including in relation to the nature of the employment relationship and practices.

Similarly, company G also has a works committee that is composed of employee and company representatives. This appears to be a consultative committee through which workers can discuss issues of concern with the management. Finally, company E does not have a structure for employee consultation in place. One of the reasons for this could be the use of zero hours contracts in response to the significant fluctuations in demand for the company's products at different times of the year. As a result, it could be inferred that the workforce composition could vary from week to week or even day to day and so it is harder to implement such a structure of worker consultation, even if there is a core group of permanent staff operating alongside the temporary workers.

Data from the Office for National Statistics that is analysed by the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions suggests that in 2013 collective bargaining coverage in the UK food manufacturing sector was 26.5 per cent (Wilson, 2013). Even though collective bargaining plays a less prominent role in the UK than has been observed in Sweden, the case study data suggests that unions and their interaction with management helps to shape workplace regulation, sometimes even in companies where a recognition agreement has not been signed.

Elaborating on the industrial relations context, UK union rep 1 also observed that “the food sector is pretty much local bargaining, likely to be site by site”. This reinforces the observations that were made in chapter four in which it was noted that single employer bargaining and workplace level agreements are dominant in the UK, in cases where unions are recognised and in which there is a legislative approach to setting the minimum wage (Carley, 2010: 15). This differs to the Swedish industrial relations system in which sectoral level bargaining is prevalent and collective agreements have been noted as covering 9 out of 10 workers (Kjellberg, 2016). The Östergötland case studies have exemplified how sectoral agreements can be complemented by workplace level agreements.

In this research a key issue is how variations in the way in which labour markets are regulated impacts upon employers’ demand for workers. In this case, there is a particular focus on the extent to which EU migrant workers address this demand. To help analyse this the interview findings can be viewed in the context of Devitt’s (2011: 568) assertion, which was introduced in chapter two, that there is likely to be a greater demand for migrant workers in less regulated economies and sectors because migrants are more likely to accept lower employment standards than indigenous workers. On this basis, and taking into

account the notion that labour market regulation is weaker in the UK than it is in Sweden, it would be expected that a stronger presence of EU migrants would be found in the UK food manufacturing sector than in the sector in Sweden and this assertion appears to be born out in the analysis of the case study findings in Östergötland and Norfolk.

At this point reference can be made to the discussion in chapter five and the work of Dickens and Lang (1985: 785) who identified an association between the level of education that a worker has and the wage that they receive, with workers that have a higher level of education earning more and occupying positions in the primary sector of the labour market and vice-versa. It was also suggested that highly educated workers are likely to reject jobs that are associated with poor working conditions and that would, therefore, be viewed as secondary sector positions (*ibid.*: 799). However, reference to chapter three suggests that this does not appear to be born out in the present-day migration trends as concerns A8 workers coming to the UK (Office for National Statistics, 2011: 3), nor is it in the present analysis of the case study findings for the food manufacturing sector in Norfolk. Notably, HR reps D and F referred to EU migrants often being highly educated, yet they are working in temporary, low-skilled, minimum wage positions. Therefore, they are occupying, at least initially, positions that would be viewed in the context of labour market segmentation theory as being in the secondary sector. In turn, this suggests that EU migrants do not want, or are not financially able, to reject these jobs, even if they are below their educational level. Therefore, the Norfolk case study findings appear to concur with Devitt's (2011: 568) suggestion that migrants are more likely than indigenous workers to accept jobs with lower employment standards.

Finally, given the prominence of EU migrants in the Norfolk case studies companies it is notable that these workers are engaged in trade union and representative roles in several companies. For example, in company F there are workplace union representatives from Lithuania, Poland and Portugal who help to recruit other EU migrants to the union. The advantage that migrant union representatives have is that they are able to communicate with their colleagues in their native language, which was identified by Union rep F as an important factor in recruiting new members from the migrant workforce. However, the overall picture appears to be one in which it is difficult to engage with the migrant workforce, particularly if they are temporary workers. It is also notable that a number of the worker representatives on company G's works committee are EU migrants and that they receive training on how to represent the views of the wider workforce to the management.

Data collected from a regional trade union representative in Norfolk (Norfolk union rep 1) also referred to the importance of recruiting EU migrant workers and to the change in attitude that was needed among the indigenous workforce to be more open to the inclusion of migrants in the membership.

Four or five years ago our existing British membership were reluctant to take these guys on board. One of the points we make to them was that, we need to get these guys in the unions so they are not undermined by a cheaper workforce and, secondly, we've got to include them as without them we are making ourselves weaker (Norfolk union rep 1).

Elaborating on the national picture, UK union rep 1 commented that while there are variations from company to company the situation is generally quite good as concerns union membership of EU migrant workers. In this respect the union has been "reaching out

to different groups, producing materials in different languages, providing resources wherever we are in the country and wherever the factory is located” (UK union rep 1).

Therefore, the picture that is given is one in which EU migrants do appear to be increasingly engaged in representative roles within their workplaces, either formally through their involvement with a trade union or in a more informal way through their involvement in workplace committees. However, the extent to which this is the case seems likely to depend on the nature of their contractual relationship and the length of time that they remain in a company.

Summary

This chapter has presented and analysed the case study findings in the food manufacturing sector in Östergötland and Norfolk. It has identified that EU migrants appear to play an important role in the sector in both regions, but to different extents and in different ways. In Östergötland there is evidence of a qualitative demand for skilled EU migrants to work in specific occupations in the meat processing area of the sector. This is due to a lack of sufficiently skilled Swedish workers. In the Norfolk case studies it has been found that there is a quantitative demand for EU migrants to fill low-skilled positions that are seemingly unattractive to indigenous UK workers. In both cases it has been suggested that this represents a structural demand for EU migrant labour.

It has also been seen that both sets of case study companies provide the possibility for workers to take part in further training, which can help blue collar, production operatives to become team leaders and supervisors. However, there is a notable difference in how the

training is provided. In several of the Östergötland case studies this is organised in cooperation with external education and training providers, while in the Norfolk case study companies it takes the form of on-the-job training.

Finally, the nature of the labour market regulation is very different and reflects the characteristics of the two countries' industrial relations systems. In Sweden, the role of collective agreements is evident across different areas of the comparative analysis. The picture is notably different in the UK. Nevertheless, even though only one of the four Norfolk companies is unionised it has been observed that there is a notable level of employee engagement in a further two companies.

This analysis will subsequently be used to inform an assessment of the nature and extent of labour market segmentation in the sector in the two countries and if this results in a concentration of EU migrants therein. While this will be addressed in chapter nine, the next chapter provides a comparative analysis of the findings from the transportation and storage sector.

8. Findings (2): Presentation of data and comparative analysis - transportation and storage sector

Introduction

This chapter will present and analyse the findings from the data that was collected from the case studies in the transportation and storage sector in Sweden and the UK. The presentation of the case study findings comprises the data gathered from the company level interviews with human resources representatives. This will be supported by information that was obtained through the national level interviews in Stockholm and London, as well as those that took place with regional actors in Östergötland and Norfolk. Documentary analysis is also used to help assess and, where possible, verify the interview findings.

As in the previous chapter, the following themes are used to guide the analysis of the findings: the demand for, and use of, temporary and EU migrant workers, including seasonal demand; recruitment and training; and workplace regulation. Having presented and analysed the case study findings within their national context a cross-country sectoral comparison of the data is undertaken.

Case study findings – Sweden

Case study eight – Company H

Company H is a transportation, storage and logistics company. The company directly employs around 110 people and works with a wider number of self-employed and

contracted drivers. In the area of road transport, the company delivers small packages, pallets and full loads, such as from the forestry industry. The company is unionised and employs people on both a temporary and permanent basis. This case study comprises data that was gathered from an interview with a representative from human resources (HR rep H).

HR rep H observed that there is a seasonal pattern to company H's work with peaks in demand during June, July and December, which impacts upon the company's demand for workers. Even though the workload is relatively stable outside of the peak months, in terms of the number of deliveries per month, it was noted that there can be significant variation in demand from one day to another, which particularly impacts upon the number of drivers that are needed.

If you want to get the efficient transportation, how you do that? Because if you look into a week, it's really terrible. I mean one day you need 20 trucks and another day you need nine. ... If you look into a month it's about the same, if you look into the Spring it's about the same, if you look into the year it's really that way... So what you do if you're working with trucks? You will have to decide how many trucks you will own by yourself (HR rep H).

As concerns the profile of the workers that respond to the seasonal fluctuations in demand for drivers, HR rep H commented that these are typically established workers living in the local area who are hired through a recruitment agency. Additional office and warehouse staff may also be hired through the local university. Depending on the nature of the job, it can be that someone is hired for four hours to make one or two deliveries for company H and they then go and work four hours in another transportation company. The nature of the fluctuation in demand for the company's services means, therefore, that a numerically

flexible workforce is an important element of the workforce planning (HR rep H).

At the same time, HR rep H commented that there is always work for lorry drivers, even if it is working for multiple companies at different points of a day, week or month. The downside for the drivers is that they need to be flexible, which is not always easy for those with families. “The people planning, they can't tell the drivers what to do in two days. They can only say tomorrow you will load at this time, this customer and you will go to Gothenburg and then I don't know...” (HR rep H). It was commented that a driver could go 300km to the south of Sweden for a delivery and then pick up a load and deliver it in the north of Sweden, all during the same period of time away from their base and home (HR rep H).

In addition to the need for temporary workers to provide numerical flexibility, company H also recruits people on a permanent basis, notably when there is a need to replace people that are retiring. This process is facilitated by a department at the local university that educates people in transportation and logistics planning (HR rep H). However, it was noted that it is harder to attract younger people to be lorry drivers, due to the potentially long periods of time that they can be away from home and the unpredictable nature of the work. The people that are recruited to work in the office are full-time, permanent employees. During peak periods of the month, and notably in the summer, there can also be workers that come in on a temporary basis for two or three days a week. These would typically be university students, especially when it comes to providing summer holiday cover. There are also times when temporary workers are hired for the warehouse operations, such as one or two months at a time if there is a particularly busy period or a specific project or shipment that requires additional staff (HR rep H). It was also mentioned that there may be

people hired on an hourly basis and that “in Sweden it's easy to employ people hour for an hour, a lot of companies popping up that you can hire people from” (HR rep H).

As concerns the recruitment process itself, HR rep H commented that the company has tried both direct recruitment and a private recruitment agency. Sometimes a combination of the two are used with company H shortlisting candidates who are then assessed by the agency. It also happens that people are recruited on the basis of prior experience of working with someone or through being recommended.

It was commented that being a lorry driver is increasingly a skilled position and one that requires a notable amount of training. “We expect a lot of things from the guys driving, not just driving, but really handling people, meeting customers that's really, really important... And then you've got the IT part. With all the systems for customers at this time it's more important that you can read in your computer about the goods” (HR rep H). The drivers are also trained in a way that enables them to be functionally flexible so that they can “go to your customer's customer and they could re-load themselves with their forklift... They have the education to wheel into your company in the middle of the night, do it themselves” (HR rep H). For example, it was commented that training is provided to people working in the warehouse every two months so that they can cover for driver absences or because there are new people coming to work there. “Like on Monday morning the driver is sick and then I speak to another guy and put him in the truck” (HR rep H). It was also commented that there is a notable health and safety element to driving and warehouse working and using machinery such as forklift trucks, where a special licence is required and for which company H provides training (HR rep H).

In terms of worker progression within the company, it was noted that it is fairly common practice that drivers can go on to work in more advanced positions in the company's office, i.e. from blue collar to white collar work. This tends to involve former lorry drivers working as scheduling planners because they can draw on their practical experience of making deliveries (HR rep H).

It was also commented how the influence of technology in the sector has grown significantly and that it is impacting on the skills required by workers. In particular, HR rep H commented that technology has made lorry driving "a really tough job today" and that "it's not driving safe, that's not the point today, it's the total picture." Elaborating on this it was noted that track and trace technology means that customers can see where their deliveries are throughout the distribution process, which means that the company is very conscious of the need to make its deliveries on time so as to keep its customers happy. This, in turn, puts added pressure on the drivers who not only need to make the deliveries, but also to scan the products at the appropriate moments, notably at pick-up and drop-off, so that customers can follow their progress online (HR rep H). Scanning technology is also being used in the warehouse operations. Warehouse workers are required to scan products when they arrive at a warehouse, to store them and scan them again when they are loaded onto the lorries and sent out for delivery. The use of technology in this way was noted as having increased the efficiency of the business, while having an impact on the number of workers that are needed in the warehouse. "I think it must be 25 per cent less people from the ten years (ago), much more efficient today" (HR rep H).

No EU migrants were found to be working in company H, either as permanent workers or on a temporary basis in response to the identified fluctuations in demand for the company's

services. It was also commented that lorry driving in Sweden tends to be a “really traditional business” in that it is largely male dominated. In company H there are perhaps five female drivers out of 100 at a given time (HR rep H). Within the company’s office there is a more even split of male and female workers.

Even though the company does not have EU migrant workers on its books, HR rep H referred to the competition that Swedish road transportation companies are facing from east European drivers since the enlargement of the EU in 2004. The essence of the problem for Swedish companies is that lorries are coming to Sweden from eastern Europe and drivers are making deliveries over a two week period when they should not stay for longer than a couple of days (HR rep H)³³. This involves people that are “working for nothing driving trucks” and is becoming a particular challenge for Swedish companies (HR rep H).

Finally, it was commented that working in this sector can be quite complicated from a regulatory perspective because there are people working across different times of the day and night and in different environments, whether it is as a driver or a warehouse operator (HR rep H). There is a trade union branch within the company and it was noted that there is a good spirit of cooperation with them. “If we are making changes I have to talk to them and if we talk about salaries, you have to talk to them. We make agreements all the time. That's working well, we try to look for common goals” (HR rep H).

³³ This is referred to as cabotage, which means “the national carriage of goods for hire or reward carried out by non-resident hauliers on a temporary basis in a host Member State” (European Commission 1995-2018).

Case study nine – Company I

Company I provides logistical services to road transportation companies. The company employs five people on a permanent basis, plus additional workers on a temporary basis, according to demand. This case study comprises data that was gathered from an interview with a representative from human resources (HR rep I).

HR rep I commented that there are seasonal fluctuations in demand for the company's services, particularly during the summer months, and that temporary workers are recruited during this period through a private recruitment agency. Permanent recruitment to the company was noted as having fluctuated over the years, but that it has been fairly stable in recent times. It was also said that there have been occasions when the temporary workers, which are recruited during the summer to meet the additional demand for the company's services, have been taken on permanently (HR rep I).

Prior experience in the field of transportation, storage and logistics was not said to be particularly important when the company is looking to recruit. "The most important thing is that you have been in a small company, five, six, seven, people, very important, and then you can provide and learn the market place" (HR rep I).

The company does not currently employ any EU migrant workers and there have been no EU migrants applying to the company in the past. The company follows the collective agreement for the sector and its employees are members of a trade union.

Case study ten – Company J

Company J is a transportation, storage and logistics company. The company employs 62 people on a permanent and temporary basis. This case study comprises data that was gathered from an interview with a representative from human resources (HR rep J).

HR rep J did not highlight a particular seasonal dimension to the company's work, but it was noted that flexibility is very important for Company J and that there has been a growing demand for temporary workers in Sweden in response to this. Although company J does not employ people on a temporary basis in response to variations in demand, HR rep J did comment that the initial hiring of temporary workers does form an important part of the company's recruitment strategy. If the company is sure that it has the work to warrant hiring these people over the longer-term it will make them permanent employees. It was noted that two people had recently been taken on as permanent workers in the warehouse, but that, overall, the workforce has been relatively stable over the past five to ten years and not much recruitment has been undertaken.

It was suggested that the sector is relatively highly skilled with blue and white collar workers typically having similar skill levels. This being said, blue collar workers do not have career development plans or established progression routes within the company. However, there are sometimes opportunities for blue collar workers to move up to become team leaders (HR rep J).

There are no EU migrants working in the company and HR rep J commented that there have been none applying for work during the interviewee's time at the company.

Therefore, it was said that EU enlargement had not had a particular impact on company J or its workforce composition and workplace relations (HR rep J).

Company J is unionised and follows the applicable sectoral collective agreement and its workers are generally members of a trade union. However, it was said that the trade unions (blue and white collar) do not have a huge influence on the company's way of working (HR rep J). In addition to the framework provided by the sectoral agreement, it was noted that monthly meetings are arranged between the management, trade union representatives and the workers to provide information and to discuss topical issues. Such discussions can lead to company level agreements. The main issues that are discussed are health and safety, working time, compensation and holiday planning.

Case study findings – The UK

Case study eleven – Company K

Company K is a road transportation company. The company employs 55 people on either a permanent or temporary basis. These positions can also be full-time or part-time. The company is not unionised. This case study comprises data that was gathered from an interview with a representative from human resources (HR rep K) and the warehouse operations manager (WO manager 1).

All driving staff are on full-time contracts, with the exception of two that are nearing retirement. This is because it is too complicated to incorporate part-time workers into the

route planning schedule. However, there are some office staff working part-time (HR rep K).

It was noted that there is not such a seasonal element to the business, but that the period around Easter tends to be the busiest time in terms of the amount of deliveries that need to be made. Additional drivers may be taken on temporarily to meet this demand and tend to be recruited through a private recruitment agency, although HR rep K noted that this can be costly.

Last year we spent about £60,000 on just agency costs. That's a target for me to beat and that's day to day, but they're very temporary.... we've got sickness to cover, we just need an HGV one for the day... We have two agencies that we tend to use for that. We had a shortage of... we had a problem recruiting drivers from September to Christmas. There seemed to be a big shortage. The industry seemed to be having a bit of a boom and volumes were up and agencies were very busy and obviously they're paying higher rates so people getting lot of work through agencies and not needing full-time work (HR rep K).

HR rep K commented that the temporary workers do not tend to stay in the company all that long and that they “very rarely get to the 12 week point”³⁴. In addition to using the agency for temporary workers, it is sometimes used to recruit permanent office staff. HR rep K observed that the company has had more success in retaining staff that they recruit directly themselves, such as through advertising on their website or in the local newspaper.

³⁴ This refers to the provision in the Agency Workers Regulations, namely that after 12 continuous weeks with the same company the worker needs to be given the same terms and conditions as direct company employees.

It was observed that while the company does not restrict its hiring to people that have relevant work experience, it is important that those applying for driving jobs have the relevant licence, whether it is for a lorry or a forklift truck (HR rep K). Those drivers that are more experienced and skilled in their work are likely to be given jobs that require multiple deliveries (multi-drop) during a single shift. WO manager 1 also noted that company K's forklift truck drivers require a licence to drive a bendy forklift truck that can access narrow aisles in the warehouse. HR rep K summed up the company's requirements as follows.

If they've got their class of licence that we're requiring and they impress at the interview and, you know, the personality traits seem to be there... We do a phased induction for all our driving team. Sadly, generally, the ones without the experience are the ones that don't stay because multi-drop delivery is very hard. It's physically hard, a lot of variables that you'll have to be patient with throughout the day... and I don't think people have a very clear perspective on what the job's going to entail until they've actually done it and sometimes it puts a lot of people off the first weeks, like "this is not what I expected, I'd rather just be in a truck doing one run today. I'd rather be in a tank!" So, yeah multi-drop is hard (HR rep K).

In addition to the induction phase, company K provides training for its drivers to maintain their Certificate of Professional Competence, which requires 35 hours of training every five years. The company also trains its drivers to acquire a hazardous goods licence.

HR rep K commented that there have been examples of drivers moving into the office operations, notably to join the traffic team that works on the route planning for deliveries. However, it was noted that, in general, progression or promotion opportunities within the

company are not something that drivers tend to ask about, especially not the EU migrants that have been in the company “I probably have one in five drivers that will ask that question and I can't think of any... Yeah, I've probably interviewed five Polish drivers and none of those have actually” (HR rep K). It was also mentioned that drivers sometimes ask if they can take the forklift truck licence so that they can “bridge the gap” (HR rep K) between warehouse working and driving. Outside of the driving team it was noted that there are not really any requests for training.

In terms of the extent to which EU migrants help to address the company's demand for labour, it was noted that this is fairly minimal with three EU migrants having worked at the company over the past year. All three were Polish and worked as drivers and were recruited via a private recruitment agency (HR rep K). Of these, one continues to work at the company doing night time deliveries. HR rep K noted that they tend to receive one CV or application per month from an east European worker, but that

the biggest problem we have is language barriers. Actually, there was the person we've recruited to the night trunk, brilliant skills set, but there was a slight language barrier and I think throughout the day doing multi-drop that would've been a real hindrance to the traffic team and him. I don't think that would've worked, but we had a night trunk position going and that's just straight to Birmingham and back. It's one process done repetitively and he's doing that brilliantly now (HR rep K).

Therefore, when EU migrants are employed in company K it tends to be as drivers. This is something that WO manager 1 confirmed in saying that there have not been any EU migrants working in the warehouse.

In addition to the ad-hoc need for drivers, there can also be a need for temporary staff during the summer. This is to cover for the regular employees that are on holiday, rather than because there is a spike in demand. However, overall, it was noted that there is a high level of stability among the workforce with around 50 per cent having been at the company for over five years (HR rep K). This is something that the company values and it enables the workers to be trained in different areas of the company's operations. Exemplifying this, HR rep K commented that there are "two roles, two drivers that have a function in the yard in the morning and if the freight volumes are low they assist in the warehouse. They have a forklift licence... so we have two or three people up our sleeve that can be quite flexible." WO manager 1 observed that the functional flexibility of the warehouse staff can also work the other way around. For example, "Some of the guys we've had, if it's quiet in the warehouse, we send them out on trucks" (WO manger 1).

HR rep K commented that in the warehouse there is the warehouse manager plus one or two forklift truck drivers. This is partly due to the scale of the operations and the relatively small size of company K. It may also be linked to the role of technology within the company. In this respect WO manager 1 observed that

the way we work is we've got a computerised system so there's not an awful lot of... it's fairly straight forward if they're trained how to use the picking gun, we call it... And that tells them what to pick, where to pick it and how many to pick. So, there's a process there. Office staff generate the orders, the orders will go to the picker, the picker will then pick and then it will go to a despatch area, which will get quality controlled and then sent out (WO manager 1).

An additional element that impacts on the way the company operates is its membership of the Pallet Network³⁵ which brings a level of stability to the company's operations and workforce planning. There is a hub for this network near Birmingham, which appears to correspond with the night trunk shift that is performed by a Polish driver.

Although company K has an HR manager, employment law and health and safety issues are outsourced to an advisory company. There is not a recognition agreement with a trade union and HR rep K observed that there has never been a request for this from the staff. It was noted that company K's staff are sometimes approached by a union about becoming a member, but that none of them, to HR rep K's knowledge, are actively involved in a union.

Case study twelve – Company L

Company L is a road transportation company. The company employs 30 people, almost all of whom are permanent, full-time employees. There are a small number of part-time employees and some temporary workers, when needed. The company is not unionised. This case study comprises data that was gathered from an interview with a representative from human resources (HR rep L).

Company L's business is fairly stable throughout the year and no particular seasonality was identified by HR rep L. Although the company does not transport agricultural products itself, its rural location means that seasonality in the agricultural sector, notably sugar beet

³⁵ This network comprises around 100 independent regional transport companies in locations across the UK. Network members collect pallets from their customers and then consolidate and trunk that freight to the Hub facility at Minworth, near Birmingham from where it is distributed across the UK (The Pallet Network, 2018).

harvesting, which can last from around mid-September to mid-March, affects the availability of drivers that can be sub-contracted by company L. It was commented that

...if we need sub-contractors to do haulage for us there are far fewer around at this time of the year and the sugar beet season is longer now than it ever used to be. So, where we could call upon other companies and they would have a little bit of spare capacity, because everybody is that much leaner again, and then they're busy with the agricultural side of the haulage, they tend to take resources off the general haulage side, the drivers of freight goods, so there aren't the sub-contractors available, especially here in the sugar beet season (HR rep L).

As a result, the company does make use of a local recruitment agency, if there is a particular need for an additional driver(s). HR rep L noted that the company prefers to work with a local agency, rather than the bigger national ones, because they are more reliable. "We tend to stick to a smaller more local business, which, well that allows us to get the same person time and time again so we don't have to do any induction training or anything like that. They are familiar with the way we work and what we do. They can basically come in and pick up a set of keys and go and do a day's work in a truck" (HR rep L).

HR rep L commented that while there has been some staff turnover during recent years, the overall size of the workforce has remained stable and this was primarily attributed to the company's geographical location and the associated limited prospects for growth. In particular, it was commented that more products are transported into Norfolk and that "everybody's looking for economies and what have you, there's no balance, there's no new business, there's nobody producing anything, there's nothing being dispatched from north

Norfolk to go anywhere. So that will be difficult for us in years to come” (HR rep L). Company L is also part of the Pallet Network, which accounts for the largest part of the company’s turnover, and it was mentioned that company L’s main role as part of this network is to bring goods from the hub into Norfolk (HR rep L). No reference was made to the company increasing the size of its staff as a result of being part of this network.

Recruitment by company L is, therefore, relatively limited and HR rep L added that because profit margins are fairly low in the transportation sector, at around three to four per cent, companies only directly employ the essential staff that they are sure they need. This core group is complemented by temporary or part-time workers, often drivers, when needed. Therefore, it was said that company L, like others across the sector, are trying to keep their staff costs down and “...whereas perhaps in years gone by there was more slack within the business, it was more affordable, you could afford to have people not working flat out, if you like, certainly not the case now, well not for us and not for people of our size” (HR rep L).

It was also noted that company L has “only ever had British employees” (HR rep L). There has been a couple of job applications from EU migrants, but it was HR rep L’s assessment that these people lacked relevant work experience compared to other applicants and so the company has no experience of recruiting or working with EU migrants.

As concerns training provided by the company, it was noted that basic training is offered to all staff and that training can also be offered to drivers to enable them to acquire the relevant class of driving licence relative to the company’s needs and to the type of lorries that it has. Linked to this it was noted that there are not too many opportunities for internal

progression within the company due to its relatively small size. In particular there is no hierarchy among the drivers (HR rep L).

There is no recognition agreement between company L and a trade union and HR rep L noted that this is not something that has been raised by the employees and nor was it considered necessary given the size of the company. “The beauty of being a small business is that I get to speak to every employee so if someone has a grievance they can bring that straight to me and that's in the company policies that, you know, they do have direct access to me” (HR rep L).

Case study thirteen – Company M

Company M is a road transportation and storage company. The company employs 50 people, almost all of whom are permanent, full-time employees, with some temporary workers when needed. The company is not unionised. This case study comprises data that was gathered from an interview with a representative from human resources (HR rep M).

HR rep M described the company’s business as being “pretty constant” over the course of the year and, therefore, that there is not such a seasonal element to the work. The only aspect that could be noted in this respect, and which potentially leads to an increased demand for workers, is that the number and volume of deliveries to Norfolk’s coastal towns and holiday camps increases in the summer months (HR rep M). In such cases a private recruitment agency will be used to hire a temporary driver(s). For example, HR rep M commented that when it comes to the delivery of wine and spirits “it's a two man delivery team so that is why I'd get an agency to be the second, the driver's mate, which I'm

using one at the moment actually because one of our mates has just left so I've got an agency mate in at the moment.”

Beyond the use of temporary workers, it was noted that company M has a very stable workforce with a substantial proportion of the staff having worked at the company for around 30 years. As a result, external recruitment is undertaken to hire no more than two to three people per year and this is typically to replace those permanent employees that have left the company. It was also noted that 99 per cent of the jobs that are advertised, and which the company receives applications for, are for drivers.

The company provides training to its workers, including those that come into a low-skilled position, such as in the warehouse, and that want to progress up. For example, HR rep M commented “I do try to promote youngsters coming in, but you don't get that many I'm afraid.” It was elaborated that it can be hard to attract young people to work in the sector because it is seen from the outside as a hard job with long hours and people might think that they can earn easier money in another job (HR rep M).

Training and progression is, therefore, one of the ways in which the company tries to attract and retain staff. For instance, HR rep M commented that “if we do put through the light goods vehicles (licence) for arguments sake, they do sign a contract for two years and they won't leave, or if they do they repay it, but most of them that come here do stay.” As a result, company M has a policy of promoting from within and never externally advertises for managerial positions.

Additionally, it was observed that EU migrants play a very limited role in meeting company M's labour needs. This is primarily because those that have applied for jobs have not had the relevant experience and/or qualifications.

We haven't actually employed any. We've had two applications, I think, that's all, and they weren't qualified really... I think they've actually called in, you know, from the street and called in to see if there's any jobs going, but they weren't experienced enough or qualified enough for what we were looking for, but I've got no objection to employing them (HR rep M).

It was also commented that the enlargement of the EU to the eastern member states, including the recent lifting of restrictions on the ability of Bulgarian and Romanian nationals to access the UK labour market, had not led to an increase in job applications from EU migrants (HR rep M). HR rep M commented that "if they were qualified and if they were looking for work, I'd certainly interview them". However, the lack of relevant qualifications among EU migrants, particularly for those wanting to work as a driver, was highlighted as a barrier to their employment.

The company has no recognition agreement with a trade union and it was noted that none of the staff are members of a union. HR rep M commented that if a union approached the company about coming to talk to its workers "and the workers were interested I would certainly invite them in." However, this has not been the case. It was also noted that the Agency Workers Regulations have had no particular impact on the company because they rarely use agency workers and when they do it is for fairly short periods of time. On occasion, the company might keep an agency worker on permanently, if the circumstances

were right for both parties, but it was said that this is not influenced by the Regulations (HR rep M).

Case study fourteen – Company N

Company N is a road transportation company. The company employs 35 people as permanent, full-time employees. There are also some temporary workers hired when needed. The company is not unionised. This case study comprises data that was gathered from an interview with a representative from human resources (HR rep N).

Company N is a general haulage company. There is a seasonal dimension to the work in so far as part of the company's work is transportation for the agriculture sector. It was noted that during the sugar beet season three or four additional drivers will be taken on temporarily to cover for the increased work load (HR rep N). To meet this need for additional workers, HR rep N commented "we have our old boys, you know the more mature boys, that have retired and they'll come back and do the beet season for us." These workers are considered to be more reliable than agency drivers as they already know the company and how it works.

Outside of the sugar beet season, it was said that the demand for workers is generally stable across the year and that turnover is fairly limited. Of the different components of company N – office staff, warehouse staff and drivers – it is the driving staff who are likely to experience the most changes. This was attributed to them not wanting to work away from home on a regular basis if they have a family "whereas in warehousing, where you

can get home to bed each night, there is a value on that, so not recruited too much for staff” (HR rep N).

Staff recruitment in recent years has been guided by the state of the economy. It was highlighted that the company went through a period of uncertainty during the peak years of the financial and economic crisis between 2008 and 2012 when redundancies were made, but now things are picking up again and the company was “vigorously recruiting” (HR rep N) at the time of the interview. When Company N is recruiting it will advertise locally and through the job centre. However, HR rep N noted that “the majority of our drivers will come from word of mouth, so sort of the driving world, communication with other drivers.”

As concerns the presence of EU migrant workers in the company, it was mentioned that there is currently one Portuguese driver who is permanently employed. There has previously been a driver from Austria and another from Poland, but both have now left the company. These people had good language skills and integrated well into the company with HR rep N commenting “they’re good workers, all of them good workers.” It was noted that there have not been many EU migrants looking for work in the company and that the enlargement of the EU to the A8 countries in 2004, and the subsequent lifting of restrictions on labour market access for A2 workers in 2014 had not had any particular impact on company N thus far (HR rep N).

Training is provided to the workers to get the forklift driving licence, for example. It is not a fundamental requirement that job applicants already have all necessary qualifications in place when they respond to a job advertisement. It does, however, depend on the position

that is being applied for. Accessing work in the warehouse without prior experience or a forklift licence can be easier than for those people that are looking to work as drivers. In addition to qualifications and skills, experience was noted as an important element for people applying to be drivers, including as concerns the nature of the work. In this regard HR rep N commented that “one criteria is that they've got to be prepared to have nights away in their lorries, so that could be all week”.

It follows that there are opportunities for people to progress up to higher level positions, but they do not come up all the time due to the relatively small scale of company N’s operations. For example, drivers may go on to become mechanics if they are looking for a move away from driving. The advanced skills set, additional pay and the prospect of working during regular office hours were cited by HR rep N as factors that make being a mechanic a higher position than being a driver.

HR rep N observed that technology has increasingly impacted on the way people work in the sector, both in terms of the way in which workers can be monitored from a distance and from a health and safety perspective. In this regard, tracking has been a notable development. “All our vehicles are tracked so we can see on the screen anytime where they are, what speed they are doing. So not only does that tell us when they get back, can see in real time where they are and what they are doing” (HR rep N). It was elaborated that this enables the head office to ensure that a driver is driving safely and taking appropriate rest breaks. On board dash cameras are also installed in all of company N’s vehicles and these are primarily used to determine who was at fault if there is an accident. It was also noted that technology has improved the efficiency of warehouse operations and helps with stock control (HR rep N).

While HR rep N commented that there are some trade union members among the workforce, there is no recognition agreement with a trade union. There has never been a request for this.

Table 2 (below) provides an overview of the key characteristics of each case study in Östergötland (Sweden) and Norfolk (UK) before the chapter moves onto a comparative analysis of the data.

| Company | Main form of activity | Number of employees | Type of contract(s) offered / nature of work | Unionised workplace | Presence of EU migrant workers | Use of recruitment agency |
|-----------------------------|--|----------------------------|---|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Östergötland, Sweden | | | | | | |
| H | Road transportation, storage and logistics | 110 | Permanent and temporary / full-time | Yes | No | Yes |
| I | Provider of logistical services to road transportation companies | 5 | Permanent and temporary / full-time | Yes | No | Yes |
| J | Road transportation, storage and logistics | 62 | Permanent and temporary / full-time | Yes | No | Yes |
| Norfolk, UK | | | | | | |
| K | Road transportation and storage | 55 | Permanent and temporary / full-time and part-time | No | Yes | Yes |
| L | Road transportation | 30 | Permanent and temporary/ | No | No | Yes |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---------------------------------|----|---|----|-----|-----|
| | | | full-time and part-time | | | |
| M | Road transportation and storage | 50 | Permanent and temporary/full-time and part-time | No | No | Yes |
| N | Road transportation | 35 | Permanent and temporary/full-time | No | Yes | No |

Comparative analysis of the sectoral case study findings

This section will analyse the data within the context of the respective industrial relations systems and from the perspective of a cross-country sectoral comparison, identifying points of convergence and divergence. To advance the analysis of the case study findings, additional information will be used from the interviews with national and regional actors as well as documentary analysis. This will provide important contextual information in relation to the national labour market structure and industrial relations system in the two countries.

The demand for, and use of, temporary and EU migrant workers, including seasonal demand

In the Östergötland case studies, seasonal fluctuations in the demand for workers were identified in companies H and I, whereas this is less of an issue in company J. In company H, this primarily concerns driving roles, but can also involve warehouse and office staff during the main holiday season. In company I it is largely during the summer months, which may indicate a seasonal demand for temporary workers as holiday cover.

The UK findings also show a mixed picture, but with no particular pattern of seasonality being identified. Although the HR representatives from all four companies did not refer to a seasonal demand per se, they all commented that there is a time of year when their companies experience a peak in demand. In this regard, HR rep K referred to the build-up to Easter and HR reps L and M mentioned the summer period as being particularly busy. It was also mentioned in relation to company L that seasonality in the agricultural sector can have an impact on the overall availability of drivers in the more rural areas of Norfolk, where the company is located. This is due to there being a higher demand for temporary driving staff during the sugar beet season. However, as company L does not transport agricultural produce itself it can be considered that the impact on the company is an indirect one. Contrary to the situation in company L, company N is involved in transporting agricultural produce, including sugar beet, and so HR rep N did note an element of seasonality to the company's operations and its demand for workers.

Despite these variations, a common feature is the use of temporary workers in both sets of case studies in a broadly similar way. The experiences of companies H and I suggest that temporary workers are hired to provide for a numerically flexible workforce. Although company J did not identify with the use of temporary workers in response to fluctuations in demand, HR rep J did highlight the general, and increasing, importance of temporary workers in providing flexibility. In all cases, temporary workers were hired through private recruitment agencies.

The example of company H, a large transportation company in Östergötland (with 110 employees), highlighted more than any of the other case studies in either country the

importance of a numerically flexible workforce and, therefore, the emphasis that it places on temporary workers. Data gathered from company H demonstrated the daily fluctuation and, to an extent, the unpredictability of the demand for the company's services. While the overall volume of goods and the number of jobs may be consistent when seen over the course of a month, outside of the peak months, it was noted that daily changes in the delivery schedule impact upon the company's demand for workers. This can lead to the hiring of drivers on a temporary basis, which can be for as little as several hours a day and at short notice.

The picture coming out of the Norfolk case studies is fairly similar in terms of the use of temporary workers to respond to peaks in demand. It is also the case in both countries that where temporary workers are hired they are primarily deployed in driving roles. It can also be noted that private recruitment agencies are used to hire temporary drivers in three out of the four Norfolk companies (K, L, M). Company N is the exception in its preference for using its retired former drivers when there are seasonal peaks in demand. In this regard, it can be said that temporary workers are also used in the Norfolk case studies to provide a numerically flexible workforce.

A particular feature of the use of temporary workers in this sector appears to relate to the relatively small size of the companies, with agency workers used to supplement the permanent staff, when needed. This implies that there may be evidence of a core-periphery structure akin to Atkinson's (1984) flexible firm model, in which case the smaller companies might be expected to highlight the importance of having a core workforce that is functionally flexible, in addition to having a numerically flexible workforce that is composed of workers from the secondary ELM and which would constitute the periphery.

Comments by HR rep L provide some evidence for this in relation to the emphasis that it was said smaller companies in the sector try to put on keeping their costs down by only directly employing the core staff that are needed and complementing them with temporary workers on an ad-hoc basis. However, neither companies I (5 employees), L (30 employees) or M (35 employees) which are the smallest ones that took part in the research made reference to the potential importance of functional flexibility among the permanent workforce. More broadly, of the seven case studies in this sector it was only company K in Norfolk (with 55 employees) that particularly commented on aspects of functional flexibility through the example of drivers sometimes working as warehouse staff or vice-versa. The only inferences that could be derived from the Östergötland data concerns company H in which the role of the drivers was noted as having evolved as new technology has been introduced and now includes scanning products, loading and unloading goods. It was also found that warehouse workers can receive training to be drivers so that they can fulfil that role, if the demand requires it. In this sense there does appear to be aspects of functional flexibility within company H.

Therefore, the findings suggest that having the flexibility to alter the number of workers that are needed to supplement the permanent staff is a central issue when it comes to workforce planning in the case study companies in Östergötland and Norfolk and that this represents a demand for a numerically flexible workforce. This is combined with aspects of a quantitative demand for workers to cover for permanent staff during the summer holiday period. On the contrary, having a functionally flexible workforce was not given much prominence across the case findings.

Information from national and regional level interviews helps to provide additional context about the nature of temporary employment in the sector in the two countries. Firstly, reference can be made to a representative of a private recruitment agency in the Östergötland region (PRA rep 5) who highlighted the fluctuating recruitment demands that companies in this sector have. This was attributed to the service nature of the business and the state of the regional and national economy for “if industry is going well the transport business will catch up with that” (PRA rep 5). Reference was also made in the previous chapter to some of the main provisions of the collective agreement between the Swedish Staffing Agencies and LO trade unions, which the Swedish Transport Workers’ Union is a party to. This includes the “guaranteed wage” (2010: 13) and the comparability of wages between temporary workers and employees, which serves to underscore the collective approach to employment regulation in Sweden.

The level and nature of temporary employment in the Swedish transport sector was not raised as a particular concern by any of the interviewees, although it can be noted that it was not possible to interview trade union representatives from the Östergötland case study companies, as it was for those in the food manufacturing sector. Nevertheless, a representative of a Swedish trade union for the transport sector (SE transport union rep) commented that “traditionally it’s a sector with professional workers having real job so it’s a sector with not very much temporary (work)”.

A representative of a Swedish employers’ organisation in the transport sector (SE transport employer rep 1) observed that the sectoral collective agreement covers the terms of employment, working hours and details the nature of different employment relationships. While it has not been possible to locate an English version of the agreement, further insight

into the way in which work in the sector is regulated is provided through reference to the Salaried Employee Agreement for the Transportation Industry (2013-2016), which is signed, among others, by The Swedish Road Transport Employers' Association and Unionen – the union for white collar workers³⁶. This agreement specifies the terms under which temporary, “time-limited” employment can take place and includes this possibility in order to “relieve a temporary work peak” (*ibid.*: 3). It is also noted that this form of work is open to “school and university students during summer holidays or other breaks in their studies and upon internships” (*ibid.*: 3). It is interesting to note this reference to school and university students as they were referred to by HR rep H as complementing, and filling in for, the permanent workforce during holiday periods. At the same time, it could be inferred from the findings that the main demand for temporary workers is for drivers and these would be workers with the appropriate driving licence, rather than students.

Turning to the wider UK context, information collected from a representative of a national organisation representing private recruitment agencies (UK agency rep 1) observed that temporary agencies tend to “have a high proportion of the work on offer” in the sector and that this tends to be low-skilled work, notably in the warehousing side of operations. In relation to road transport specifically, it was commented that there had been a decline in temporary workers in “high-end blue collar” (UK agency rep 1) work, such as driving, over the main years of the recession as a result of falling volumes that needed transporting. However, it was considered that the level of temporary work in the sector has picked up again (UK agency rep 1). UK agency rep 1's comments on the growing use of temporary

³⁶ The full list of signatory organisations to this agreement are Ports of Sweden, Swedish Bus and Coach Employers' Association, Swedish Road Transport Employers' Association, Swedish Shipowners' Employer Association, The Swedish Aviation Industry Group, Unionen, and Swedish Association of Graduate Engineers.

workers in the sector appears to corroborate the comments expressed by HR rep K in relation to the fairly sizeable costs (£60,000) that the company spent on hiring temporary agency staff over the course of a year. However, in this case the temporary workers were mainly driving staff and, therefore, not necessarily classed as low-skilled.

Additional context is provided through data collected from a representative from a national cross-sectoral trade union organisation working in the transportation and storage sector (UK union rep 2). It was commented that “I think the core workforce does stay core mainly, but the nature of the sector... there is a high degree of agency labour built into their business models, in order to give them the flexibility they need, they would say. I think in the nature of the sector and the way it is set up it does have a high degree of turnover” (UK union rep 2). Additionally, it was noted that temporary employment in the sector has been increasing and that this is due to the “out-sourcing tender contract nature of the sector” (UK union rep 2). This can be associated with the discussion in chapter five, in which it was noted that out-sourcing has become a key means through which companies achieve their desired level of flexibility and in a cost-effective way, which in turn creates a peripheral workforce (Atkinson, 1984: 29). It was also observed that due to the size and flexibility of companies that fulfil out-sourcing contracts they are often not unionised, which can help to ensure further flexibility for employers (Ram and Edwards, 2010: 238), (Storey, 2005: 198). As a result, Atkinson’s (1984: 31) assertion that labour market segmentation may occur in the form of the terms and conditions of employment for core, permanent workers being achieved at the expense of those on temporary and fixed-term contracts in the periphery appears to be relevant for this sector in the UK. Segmentation of the sectoral labour market may also be evident between those workers in an ILM and those on the ELM.

There are several implications that can be derived from this analysis of the case study and national level findings in view of the literature that was explored in chapter five. One is that there is mixed evidence as to whether these findings corroborate Atkinson's (1984) notion of the flexible firm. The comments by UK union rep 2, combined with the wider analysis of the national level data, could suggest that there is a core-periphery labour market structure in the broader UK transportation and storage sector. It is also the case that the Norfolk case study companies highlighted the importance of numerical flexibility, even though, company K aside, the data indicates a fairly limited use of temporary workers. This perhaps reflects the relatively small scale of these companies and the scope of their operations. Nevertheless, it has been found that temporary agency workers play an important role when companies experience peaks in demand. This is particularly the case with the demand for drivers, as was also noted previously in relation to company H in Östergötland. Building on this, consideration of the case study and national level data from both countries might, therefore, suggest that if a core-periphery structure is evident it is based on whether a worker is employed on a permanent or a temporary contract. This would go in the direction of the understanding of core and contingent workers referred to in the work by Gallagher and Sverke (2005: 186) in chapter five. At the same time, Pollert's (1988: 291) critique of the flexible firm model queried whether core workers are to be understood as constituting all members of the permanent workforce.

In this respect, it can be recalled that HR rep H referred to drivers as becoming increasingly highly skilled, while UK agency rep 1 called it a "high-end blue collar" position. Furthermore, the findings demonstrate significant evidence of drivers being employed as temporary, as well as permanent workers. It could be inferred that a driver is a

core function within a road transportation company, irrespective of the nature of the contractual relationship. Therefore, this helps to underscore Lovering's (1990: 17) notion that there are workers performing core tasks, but under an employment relationship that can be viewed as peripheral or contingent. This also returns to the discussion in chapter five and in the analysis of the findings in chapter seven around the complexity of defining who is a core and who is a peripheral worker.

Associated with the use of temporary workers and the apparent importance of a numerically flexible workforce, which was raised in the respective case study findings, is the potential for EU migrants to help respond to this demand. However, in Sweden it can be noted that none of the case study companies were found to employ, or had previously employed, EU migrants.

Providing additional context on the national perspective on the employment of EU migrants in the sector, a representative of an employers' organisation for the sector (SE transport employer rep 1) commented that "to my knowledge we don't have a lot of freedom of movement workers and I have been talking to other people as well and everybody seems to be of the same opinion." Additionally, SE agency rep 1 noted that while companies have a demand for flexibility and temporary workers to respond to short-term needs and fluctuations, it is Swedish workers that respond to such needs and not EU migrants. In this regard, a representative from a national cross-industry employers' organisation in Sweden (SE employer rep 1) also expressed doubts about the use of temporary EU migrants in the sector "when it comes to lorry drivers, I think that it is expensive to have a lorry, there are not many that would give that confidence to someone that are just coming here for a short time. They really want to know who it is that is driving

the lorry”. This being said, it appears that there is some evidence of EU migrants working in the wider sector. For example, SE employer rep 1 observed that the majority of drivers in Sweden are actually self-employed. Furthermore, SE union rep 1 observed that Swedish companies

are using self-employed, Polish, and it is a way of under-cutting the collective agreement, but in the transport sector there is so many options to do this that's the harsh reality. It's all about labour costs and the employer wants to buy as cheap as possible and they will use a lot of different methods to circumvent those rules, and in the transport sector it is quite easy to find ways to do that (SE union rep 1).

This observation can be supported with reference to research by Thörnquist (2013: 22), which found that around 48 per cent of drivers in road haulage in Sweden are self-employed. It is also noted that there are approximately 1000 bogus self-employed drivers in the sector and that these workers are predominantly Polish (*ibid.*: 22).

While the Swedish case study data highlighted the importance of having a flexible workforce and that the nature of the work can be unpredictable, it was only in relation to company H that the use of self-employed drivers was referred to, but this did not come across as a particularly prominent issue and no association was made by HR rep H between the use of self-employed drivers and EU migrants.

A suggested reason for why there is a growing presence of bogus self-employed EU migrant drivers in Sweden is the failure to adhere to the EU cabotage directive (Thörnquist, 2013: 22). Both HR rep H and SE employer rep 2 referred to the impact that cabotage is having on the sector in Sweden. Cabotage is regulated at EU level and there is

the provision that hauliers that are making an international delivery to a member state are subsequently able to undertake up to three further deliveries (cabotage operations) in one, or more, member states during the seven days following the initial international delivery (European Commission, 1995-2018). In practice, this means that a driver from another member state can enter Sweden to make an international delivery and once that has been completed it is possible for the driver to pick up and deliver three more loads before returning to their country of origin. In this sense their presence in other member states is temporary. HR rep H highlighted the challenges that this competition brings Swedish transportation companies, particularly from a cost perspective. This point was further elaborated by the SE transport union rep who commented that

they are staying here much longer time than the rules of the legal cabotage gives them permission to stay and there are probably around 2000 to 3000 drivers being here on a more regular basis and they are all driving this kind of trucks with trailer trucks. There are so many and so cheap, mostly the drivers come from the former east Europe, their wage cost is something like 30 per cent, so that presses down the prices (SE transport union rep).

SE transport employer rep 2 added that these drivers are “looping”, in that after “you’ve done those three operations you are free to leave the country with an empty load, pick up a load in say Denmark and return and start all over again.” Drivers operating in this way are not covered by the collective agreement and hence they become a cheaper alternative. It is this sort of scenario that HR rep H appears to have been referring to and which has been corroborated by the national level trade union and employer representatives. Therefore, even though EU migrants do not appear to be responding to employers’ demand for labour in the case study companies, they seemingly have a broader impact on the composition of

the sectoral labour force in other locations and how companies operate and how the industrial relations actors regulate the labour market. This could suggest that EU migrants may be a factor in contributing to the future segmentation of the sectoral labour market.

The situation is more mixed in the Norfolk case studies, but the findings are broadly coherent with those from Östergötland. The findings from companies L and M reveal that no EU migrants were currently working, or had previously worked there. In both cases it was elaborated that there had been some applications from EU migrants, but they were adjudged by the respective HR representatives to lack the relevant work experience and qualifications compared to other applicants. Companies K and N did report that they have EU migrants among their permanent staff, although to a limited degree. In the case of company K, there had been three EU migrants working at the company over the past year and one of those is still employed there. All three migrants were from Poland and worked as drivers. Company N currently employs a Portuguese driver and previously had drivers from Austria and Poland. In both companies it was explicitly commented that the migrants were hard workers. While HR rep K noted that the Polish worker that continues to be employed has a very good skills set to work in road transportation, the extent of his language skills was questioned and as a result he is working as a night time driver instead of doing deliveries with multiple drop-offs during the day. It could be inferred that the level of this person's English is confining him to what appears to be a lower level position and that with improved language competence he may be able to achieve a position with more responsibility and better working conditions. There were no such issues with the Portuguese driver in company N who HR rep N said had integrated well into the company and had good language skills.

While company K observed that the enlargement of the EU in 2004 and 2007 had resulted in an increase in applications from EU migrants to around one CV a month, company N had not experienced any such impact from the enlargement. Although company M does not employ any EU migrants it also commented that it has not seen an increase in applications from EU migrants since 2004. In this regard, the Norfolk findings do not identify a particular demand for, or concentration of, EU migrants in the case study companies.

However, a different picture emerges from the national level data in the UK with UK union rep 2 commenting that there is a notable presence of A8 migrants working in the sector. It was also noted that EU migrants, more so than indigenous UK workers, have a tendency to occupy temporary and part-time positions in the sector and that these are often minimum wage jobs. This is particularly the case for warehouse workers and drivers.

Higher proportion of migrant workers in comparison to domestic workers would be in temporary part-time roles in comparison to permanent roles. True across all sectors but particularly high in this sector. Because of the contract nature, the supply chain nature, and the ways it's devolved, it has lended itself to that. All businesses have been able to exploit it in that way (UK union rep 2).

This perspective is supported, in part, by a representative of a private recruitment agency in Norfolk (PRA rep 6) who noted that there has been a steady increase in the number of EU migrants looking for work in the sector over the past seven years that she has been working in the recruitment industry. It was also noted that, generally, companies want workers that have prior experience and relevant qualifications so that they can slot into a company without the need for training at the start of their employment (PRA rep 6). This corresponds with the comments made by HR reps L and M in relation to the EU migrants

that applied to their companies not having these characteristics. At the same time, it can be noted that the EU migrants employed in companies K and N are permanent, full-time employees and not working on a temporary or part-time basis.

UK agency rep 1 also commented that there is a particular agency across the Midlands region of the UK that each day places around “3000 drivers, similar pattern, growth mainly in Slovakian over the last three years, their work force only 30 per cent migrant, 70 per cent UK, but they think the use of migrants is trending upward. More to do with the lack of interest in the work they have on offer from the local UK work force.”

Companies K and N show that there is a presence of EU migrants in two of the four Norfolk case studies. While this is more than was observed in the Östergötland case studies it can be viewed as a marginal difference. It can also be noted that the broader picture shows a greater presence of EU migrants in the sector in other parts of the UK. For instance, estimates prepared by the MAC suggest that in the East of England region, which includes Norfolk, transport is not included within the top five sectors with the highest share of the workforce born in an European Economic Area (EEA) country (MAC, 2018: 56). This compares with the East Midlands region, which borders the Eastern region, and which can generally be considered to be more accessible to other regions from the south and north of England and in which transport ranks third in the top five sectors in the region with the highest share of the workforce born in an EEA country (*ibid.*: 56). The MAC taxonomy does not follow the UK standard industrial classification and warehousing is treated separately to transport. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that the EEA born share of the workforce in warehousing is 26.2 per cent in the East Midlands (ranking it second within the top five sectors employing EEA workers in the region) and 9.1 per cent

in the Eastern region (ranking it third within the top five sectors employing EEA workers in the region (*ibid.*: 56). It could be inferred that the geographical location, and perhaps the size of the companies that constituted the Norfolk case studies, may account for the limited employment of EU migrants in these companies compared to the national picture in which transportation companies in other parts of the UK appear to have a stronger presence of EU migrant workers.

Therefore, it could be asserted that there is evidence of segmentation within the sectoral labour market as a whole, in which EU migrants are more, or increasingly, likely than indigenous workers to occupy temporary positions. In parallel, the case study findings show that while there were only limited instances of the employment of EU migrants, these people were employed on a permanent basis. This implies less evidence of a segmented labour market in the case study companies as concerns the nature of the employment relationship of EU migrants and indigenous workers.

Recruitment and training

In the Östergötland case studies, HR reps I and J observed that the permanent workforce has been fairly stable over the past five years and that there has been limited external recruitment taking place. Interestingly, both companies mentioned that there have been examples of workers initially starting on a temporary contract before going on to become permanent employees. This is a way for the company to assess how a worker performs before deciding whether to offer a permanent contract. The situation appears to be different in company H with the main reason for recruiting permanent employees being to replace those that are retiring.

Prior experience and knowledge of the sector was not found to be a particularly important characteristic that HR reps I and J look for when they are recruiting workers. It was also only indirectly referred to by HR rep H in relation to the practice of recruiting people that the company has worked with previously or that have been recommended. Despite this, HR reps H and J both alluded to the fairly high-skilled nature of the work in the sector, which suggests that workers are expected to have a certain level of competence and/or qualification upon entering a company. One example would be holding an appropriate level of driving licence for the vehicle that a worker is expected to be able to drive.

Supporting this assertion is the finding that of the Östergötland case studies it is only in company H where it was mentioned that workers have the opportunity to take part in further training. This appears to be primarily targeted towards drivers, but it was noted that warehouse workers receive training so that they can also work as drivers, if the need arises. This returns to the notion of there being an element of functional flexibility among workers in company H. Contrary to this, in company J it can be noted that there are no career development plans or established progression routes and training was not referred to as being offered to workers in company I. One explanation for the apparent lack of training and progression opportunities in companies I and J could be their size relative to company H. With its 110 workers, company H is almost twice the size of company J (62 workers) and substantially bigger than company I (5 workers). Therefore, it could be inferred that the size and corresponding structure of company H may result in more progression opportunities and levels that workers can advance through, whereas this is less likely in smaller organisations like companies I and J.

It appears as though there is no ILM structure in companies I and J and that this can be attributed to the size of the companies and their fairly flat hierarchy. While there is evidence of training and progression opportunities in company H, it could be inferred that this reflects aspects of a truncated form of ILM as this training appears to be about fostering functional flexibility, rather than to facilitate progression to a higher position per se. This echoes Wachter's (1974: 639) assertion that due to the availability of skilled jobs not necessarily corresponding with the supply of skilled workers, there may not be systematic promotion prospects as a result of undertaking training. It was also inferred by the researcher in chapter five that this scenario may be more pronounced in smaller companies, which appears to be exemplified in the case study findings.

It can also be noted that the Salaried Employee Agreement for the Transportation Industry (2013-2016) provides that "all employees have the right and responsibility to develop continuously in their work. The company shall create the preconditions herefor" (*ibid.*: 49). In this regard, an interview with a representative of an organisation that provides training to people in the transportation and storage sector (SE transport education rep) revealed that the sectoral employers' organisation and trade union representing blue collar workers specifically created this organisation to provide vocational education and training to workers in the sector. The organisation has a particular role in supporting training provision for smaller companies who have less resources for this. It was also noted that the social partners jointly own this organisation and help to determine the curricula while it is primarily the companies that decide who receives training.

As concerns the Norfolk case studies, a similar pattern emerges in terms of all the respondents commenting that their companies have a relatively stable permanent

workforce and, therefore, that external recruitment is fairly limited. When external recruitment is undertaken it is usually for temporary workers, as above. However, companies K, M and N also referred to hiring workers on a permanent basis. This tends to be when someone leaves the company, or in the case of company N as it is expanding its staff again having made redundancies during the economic downturn.

In terms of the extent to which companies take into account qualifications and prior experience when recruiting permanently, there is a more mixed picture coming from the Norfolk case studies as well as some similarities with the findings in Östergötland. The discussion around the use of EU migrant workers in companies L and M already revealed that, on the occasions when EU migrants applied for jobs, they have not been taken on because they lacked the relevant qualifications and prior experience that the respective HR reps considered were needed. More broadly, it could be inferred that in some occupations, notably driving, the entry requirements to work in the transportation and storage sector are higher than was found to be the case in the food manufacturing sector. For example, drivers need to be qualified and to hold the appropriate driving licence. On the other hand, production operatives in a food manufacturing company do not particularly need prior experience or a qualification to perform their tasks.

The findings show that this is the situation that emerges from company K where it was noted that an applicant would be expected to have the relevant driving licence for the lorry or forklift that they would be driving. At the same time, if an applicant does not have previous experience of the sector this is not necessarily a barrier to their recruitment, but the comments made by HR rep K appear to suggest that someone with prior experience would be a preferred option. HR rep N noted that while it was not fundamental that

applicants already have the relevant qualifications at the time of applying, it does depend on the job that is being applied for and, it would appear, is to be seen in the context of the training that the company is willing to provide. In this regard, it could be further inferred that a company will be unlikely to train a temporary worker, unless they are set to be recruited permanently. Related to this, employers may be reluctant to train EU migrants if they have the impression that they will not stay in the company for a prolonged period of time.

This being said, and contrary to the picture that emerges from the Östergötland case studies, training opportunities were identified as fairly common practice in the Norfolk case studies. For instance, training provision for permanent employees was reported in all the Norfolk case study companies, mostly as concerns attaining a certain level of driving licence. However, in general there does not appear to be a particularly prominent relationship between undertaking training and internal progression.

HR rep K commented that the training provided to their drivers enables them to maintain their Certificate of Professional Competence. Therefore, this training is about maintaining the required standards, rather than about progression, as such. It was also noted that drivers, and those that are EU migrants in particular, do not tend to ask about promotion or progression opportunities in company K. In company L it was said that there are no real progression prospects due to the size of the company. In company N it was reported that while there are opportunities for internal progression, such as from a driver to a mechanic, these positions do not become available all that often and so it could be inferred that undertaking training to be a mechanic does not necessarily mean that someone will

immediately be promoted to that role upon completing their training, unless a vacancy is available.

The main exception is company M, which is the second largest of the Norfolk companies, and which does have a policy of trying to attract young inexperienced and low-skilled workers that are eager to learn the business and to work their way up within the company. In this case, training opportunities, such as to acquire a certain level of driving licence, are used as a way to attract and retain staff. This supports the assertion that companies are willing to provide training to people that are going to stay in the company and to develop there.

The Norfolk findings identify a notable association between the size of a company, the provision of training, and the opportunities for career progression upon completing additional training. This is further evidenced in the UK context through reference to data collected from another representative of a national cross-sectoral trade union organisation working in the transportation and storage sector (UK union rep 3) who commented that “bigger firms are more likely to invest than the smaller ones. Lots of smaller firms are so much on margins that they are just concentrating on survival, rather than investing in training”. This corroborates the comments made by HR rep L in relation to being a small company that tries to keep its costs down. In this respect training can be an additional cost for companies and may not always be viewed by employers as an investment. The situation could be viewed slightly differently in the Östergötland case study companies due to the provisions in the collective agreement. In this regard it can be noted that on-the-job training was implied in company I, the smallest of the Östergötland companies with five employees, but it is unclear how this corresponds with the collective agreement.

Overall, the Norfolk case study findings could be viewed as converging with those from the Östergötland case studies in terms of demonstrating no, or limited, evidence of an ILM structure. Whereas training is evident in the four Norfolk case study companies, the opportunities that this brings appears to be restricted by the fairly small size of the companies and consequently there is also no systemic perspective towards promotion, which returns to Wachter's (1974: 639) assertions around this issue, which were elaborated in chapter five. Company M could, potentially, be viewed as an exception as this company attempts to recruit some of its workers at the lowest level and puts in place a framework that enables them to work their way up within the company. It was also noted by HR rep M that management level positions are filled through promoting from within, rather than an external recruitment. Therefore, it could be considered that this constitutes evidence of a traditional ILM.

Looking at the wider recruitment trends in the sector, a report by the UK Commission for Employment and Skills has found that "60 per cent of all goods (are) moved by road" in the UK (Winters *et al.*, 2014: 5). Moreover, although it has not come through particularly strongly in the Norfolk case study findings, a survey by ManpowerGroup (2016) has revealed that drivers are the second hardest job to fill in the UK. This can be, *inter alia*, due to a lack of available applicants or no applicants, or a lack of experience. Another report by the Freight Transport Association (2017: 4) suggests that there is also a shortage of around 52.000 drivers in the UK. One of the consequences of these developments is an increase in the employment of EU migrant drivers (for light goods vehicles - LGV), which has increased by 11.000 people between 2016 and 2017. Therefore, EU migrants now account for 14 per cent of LGV drivers in the UK. Within this, A8 nationals account for 10 per cent

of the EU migrant workforce (*ibid.*: 9). The Recruitment and Employment Confederation (2010: 6) has also noted that companies are looking to hire migrants and to encourage more women into the sector in order to address driver shortages that stem from high turnover as a result of the low-wage and long hours nature of the work.

These reports suggest that there is a quantitative demand for labour in the sector. Moreover, it appears as though EU migrants are playing an increasingly prominent role in addressing this demand. This is in line with the comments made by UK union rep 2 and the previously mentioned MAC assessment (2018: 56). At the same time, these observations convey a different situation to the one that was portrayed in the earlier discussion of the limited use of EU migrants in the Norfolk case studies. Therefore, the case study findings may not be representative of the wider labour market situation in this sector in the UK. The seemingly growing reliance on EU migrants to fill positions as drivers returns to the earlier notion of segmentation within the wider sectoral labour market in the UK.

Workplace regulation

The findings from companies H, I and J in Sweden show that the context for workplace regulation is provided by the sectoral collective agreements that are negotiated by the representative organisations of employers and unions for the transport sector. Additionally, in the case of companies H and J reference was made to concluding workplace level agreements. In all three cases it was mentioned that the majority of the workforce are members of a trade union.

It has been noted that collective agreements are the method through which wage levels are established in Sweden (The Swedish Trade Union Confederation, 2011: 2). As such, there is no statutory minimum wage, as is the case in the UK. However, one issue that was discussed during the interview with SE union rep 1 was the potential for introducing such a minimum wage in the transport sector. The reasons given by SE union rep 1 for why this might be an option for this particular sector were in order to counter the deregulation that has stemmed from the EU level and the difficulties that unions have in organising workers. However, it was commented that this is not the approach that the union wants to take to regulate pay. It would rather that this is negotiated between the labour market actors. SE union rep 1 commented “that's been our decision. It's been the preferred decision. It's part of the target with social partners. It is something that should be negotiated collectively between two parties.”

It was elaborated in the previous chapter how the generally high level of membership of employers' organisations in Sweden is boosting the coverage of collective agreements and fostering a good industrial relations climate, even though union membership is falling overall. Therefore, it could be inferred that even if unions find it difficult to recruit members in the transportation and storage sector, for example due to the amount of time that workers are away, in the case of drivers, and/or due to the use of temporary workers, the fact that the companies are members of an employers' organisation means that they need to respect the sectoral collective agreement.

An additional issue to consider is that a high level of self-employed drivers has been identified in the sector in Sweden. The SE transport union rep highlighted the challenges that this can bring from a labour market regulation perspective. “The most problematic

sector is the trailer trucks, the short loading capacity. They were very much outside the union, outside the employers' organisation, very much one car driver self-employed... they own their truck" (SE transport union rep). In addition, the same representative referred to the lower levels of union membership in the smaller companies, of which there can also be a lot in this sector. Together, these two aspects can make it difficult for the union to recruit and organise workers in this sector.

In the Norfolk case studies, companies K, L, M and N do not have a recognition agreement with a trade union. Moreover, the findings report that there has been no such request for this. Only in the case of company N was it mentioned that some of the workers are members of a trade union. However, a point of commonality can be identified with the findings from Sweden in relation to the challenges that unions face in recruiting members in small companies in the sector. It has been noted that the Norfolk case study companies are all fairly small-scale operations and this may have an impact on the nature of workplace relations and the propensity to have a recognition agreement with a trade union. For example, in smaller companies in which there may be more opportunities for direct interaction between the management/owner and the staff, a union presence may not be regarded by either side as being so relevant. Additionally, UK union rep 2 commented that there has been an increase in the number of smaller companies in the sector, which has meant that it is harder for unions to recruit and organise workers and to establish recognition agreements.

Smaller to medium sized businesses, if they need to get a parcel from A to B they use a different sort of route now. Some companies have their own drivers in house so to speak... Now very much heading to a third phase where these bigger companies are breaking down and smaller to medium operations are filling the gap (UK union rep 2).

As concerns regulating the employment of temporary workers, UK union rep 2 elaborated that it was the union's hope that the transposition of the EU Directive on temporary agency workers would have "put an end to short terms of turnover and lack of permanent jobs" in the sector, but this has not proved to be the case. This is notably due to the Swedish derogation (see chapter seven), which UK union rep 2 considers has encouraged temporary employment at the expense of permanent employment. It was further commented that UK unions have worked hard to establish this legislation in the UK, which was introduced as the Agency Workers Regulations, but with seemingly limited success in the transportation and storage sector (UK union rep 2).

As has been noted, it is the Swedish derogation in the EU temporary and agency workers directive that UK union rep 2 considers detrimental to workers in the UK transport sector in terms of the possibility to exempt them from equal pay and conditions after 12 weeks, but with the possibility to earn pay between assignments. This appears to be akin to the approach in the Swedish recruitment industry whereby an open-ended contract is routinely used, but without being viewed as being to the detriment of people that work under such an arrangement. It was noted by SE agency rep 1 and SE union rep 1 that the EU legislation on temporary agency workers had not had much impact in Sweden due to the existing regulatory provisions and that unions and employers appear to be satisfied with this. This highlights the differences in national regulatory approaches in the two countries, irrespective of operating under the same EU Directive.

The comments by UK union rep 2 about the importance that the union places on the EU legislation also serve to exemplify the continued relevance of the point that was raised in chapter four about the importance that the TUC has put on EU level social policy since the

1980s (Ackers, 2005: 2012). The protection of workers' rights was also one of the key reasons why the trade union movement to back the UK remaining in the EU during the 2016 referendum campaign (TUC, 2015).

The case study and national level data also raised some regulatory issues in relation to the growing digitalisation of the sector. In this regard the findings from companies H and N highlighted the role that technology now plays in enabling the companies and the customers to monitor drivers. Notably, this includes where they are and when they have made a delivery or picked up a new load; the speed they are travelling at; and how long their rest breaks are. In both companies it was noted that these aspects have a health and safety and an efficiency dimension with technology considered to have improved these aspects in both companies. UK union rep 3 also commented that transport management systems have meant that drivers are “coming under scrutiny in a way that they had never done before”.

HR reps H and N also commented on how technology is impacting upon warehouse operations in terms of knowing where an item is being stored and when it arrives or leaves the warehouse. Warehouse tasks typically involve picking, packing, loading and unloading goods and can be physically demanding (Occupational Focus, 2014). The growing use of new technology in the sector means that the job of a warehouse operative is increasingly shaped by warehouse management software. For example, this can involve “voice-directed warehousing whereby workers use headsets and register tasks via speech recognition programmes” (*ibid.*). The use of software and data recording also means that it is possible to monitor the performance of pickers in terms of how quickly and accurately they are working (UK union rep 3).

It was also specifically mentioned in relation to company H in Östergötland that technology had gradually reduced the number of staff needed in the warehouse by about 25 per cent compared to ten years ago. The reduction of warehouse staff appears to be a wider issue in Sweden with the SE transport union rep commenting that “new technology with heavier loads, bigger trucks, has diminished the need of trucks and workers in the warehouse”. There was no such assessment provided by HR rep N on the impact on the number of jobs in that company, but it could be inferred that there may also have been a reduction or re-deployment of staff in certain areas of the company’s operations over time.

This assertion in relation to company N is supported to some extent through reference to the interview data collected from UK union rep 3 in which it was commented that the greater use of new technology has impacted on the number of workers that are required in the sector, particularly in warehousing operations, and on the nature of the work. As concerns the impact on the level of employment, it was noted that the progressive introduction of technology is “a classic substitution of capital and labour” in which the medium-skilled jobs in particular are being removed from the sector (UK union rep 3). In relation to the nature of the work, UK union rep 3 observed that the workers “have a device in the warehouse telling them what they are going to pick, tell them which bay to go to. Even at the moment we are seeing some of that done by robots now as well so that's de-skilled. Where people carried information in their head – bay, location, stuff like that they learnt - all that has been taken away and they are told where to go to”. In parallel, there is a growing demand for people with a high level of technical skills to programme the software that runs the machines and to interpret and analyse the data that is collected from the warehouse and the monitoring of drivers (UK union rep 3).

At the same time, analysis of UK Labour Force Survey data for the period 2004 and 2014 shows that employment growth among warehouse workers was greater than the overall national average for employment growth over the same period (Occupational Focus: 2014). This suggests that despite the growing impact of new technology in the sector it does not appear to have negatively impacted upon employment when viewed from the national level. One explanation for this is that technology has also led to a boom in online shopping and an increased volume in individual parcels that need to be stored and distributed from warehouses and delivered by drivers (UK union rep 3). So, in this way, technology could be said to have increased the demand for labour in the sector in the UK.

Finally, it was noted in the discussion around recruitment and training that workers in the sector in the UK tend to earn the minimum wage or just above. The plethora of non-unionised small businesses in the sector was further highlighted by UK union rep 2 as having the potential to undercut the terms and conditions of union members in the bigger or traditional companies. Specifically, it was commented that “we don't want to see our members' terms and conditions undercut or driven down by other pressures in the market, it's true across all sectors but it's particularly true in this sector because of that nature and make up” (UK union rep 2).

This returns to Devitt's (2011: 568) assertion, which was also discussed in the previous chapter, that there is likely to be a greater demand for migrant workers in less regulated economies and sectors because migrants are more willing to accept lower employment standards than indigenous workers. Taking into account the notion that labour market regulation is weaker in the UK than it is in Sweden, it would be expected that there will be

a stronger presence of EU migrant workers in the UK transportation and storage sector than in the Swedish sector. In this respect, the analysis of the case study findings shows that the presence of EU migrant workers in this sector is fairly limited in both countries. Nevertheless, data gathered from the national level actors suggests that there is a wider presence of EU migrants in the sector in the two countries. In Sweden this is evidenced in relation to east European drivers that are performing multiple operations under the EU cabotage directive and in the UK by the apparent demand for EU migrants, especially from the A8 countries, in response to a shortage of drivers.

In the Swedish context, it has been observed in the data collected from HR rep H and SE transport union rep that the EU migrants operating under the cabotage provisions do seemingly work for less than Swedish drivers. However, this is because they fall outside the scope of the applicable collective agreement while also seemingly remaining longer in Sweden than they are permitted to do or exploiting a loophole in the EU directive. Therefore, it is difficult to conclude that these migrants are operating in Sweden due to a lack of Swedish regulation per se. In the UK context, it appears that EU migrants are more willing to accept the long and sometimes unsociable working hours and periods away from home that are characteristic of working in transportation and storage related jobs, therefore conferring with Devitt's assertion.

Summary

This chapter has presented and analysed the case study findings in the transportation and storage sector in Östergötland and Norfolk. It has identified that although EU migrants only appear to play a marginal role in the Norfolk case study companies and none at all in

the Östergötland companies, the picture is seemingly very different at the national level. This is evidenced in different ways in the two countries with EU migrants being more prominent as self-employed drivers in Sweden, including as bogus-self-employed, and associated with a failure to adhere to the EU cabotage directive. In the UK, there is a quantitative demand for EU migrants, which stems from a shortage of UK drivers.

It has been observed that training opportunities are rather limited in the Östergötland case study companies with only company H appearing to offer any training to its workers. It is also interesting to note that this training is with a view to enabling workers to be functionally flexible, rather than for accessing a higher position per se. Conversely, training is more prominent in the Norfolk companies with all HR representatives reporting that there are training opportunities. This appears to be a mix of on-the-job, company-specific training and more general training, such as attaining a particular level of driving licence.

Finally, the nature of labour market regulation is very different and reflects the characteristics of the two countries' industrial relations systems. In Sweden the role of collective agreements has been noted across different areas of the comparative analysis. This contrasts with the Norfolk case study companies of which none of the four are unionised. At the same time, the challenge of recruiting and organising workers has been identified as common to both countries.

Drawing on the research findings from this and the previous chapter, the next chapter will seek to assess the extent of labour market regulation in the two countries and the relationship between labour segmentation and the employment of EU migrant workers.

9. Assessment of research outcomes

Introduction

Building on the previous two chapters, this chapter aims to draw together the information and analysis from the respective sectors so as to attempt to answer the research question. In doing so the discussion will be divided into two parts; the first will look at the nature and extent of labour market segmentation in the two sectors to see if they may be characterised as segmented. The second will consider if there is a concentration of EU migrant workers in each sector and their corresponding occupations as a result of labour market segmentation.

Chapter five outlined a number of factors that result in, or contribute to, labour market segmentation. These are: the contractual nature of the employment relationship; the nature and extent of employment regulation, which can be extended to the wider functioning of the industrial relations system; employers' demand for, and use of, migrant labour; the presence of an internal labour market structure within a company, including company-specific training policies; and an insider-outsider labour market structure. The case study findings and analysis will be discussed in relation to these factors in order to provide an assessment of the extent to which the sectoral labour markets in each country could be characterised as segmented. This assessment will be supported with information from the literature explored in chapters two (migration theories), three (historical patterns of migration), four (industrial relations systems) and five (labour market segmentation), as well as data from national and regional level interviews conducted in Sweden and the UK. Given this research's focus on employers' demand for EU migrant labour, an assessment

of the extent to which such workers may contribute to segmentation in the sectoral labour markets will be incorporated into the last part of this chapter on the demand for, and concentration of, EU migrants in the two sectors in each country.

The contractual nature of the employment relationship and the nature and extent of employment regulation

Reference was made in chapter five to Deakin's (2013: 1) assertion that segmentation results from a labour market structure that is based on different contractual forms. The extent of regulation that underpins these different contractual forms was also identified as contributing to the degree of labour market segmentation. The same discussion also noted that the nature of economic organisation and the political and social policy environment in a country at any given time impacts on the approach that is taken to labour market regulation. This includes the role of the respective industrial relations actors and the level of influence that they have on labour market regulation.

Sweden can typically be characterised as a CME and has what is generally regarded to be one of the more strongly regulated labour markets in the EU through its use of collective agreements (Devitt, 2011: 568). It was noted in chapter four that despite changes to the level and nature of regulation, the Swedish labour market is still regulated through a bi-partite approach between trade unions and employers' organisations and the collective agreements that are concluded at sectoral and workplace level. The discussion in chapters seven and eight also identified the role that collective agreements play in regulating temporary employment and that this form of work is not seen as a low-skill, low-pay

alternative to permanent employment, as is the impression that appears to emerge in some sectors in the UK, despite the provisions of the 2010 Agency Workers Regulations.

Nevertheless, analysis of the literature and statistical data in chapter five suggested that there is the potential for a developing trend towards labour market segmentation in Sweden. In particular, Yoon and Chung (2016: 215) argued that there could be the heightened potential for segmentation to occur in CMEs, such as Sweden, through the use of different contractual forms as a response to what employers perceive to be labour market rigidity. This point is also evidenced through data collected from a representative in the Östergötland regional office of a national organisation for recruitment agencies in Sweden (SE agency rep 2) who commented that

because the economy has gradually changed from production of goods to production of services (there) is also a change in the business when it comes to size, knowledge and skills and the need for more rapid changes in the needs of man-hours, faster deliveries, deliveries at all hours. This means greater uncertainty for providers of goods and services, thus increasing the need for the number of short-term contracts and increased need for personnel at peak (times) (SE agency rep 2).

It can also be recalled that reference was made in chapter five to Likic-Brboric *et al.* (2013: 688) and Woolfson *et al.* (2013: 699) who respectively highlighted the potential for the development of labour market segmentation in Sweden as a result of a growing presence of EU migrants and informal work practices and the limitations of collective bargaining in regulating the labour market following the Laval case.

Conversely, it was observed that the UK labour market, which is characterised as an LME, could already be viewed as segmented as a result of the drive for deregulation and flexibility that began in the 1970s and 1980s. This approach was discussed in chapter four in relation to MacKenzie and Martinez Lucio's (2014: 198) notion of the colonisation of the regulatory environment, the marginalisation of trade unions and a more management centred approach. This was exemplified through the introduction of HRM, which took the emphasis away from collective agreements negotiated by the industrial relations actors. It was also exemplified in relation to the significance that successive UK governments have put on legislation and a minimum rights approach (Marsh, 1991: 297), (UK Government, 1998: 2). Consequently, the UK labour market can be evaluated as being more lightly regulated when compared with the Swedish labour market.

It was also asserted in chapter five that the use of a variety of contractual arrangements may be helping to sustain an already segmented labour market structure in the UK. At the same time, European Commission (b) data (2016: 3) suggested that there were lower levels of temporary work in the UK than in Sweden. Thus, it was postulated that it would also be important to assess the extent of labour market segmentation in the UK through looking at the type of workers occupying certain jobs in particular sectors in addition to the nature of the contractual relationship.

Looking at the food manufacturing sector, the findings in Östergötland and Norfolk suggest that temporary employment is an important labour market feature. At the same time, notable distinctions have been identified between the two data sets in terms of the extent to which temporary workers are utilised and who these workers are.

In Östergötland, it was found that temporary workers are utilised when there are increases in product demand and to cover peak holiday periods and that students tend to be the main source of temporary workers, particularly during the summer period and other holiday times. There may be other workers that also come into the companies on a temporary basis and these are sourced locally. Additionally, the role of temporary EU migrants in company A is a specific example of how such workers are used to fill skilled occupations where there is a shortage of indigenous Swedish workers. It has been asserted that there is an ongoing qualitative demand for skilled workers in meat cutting roles in the meat processing side of the Swedish food manufacturing sector. Therefore, the use of temporary EU migrants is not a response to labour market rigidity, or high employment protection legislation associated with permanent contracts, but with a lack of sufficiently skilled labour on the Swedish labour market, relative to employers' needs. The findings also demonstrate the important role played by collective agreements and the provisions covering employees and temporary agency workers. The one area in which the extent of regulation may be questioned is when EU migrants are employed by an agency in their country of origin and, therefore, do not fall under the Swedish collective agreement, as was implied in the case of company A. However, this situation was seen to be addressed through the actions that are being taken to reduce the company's dependence on temporary EU migrants. This includes attempting to hire these workers permanently and up-skilling existing employees to work as meat cutters. Reference was made in chapter seven to a report by Bevelander and Irastorza (2014: 4), which noted the potential for the Swedish labour market, as a whole, to become more segmented as a result of people, notably migrants, that are in temporary work being confined to these positions. However, this was not substantiated in the case study findings.

On balance, it does not appear as though the nature of contractual arrangements and the regulatory environment in Sweden are particularly prominent factors contributing towards labour market segmentation in the food manufacturing case study companies in Östergötland.

In the Norfolk case studies, temporary agency workers are also viewed as an important means through which companies can achieve their desired levels of flexibility in response to fluctuations in demand for their products. Students play some role in meeting this demand and also help to provide cover for the permanent employees during the summer holiday period. A notable point of distinction compared to the companies in Östergötland is the role that EU migrants play in meeting companies' demand for a numerically flexible workforce. It can also be noted that the Norfolk companies operate a temporary to permanent approach, which suggests that temporary work can act as a way for low-skilled or inexperienced EU migrants, as well as indigenous workers, to enter a company and to work their way up, if that is what they are looking to do. In this regard it might be considered that there is an established transition route between temporary and permanent employment in the four case study companies, particularly given the apparent quantitative demand for workers that these companies have. However, not all temporary workers – EU or indigenous UK workers – are likely to have the opportunity to obtain a permanent contract. Indeed, the case study findings could be said to point towards a core-periphery structure within these companies, as outlined in Atkinson's (1984) flexible firm model, in so far as there is a group of temporary or peripheral workers providing numerical flexibility in parallel to a group of permanent employees that could be viewed as comprising the core workforce. In this respect, the core-periphery distinction is determined according to the nature of the contractual arrangement, while noting that there is the

possibility for some workers to transition from temporary to permanent employment. At the same time, chapter five noted that temporary and part-time workers may be viewed as performing core functions, despite being employed under a peripheral or contingent contractual arrangement (Buultjens and Luckie, 1997, in Dyer, 1998: 229), (Lovering, 1990: 17). This notion was substantiated in the analysis of the case study findings and could be viewed as evidence of labour market segmentation. Furthermore, a pattern emerged from the case study findings whereby EU migrants often appear to be concentrated in temporary, secondary sector positions, at least when they initially enter a company, and irrespective of whether they are performing a core task. This implies additional evidence of a segmented labour market and is compounded by limited opportunities for further training, unless they are taken on permanently. It could also be inferred that some workers will remain in the secondary sector, even if they go on to become permanently employed and to undertake additional training.

Turning to the transportation and storage sector, the data for both countries shows that temporary work is also a feature of employment in this sector. At the same time, the findings suggest that the volume of temporary workers in the case study companies appears to be fairly limited, even though the use of temporary workers to provide numerical flexibility was raised by all seven companies. Therefore, temporary work appears to be a less prominent characteristic in this sector than it was for the food manufacturing sector in the two countries.

Subsequently, in the context of the Östergötland case studies, it could be suggested that the use of temporary workers to achieve a numerically flexible workforce is not a particularly prominent factor in contributing to labour market segmentation in the sector. In parallel, it

has been observed that there is seemingly a high concentration of self-employed drivers, including around 1000 bogus self-employed EU migrant drivers operating in the sector (Thörnquist, 2013: 22). These workers often act independently and fall outside the scope of a collective agreement. Consequently, these workers could be said to be contributing to an element of labour market segmentation within the sectoral labour market in Sweden, even though this was not particularly strongly reflected in the case study findings in Östergötland.

While a similar picture emerges from the Norfolk case studies as concerns a relatively limited use of temporary workers, the national interview data suggests that the prevalence of temporary workers, a growing proportion of which are EU migrants, in the wider UK transportation and storage sector is much more significant. In this vein, UK union rep 1 observed that the growing number of temporary workers is leading to a reduction in permanent jobs. The result appears to be the emergence of a peripheral labour force in which temporary EU migrants, particularly those in the storage (warehousing) occupations, are occupying low-skilled, un-specialised and low-paid roles. This implies that there is a concentration of such workers in lower-end positions with limited job security and supports the assertion that this is helping to sustain a segmented labour market structure. Additionally, it has been identified that EU migrants are increasingly being used to respond to the shortage of drivers among the indigenous workforce, both as temporary and permanent workers. Therefore, as for the food manufacturing sector in Norfolk, there is evidence of segmentation as a result of temporary and permanent workers performing similar (core) tasks, but under different contractual arrangements. This also exemplifies the challenge of defining core and peripheral workers, as was noted in the critique of the flexible firm model in chapter five and in chapters seven and eight.

The distinction between the Norfolk case study findings and the use of temporary workers in the wider sector suggests that the case study findings may not be considered as representative of the situation in the sector more broadly. This could partly be attributed to the relatively small-scale of the case study companies. The fairly rural location of some of the companies, combined with Norfolk's distance from the country's main transport hubs and routes may also account for an atypical set of findings. For example, Norfolk is around two and a half to three hours drive from the "Golden Rectangle" of Milton Keynes, Daventry, Northampton and Rugby, so-called because "almost the whole of the UK can be reached from there by road in 24 hours" (REC, 2010: 8).

While it was found that companies K and L are members of The Pallet Network and that they distribute freight within Norfolk from the hub in the Midlands, they do not have sizeable warehouse operations themselves. For example, it can be recalled that company K, the largest of the Norfolk case study companies, has two people working in its warehouse. Therefore, it could be inferred that inexperienced and low-skilled EU migrants that do not have a relevant driving licence are more likely to be able to access work in the warehouses and larger road transport companies that are to be found in the Golden Rectangle, rather than in the smaller-scale companies in Norfolk. It can also be noted that the Midlands area has "some of the highest paid warehouse operators in Europe" (REC, 2010: 8), which could further act as a pull factor encouraging EU migrants to look for work in this part of the country. This also ties in with the classification in the MAC taxonomy (2018: 56), which was elaborated in chapter eight and which shows that transport is the sector with the third highest share of EEA migrants in the East Midlands (the Golden Rectangle area),

while warehousing ranks second within the top five sectors employing EEA workers in the region (Migration Advisory Committee, 2018: 56).

This analysis suggests that there is evidence purporting to labour market segmentation in this sector in the UK as a whole, even if this was not demonstrated in the Norfolk case study findings. It also suggests that there are some similarities with the situation in the wider sector in Sweden in terms of EU migrants contributing to a segmented labour market structure, even if the way in which this occurs is different in the two countries.

An internal labour market

An internal labour market (ILM) structure draws together aspects related to a company's approach to recruitment and training as well as touching upon labour market and workplace regulation. From a recruitment perspective, it was assessed in chapter five that ILMs reduce labour turnover and traditionally foster the practice of promoting from within to fill medium to higher level positions, while the external labour market (ELM) is used to address the demand for lower-skilled workers. It was also noted through reference to Lovering (1990: 13) that a dual ELM has emerged with a secondary and elite component. This can result in people in the elite ELM being directly employed in the higher level positions in companies. In parallel, a truncated ILM structure was identified as replacing the traditional one that was based on career ladders and seniority (*ibid.*: 14). Consequently, workers coming from the elite ELM may be said to limit the progression opportunities of workers lower down in a company.

Closely linked to this is the role of training with Doeringer and Piore (1971: 13) asserting that skill specificity and on-the-job training are among the main factors incorporated into the ILM structure. In this regard, it has been observed that ILMs protect workers from the competition for jobs that exists in the ELM (Loveridge and Mok, 1979: 6). Therefore, training could enhance a worker's prospects for internal company mobility for those working in an ILM structure, while simultaneously being detrimental to the employment prospects of workers on the ELM. Thus, it appears that ILMs can be both a cause of, and a solution to, labour market segmentation. In this respect, it has been observed through reference to Loveridge and Mok (1980: 400) (see chapter five) that there is a perceived lack of detail about how ILMs are established and maintained and that this can be an important factor in considering the nature and extent of labour market segmentation and the role that ILMs play in this regard. Notably, this concerns the decisions taken by management and/or unions (and their workplace representatives) within companies, depending on the industrial relations practice in the company and sector concerned. Therefore, how an ILM is structured is likely to impact upon the extent to which it may contribute to, or help overcome, segmentation within a company. Below is an assessment of the extent to which ILMs are present in the two sets of case study data in each sector and, in turn, whether they are a contributory factor of labour market segmentation.

The findings from the food manufacturing case studies in Östergötland appear to convey a mixed picture of the extent to which an ILM structure can be identified. Analysis of the findings shows that there are opportunities in all three companies for workers to take part in training and for blue collar workers to be promoted from a production operative role to be a team leader, which is consistent with the characteristics of an ILM. At the same time, in two of the three companies (A and B) the training that is provided is also intended to

foster workers' functional flexibility, rather than with a view to progressing to a higher position per se. It has also been seen that the training itself could be described as a mix of company and sector-specific and that in some cases this is on-the-job training and in others it takes place outside of the workplace with a school or university that is partnered with the companies. Even if not exclusively on-the-job, such training represents a strong tie with the company, sector and, in some cases, a specific occupation and could be viewed as an evolution of the way in which companies provide training to their workers. It was also noted that external recruitment plays an important role in companies A and C in the sourcing of skilled employees and specialist knowledge. Therefore, while companies do recruit externally to fill lower level roles, both permanently and temporarily, external recruitment is not only used for this purpose.

Therefore, the hiring of low-skilled workers from outside the company and who subsequently work their way up to higher level positions appears to be evident, to some extent, in the three Östergötland case studies. This is specifically associated with advancing to the position of team leader, which could be interpreted as a mid-level position within a company. In parallel, no reference was made to progression to a high level, management position. Consequently, the identified components of an ILM, where present, suggest that this has a truncated form with the ELM being used to fill specialist and senior level management positions. Therefore, there is mixed evidence of an ILM structure in the three companies and analysis of the case study findings alone suggests that it is difficult to determine with any real certainty whether this is contributing to segmentation within them. In this regard, it can also be recalled that there is a strong element of sectoral, and sometimes workplace level, regulation through collective agreements and it could be asserted that these agreements between employers and unions may help to structure the

components of an ILM, where it exists, in a way that will minimise the potential for segmentation within a company. An example of this could be the workplace level agreement that was concluded in company A, which provides for the up-skilling of existing employees to work in skilled shortage occupations instead of hiring temporary EU migrants from abroad.

Looking at the Norfolk case studies it could be said there is stronger evidence of an ILM structure in all the companies than was the case for those in Östergötland. Firstly, it has been noted that all four Norfolk companies take a temporary to permanent approach to recruiting workers in which temporary agency workers, who are often EU migrants, are brought in to fill lower skilled roles, typically as production operatives. If these workers perform well, and if there are opportunities for permanent recruitment, these people are the ones that the companies look to hire. In turn, it was found that on-the-job training is available in each company and that there are opportunities for people to work their way up to become team leaders or supervisors with promotion from within seemingly being the preferred option when it comes to filling such mid-level roles. Additionally, it was noted for companies D and E that workers can be promoted to management level positions. At the same time, these companies as well as companies A and C in Östergötland also use agencies to recruit more highly skilled workers, such as engineers. Therefore, external recruitment is not only used for lower level positions, even though this appears to be the case for the majority of the time. Finally, turnover among the permanent workforce in the four Norfolk companies was noted as being fairly low. In the case of company F, an explicit link was made between the provision of training and increased worker commitment. The use of the ELM by companies A, C, D and E to recruit highly skilled workers deviates from the established ILM characteristics and could be viewed as further

supporting Lovering's (1990: 13) notion of a dual ELM from which some workers directly enter higher level positions from the elite sector of the ELM, while other workers in the secondary sector of the ELM move into work in the lower, entry level positions.

The findings from the Norfolk case studies suggest that there is evidence of an ILM structure in the food manufacturing companies and that this may be considered to be contributing to segmentation, to varying degrees. This primarily stems from the use of temporary workers to fill low-skilled positions. It is also notable that it tends to be EU migrants occupying these roles, even if they may be well educated and skilled in their own countries. The recurrent use of EU migrants in this way could be said to help sustain a segmented labour market structure in this sector. However, once inside a company, and if recruited permanently, there is the potential for EU migrants to advance their standing and this is how an ILM could help to overcome the segmentation of the migrant workforce within individual companies. It has been noted that such advancement is typically to mid-level positions such as supervisor or team leader, which suggests evidence of a truncated ILM structure, especially in companies F and G. However, there is also evidence of a traditional structure in companies D and E.

In parallel, it was noted in chapter five that ILMs can also help to overcome segmentation by facilitating workers' transition from the ELM into companies and an ILM structure, in cases where it is evident. However, it can also be noted that not all workers will make the transition from temporary agency workers to permanent employees and, in the case of EU migrants, language barriers and a preference for flexible working arrangements have been identified as reasons for this. Therefore, while an ILM structure appears to be more prevalent in the Norfolk case study companies than those in Östergötland, it could be said

that there is mixed and inconclusive evidence as to whether this is contributing to labour market segmentation.

Turning to the transportation and storage sector, the Östergötland case study findings suggest that an ILM structure does not appear to be present to any notable degree in any of the three companies and that this can be associated with their fairly small size. Of the aforementioned recruitment and training characteristics, it can only be noted with any real certainty that turnover among permanent employees is generally low across these companies. However, this does not appear to be achieved through the provision of training, achieving a higher position and increased worker commitment and thus lower turnover. All three case studies identify that prior experience and knowledge of the sector are not considered to be particularly necessary, which suggests that the skills required by workers are not company or sector-specific. Indeed, it can be noted that someone with a licence to drive a lorry or a forklift truck could work in a range of sectors, such as the food manufacturing sector, for example. The limited approach to training is exemplified through the lack of career development plans or established progression routes in company J and with no training being provided at all in company I. The training that is offered in company H is associated with achieving functional flexibility, but no reference was made in the interview with HR rep H to this leading to progression within the company itself. These findings appear to concur with Wachter's (1974: 639) assertion that further training might not systematically lead to career advancement. Therefore, it is difficult to assess with any certainty if an ILM structure is evident in company H.

Additionally, it was observed in chapter five that sub-contracted workers have become an important means through which companies can achieve their desired level of flexibility and

in a cost-effective way. Such workers also tend to be non-unionised, which can further enhance the level of flexibility that employers can derive from this approach (Storey, 2005: 198). The use of sub-contracted workers was raised as a feature of the sector in Sweden, even if this was not prominent in the case study findings. Drawing a link with ILMs, MacKenzie and Martinez Lucio (2016: 15) have commented that the rise in small companies and their use of sub-contractors has resulted in a general move away from ILMs. The findings from the Östergötland case studies appear to support this assertion. Therefore, it appears that an ILM structure is not a common feature in these companies and not a factor that is contributing to segmentation.

The findings from the Norfolk case studies suggest that an ILM structure is evident in the case of company M and only to a limited extent in company N, while it does not appear to be present in companies K and L. Company M was found to have low labour turnover and limited reliance on the ELM. Coupled with this, it is the only company which stated that it aims to recruit young, low-skilled workers with a view to training them up so that they can progress within the company. In this case specific on-the-job training is provided to enable such progression to take place. It has also been noted that management level positions are filled through promoting from within, rather than an external recruitment, which suggests evidence of a traditional ILM structure. However, it could be considered that the extent to which this is the case would be constrained by the size of the company. This could also be viewed as evidence of labour market segmentation between the ELM and ILM. In company N it was found that there are progression opportunities that can result from training, although these tend to be limited, most likely due to the fairly small size of the company. While companies K and L also have low staff turnover and offer training to their workers, there does not appear to be a notable association between these features and

internal progression and workers' commitment. Similar to the Östergötland case study findings, the Norfolk findings further exemplify Wachter's (1974: 639) views around training not necessarily leading to job progression. This suggests that, overall, there is limited evidence of an ILM structure being a factor contributing to segmentation. This assessment also needs to be situated in the wider context of driver shortages and an increasing use of EU migrants, particularly from A8 countries, to respond to this demand. On this basis it could be considered that an ILM structure is less prevalent across the sector more broadly when compared with the data gathered for the food manufacturing sector.

Analysis of the case study findings in each sector and country suggest that there is more evidence to support the presence of an ILM structure in the Norfolk case studies than in those in Östergötland. This is particularly the case in the food manufacturing sector. In parallel, from a theoretical perspective, it can be noted that, contrary to Sweden, the UK, as an LME, would be expected to focus on the provision of a general skills set that is transferable between companies, rather than a company or sector-specific one, as outlined in Hall and Soskice's VoC framework (2001: 30). However, evidence from both Norfolk sectors suggests that the companies provide on-the-job training that could be considered as specific to the company, and perhaps the sector. On-the-job training was also evidenced in some of the Östergötland case study companies, mainly in the food manufacturing sector, in parallel with training that is provided in collaboration with external providers. It is difficult to make an assessment in relation to the training provided by the transportation and storage sector companies in Östergötland as this was limited to training to foster functional flexibility in company H.

It was observed in chapter five that ILMs are both a means with which management can exert control over their workers and through which they can reward their behaviour, performance and length of time in a company. Since the early work on ILMs by Doeringer and Piore, HRM has come to the fore and this has, it could be argued, changed the way in which performance is rewarded, how training is provided and, therefore, how ILMs are characterised and what role that they play in individual companies, in cases where elements of their functioning remains. In parallel, it can be noted that the changing nature of jobs in present-day labour markets, including, inter alia, as a result of digitalisation, appears to be resulting in employers seeking workers with transversal, general skills as well as occupation-specific or technical skills (European Commission, 2017: 4-5). Vocational education and training, especially at the level of secondary education, such as apprenticeships, is considered to play an important role in this respect (*ibid.*: 7).

Reflecting on this in the context of the case study findings, it could be considered that the nature of training provision and the role and characteristics of an ILM and how it functions have changed over time. This was also noted in Lovering's (1990) assertion that truncated ILMs are replacing the more traditional form and was identified in aspects of the case study findings, in cases where there was evidence of an ILM structure. The Östergötland food manufacturing case studies highlight collaboration between companies and external education and training providers as a way to train workers in parallel to providing on-the-job training. Although this approach may still foster worker commitment to the company that is providing the training, it could also be suggested that undertaking a course with an external provider may enhance the prospects that workers have to look for work on the ELM, particularly if their course is certified and recognised by other employers. Thus, contrary to Doeringer and Piore's (1971: 29) initial conception of an ILM, it could be

asserted that a wider trend has developed in which skills are becoming more transferable and labour is becoming more mobile and that this is occurring in countries that may be classified as CMEs and LMEs and, depending on the sector and/or company, is independent of an ILM structure being in place.

Insider-outsider labour market structure

The discussion in chapter five framed the notion of insiders and outsiders as those workers that are part of an ILM and those that depend on the ELM, or those that form a core or peripheral group of workers. It also discussed the role that trade unions play in recruiting and organising migrant workers in respect of working under the same terms and conditions as indigenous workers and not undercutting them (Krings, 2009: 59).

It could be considered that the initial labour market status of EU migrants, namely A8 and A2, in the host country would be that of an outsider, both in terms of their employment and contractual status – they may initially be unemployed and when they do find work this may start out as a temporary arrangement – and in terms of not being a member of a trade union. It can also be noted that trade unions find it particularly hard to recruit temporary A8 and A2 migrants. This can be for reasons associated with the fluid duration of their length of stay in a particular workplace, region or country, language barriers or a lack of understanding about the role that a trade union plays. For example, data gathered from representatives of national trade union organisations (SE union rep 1; SE food union rep; and UK union rep 3) highlighted the difficulties that unions face in recruiting EU migrants. Therefore, from a trade union membership perspective, this group of workers is also likely to be viewed as outsiders in both countries.

Putting this further into context, UK union rep 3 commented that the recruitment of EU migrants into a union is influenced by the sector and occupation that they go into and the extent to which the sector, and individual companies, are unionised. “Migrant workers tend to go into particular types of work and, therefore, their actual level of unionisation won't necessarily be exactly the same as the non-migrant population. If you get a large number of migrants coming in as self-employed then they are less likely to join the unions than if they come in as workers” (UK union rep 3). Therefore, it could be inferred that if there is a concentration of EU migrants, particularly A8 and A2, in sectors that do not tend to have high levels of union membership or unionised workplaces, they are more likely to remain as outsiders, from a trade union perspective. This notion would be further enhanced in sectors that have higher levels of temporary employment, as some of the UK data suggest is the case in the two sectors that this research has focused on.

As concerns the food manufacturing sector, data from companies A, D, E and G supports the notion that EU migrants can be viewed as outsiders in relation to their employment status and trade union membership. This is because they are usually hired on a temporary basis, at least initially, and are often found not to be members of a trade union and are not interested in joining one. However, in company F in Norfolk it was noted that eastern European migrants are being directly employed in higher level positions and not having to work their way up from being a temporary agency worker in a low-skilled role, which is the case in companies D, E and G. Therefore, it could be said that there is evidence that A8 migrants in company F are directly transitioning into an insider status in terms of the nature of the work and type of contract. However, this does not necessarily mean that they also join a trade union, even though company F is unionised and the union is on site and

trying to recruit new members. Therefore, they may still be viewed as outsiders if they do not join the union and despite being permanent employees. Similarly, company A's attempts to directly recruit EU migrants as meat cutters, rather than relying on temporary EU migrants, would see them become insiders in terms of the type of contract that they have and subsequently falling under the provisions of the collective agreement, even if they are not a trade union member.

As concerns the labour market status of EU migrant workers in the transportation and storage sector, it might be thought that, in the UK context, this category of workers is more likely to be viewed as outsiders, particularly if, as UK union rep 1 and UK agency rep 1 suggested, they do tend to comprise the temporary workforce in this particular sector. However, while this reflects the national perspective, it has not been evidenced in the case study companies in Norfolk. In the few cases where EU migrants are working in the companies it is as permanent employees and they could, therefore, be viewed as insiders, at least in terms of their contractual status, if not union membership.

An additional factor from the analysis of the national level data is the impact that the size of a company has on a range of issues, including workplace regulation. In this respect, UK union rep 1 referred to the difficulties UK trade unions have in recruiting members in smaller firms, notably in the transportation and storage sector, and that unless those small firms evolve to become big firms it is hard to convince individuals to join a union and to push for union recognition in the company.

In the majority of cases ... (they are) going to stay a one or two-man operation and you will never reach that part of the sector. The other challenge is those small businesses

undercutting the terms and conditions and the union members in the traditional or big sized companies and obviously that is a big challenge to us as we don't want to see our members' terms and conditions undercut or driven down by other pressures in the market. It's true across all sectors but it's particularly true in this sector (UK union rep 1).

This is born out in the Norfolk case study findings in relation to none of the companies being unionised and all of them having fairly small-scale operations.

The situation could be viewed as being rather different in Sweden due to the higher levels of unionisation and the coverage of collective agreements. Nevertheless, SE union rep 1 observed that unions in Sweden do have a “hard time to organise people in the transport sector.” The same interviewee also suggested that this is a notable enough issue to the point that there have been some tentative references to introducing a legislated minimum wage in the sector, but that this has so far not been a serious debate. Another discussion that has taken place among the representative organisations of unions and employers in this sector is the possibility of making collective agreements universally applicable. This would mean that “all employers within the scope of the agreement are obliged to pay wages and fulfil any other terms as defined in the collective agreement, whether they want to or not” (Ahlberg, 2013). This would be a change to the current practice of the Swedish model in which collective agreements only apply to companies that are members of an employers' organisation that has signed an agreement (Freedland and Prassl, 2014: 242). The concept of universally applicable collective agreements has not been introduced to date, but appears to be in the background of discussions among employers and trade unions.

However, generally speaking, in the case of EU migrant workers, it could be inferred that where they are employees in a company that applies the sectoral collective agreement, or

are covered by the collective agreement for the staffing industry, they may be viewed more as insiders than outsiders. One point of divergence from this is the finding that around half of the lorry drivers in Sweden are self-employed, and that this group includes A8 migrants, especially Polish migrants. There are also bogus self-employed workers from eastern Europe, both of which may be used to circumvent the provisions of the collective agreement.

Beyond the sectoral distinctions, another feature of the insider-outsider concept is the possibilities that additional training can afford to EU migrants to further advance their insider status once they have entered a company. This can be associated with the opportunities that they have to become permanent employees and can also be related to the extent to which an ILM structure is in place in a company and the approach that is taken by management, unions (and workplace union representatives) to create and maintain such a structure. For example, documentary analysis observed that EU migrants coming to the UK tend to find work, at least initially, in temporary, low-skilled elementary occupations and that they have opportunities to progress to higher level positions over time as they gain experience and take part in further training (Frattoni, 2014: 11). In this respect, it is interesting to elaborate on a comment that was made by UK union rep 2 in relation to the opportunities that workers have to access training and their subsequent position within a company and trade union.

If they get training and get promoted they move from being an outsider to an insider so from that point of view that would be important, important to the individual and if they get good training and development, then we would hope they would go as far as they could go. It would be the transition from outsider to insider that would be important for us, then they are more likely to be a union member (UK union rep 2).

On the issue of EU migrant's progression prospects, a representative of a national cross-industry employers' organisation in the UK (UK employer rep) observed that

it is important to remember the UK labour market has a relatively good record of lifting people out of the lower pay roles as they develop, so it's not surprising now to run into people who have become relatively senior managers a decade on from enlargement, either in the sector that they started in like retail or hospitality or in different sectors, certainly the young (UK employer rep).

Returning to the previous analysis of the findings relating to recruitment and training and the discussion around ILMs it could be inferred that training provided by employers to their workers is the preserve of insiders. It has also been noted that training, where offered, may not systematically result in promotion (Wachter, 1974: 639), particularly in smaller companies, as has been discussed in the context of the research findings (see chapters seven and eight). In larger companies too, such as some of the food manufacturing case study companies, the findings showed that promotion was limited to mid-level positions while higher level and specialist knowledge workers were recruited from the ELM. This has been associated with the notion of a truncated ILM. Consequently, ILMs may not always be a means through which to overcome or reduce segmentation and can, therefore, be both a cause of, and a solution to, labour market segmentation. It could also be said that the insider-outsider dynamic implies differences between workers according to their labour market status, which in turn reinforces the notion of labour market segmentation. In this respect, specific reference could be made to Sweden's last in, first out policy, which could be said to underscore an insider-outsider distinction in terms of older and senior workers being insiders with high salaries and greater experience as well as greater protection,

through trade union membership and the provisions of a collective agreement, compared to outsiders on the ELM or recent recruits (Bornhäll, 2017: 5).

Taking all these elements into consideration, it could be asserted that the insider-outsider dynamic encompasses elements of the other factors of segmentation that have already been addressed, while further highlighting aspects concerning trade union membership and access to education and training. Looking at the Swedish context, EU migrants who are employed by Swedish companies are automatically covered by a collective agreement, in cases where the company is a member of an employers' organisation that signed the agreement. The same applies for EU migrants who are hired by a Swedish recruitment agency and, therefore, are covered by the collective agreement for the recruitment industry. Within the UK context, the apparent prominence of EU migrants, particularly A8 migrants, in temporary roles in the food manufacturing sector, as conveyed through the Norfolk case studies, and seemingly in the wider UK transportation and storage sector, combined with a much less prominent role for trade unions in regulating the labour market, suggests that EU migrants are more likely to be classed as outsiders than insiders. However, in the context of the Norfolk food manufacturing case studies, the temporary to permanent approach can be a way for workers to bridge the divide and become an insider that has access to training and the opportunity to attain a higher position. In this respect, reference can be made to Gallagher and Sverke's notion that temporary or contingent work can be a "port of entry" (2005: 183) into permanent employment. The distinction between the type of contractual arrangement and insider-outsider status is an important point and can be associated with Dickens and Lang's suggestion that primary sector jobs, i.e. those that are permanent and full-time are more likely to be unionised than secondary sector, temporary and part-time positions (1985: 799). The research findings suggest that it is harder in the UK, in

particular, and in Sweden to some extent, to recruit people that are in temporary jobs, especially EU migrants, to a trade union. In this respect, the research findings appear to concur with Dickens and Lang's assertion.

From an industrial relations perspective, it could be inferred that the nature of the Swedish system means that EU migrants are more likely to be considered as insiders than is the case in the UK. Nevertheless, further research would be needed to test this assertion due to the relatively limited presence of EU migrants that was identified in the two sectors in the Östergötland case studies compared to those companies from which data was gathered in Norfolk. This caveat notwithstanding, it could be postulated that in the framework of an insider-outsider discussion, the suggested dominance of the insider perspective in Sweden could result in a less segmented labour market structure than may be found in the UK where an outsider perspective may be viewed as more prominent.

Employers' demand for EU migrant labour

It has previously been noted that the institutional and regulatory context that a labour market is situated in as well as national public policies not only set the political framework within which migration occurs, but also impact upon the extent of employers' demand for labour (Ruhs and Anderson, 2010: 6). In this research, special attention has been paid to the role that EU migrants play in helping to respond to this demand. In this regard, reference was made in chapter two to Anderson and Ruhs' (*ibid.*: 16) observations about the qualitative and quantitative aspects of the relationship between the demand and supply of labour. It was observed that in qualitative terms employers' demand for workers is

shaped by the available supply and that their demands can be guided by what they perceive different groups of workers can offer (*ibid.*: 16).

Secondly, the quantitative dimension refers to the role that migrants play in responding to labour shortages among the indigenous population. Chapter three exemplified the historical patterns that are evident in Sweden and the UK when it comes to the use of migrant workers to this effect. An early example in Sweden was the Common Nordic Labour Market, which was established in 1954 to enable the free movement of workers between Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden (Rahikainen, 2007: 99). Into the 1970s, while there was an overall approach to limit the inflow of non-European migrants into Europe, Sweden continued to issue work permits to non-Europeans in cases where the demand for labour could not be met by workers from the other Nordic countries (Krifors, 2013: 9). In the UK, in the 1950s and 1960s there were migrant workers arriving from Ireland, Poland, and Hungary (The National Archives, 1968) and beyond this workers from Commonwealth countries that were former British colonies who also played an important role in boosting the labour supply (Stalker, 2002: 157). It was also noted in chapter three that migrant workers were needed to fill vacancies that were not attractive to British workers (Wright, 1968: 43). This contributed to the notion of there being a structural demand for migrant labour in the UK. The present research has identified that there is an important distinction between a quantitative demand for labour as a result of a general shortage of workers and the more refined aspect of a shortage of workers that are willing to work in certain sectors and occupations.

Recalling this historical perspective of labour migration in Sweden and the UK provides important context in relation to the decision that the two countries' governments took to

open their labour markets to A8 migrants in 2004 in order to address their demand for labour. For Sweden it was about funding the welfare system and having a sufficiently large pool of labour to attain full employment (Swedish Government, 2004: 32). For the UK it was about addressing the increase in the number of unfilled vacancies and the desire to attract highly skilled migrants and key workers (Department of Work and Pensions, 2004: 3 & 19). Subsequent migration has also taken place from the A2 countries.

Both the qualitative and quantitative dimensions of labour demand could be said to result in the concentration of migrants in certain sectors and occupations according to the characteristics of the work and those of the available labour supply, as well as the availability of labour (Piore, 1979: 39-40), (Lee, 1966: 52), (Massey *et al.*, 1993: 452). Elaborating on the demand for labour in the context of labour market segmentation, reference has been made to Rönmar (2006: 60) who suggested that the nature of Sweden's economic organisation and approach to labour market regulation means that Swedish employers focus on attaining a functionally flexible workforce in which people are sufficiently skilled to work across different areas of a company. Equally, with the UK adopting a more market-based approach to economic organisation, with a lightly regulated labour market, there tends to be more emphasis placed on the numerical flexibility of the workforce, in terms of the number of workers that are needed on a given day or week. Taking these aspects into account, it was asserted that Sweden may have a more qualitative demand for labour and the UK a more quantitative demand.

Whether the demand for labour is qualitative or quantitative in nature it could be inferred that there is the potential for labour market segmentation. For instance, in companies focusing on functional flexibility there are likely to be selected workers, what Atkinson

referred to as the “core” (1984: 29) group, who have the ability, or are trained to undertake, multiple tasks. In companies where there is a specific need for a numerically flexible workforce, temporary workers who are external to the company may be used to complement the core group of permanent employees. These are referred to by Atkinson as comprising the “periphery” (*ibid.*: 29). Chapter five considered some of the potential limitations around the terminology and substance of describing workers as core and peripheral, including as concerns sectoral variation in this categorisation. This was subsequently elaborated in relation to the discussion of the research findings in chapters seven and eight as well as the first part of the present chapter.

While the core and periphery distinction has been found to lack clarity, it was also noted in chapter five that there is analytical value to the notion of a functionally and numerically flexible workforce in considering how different groups of workers, or workers with different profiles, are utilised by employers to address their needs. Considering this distinction, it could be postulated that there may be a stronger emphasis placed on the role of EU migrants in sectors and companies where there is a particular demand for a numerically flexible workforce, rather than for a functionally flexible workforce. It follows that the demand for EU migrants may be considered to be greater in the UK than it is in Sweden. This would appear to be the case when considering the overall national context in the two countries. Nevertheless this research is concerned with the specific situation in the food manufacturing and transportation and storage sectors and the focus will now turn to the case study data and whether the presence of EU migrants in these sectors is contributing to the segmentation of the sectoral labour markets.

The data from the food manufacturing sector in Sweden has shown that two of the three case studies demonstrate a qualitative demand for skilled workers. In the case of company A this demand is currently met by EU migrants who occupy roles as meat cutters due to a lack of qualified indigenous Swedish labour. This demand was also highlighted in interviews with representatives of national level employer and trade union organisations. In the case of company B the qualitative demand relates to a functionally flexible pool of workers within the existing workforce that are being trained to work across the different areas of the production process. The company is also looking to recruit highly skilled workers who are competent in new technologies.

In parallel, it could be said that all three case study companies identified a quantitative demand for labour. This does not result from a shortage of labour per se, but the need for additional workers to cover peak periods of production and as replacement staff during holiday periods. This demand is met by indigenous Swedes. Therefore, it can be surmised that EU migrants are sometimes used as a way to respond to the qualitative demand for skilled labour, at least in the meat processing part of the sector, while Swedish workers and students are the primary source of labour that addresses companies' quantitative demand. In this regard, it could be considered that there is an element of labour market segmentation in meat processing in terms of the categorisation of the roles that EU migrants and indigenous Swedish workers perform. In parallel, it has been observed that company A has started to train Swedish workers for the shortage occupations that EU migrants are currently occupying and so this may help to overcome this notion of segmentation in due course.

Consequently, the case studies do not provide sufficient evidence to support Rönmar's (2006: 60) assertion that Swedish employers place greater importance on a functionally flexible workforce over a numerically flexible one. Functional flexibility was only highlighted as a particular issue in company B. Moreover, the case study findings appear to demonstrate a qualitative demand for labour in parallel to a quantitative demand.

The Norfolk case study findings for the food manufacturing sector reveal that all the companies have a clear quantitative demand for labour and that this is met, to a notable extent, by EU migrant workers, particularly A8 migrants. The nature of this demand is different to the Östergötland companies in that it is primarily due to a lack of indigenous UK workers willing and available to work in the lower-skilled positions as production operatives. In parallel, and more aligned with the situation in the Östergötland companies, is that there is also a need for workers during peak periods of production and as holiday cover during the summer. Students play a part in helping to meet this demand during school and university holidays, as was also noted in the Östergötland case studies.

In this respect, there is a notable element of convergence between the two sets of case study data in that it could be suggested that both display aspects of a structural demand for EU migrant labour and that where EU migrants are present they are used to fill positions that are unoccupied by indigenous workers. However, the key difference is in the nature of this demand. In Norfolk it is a quantitative demand due to a lack of labour in lower-skilled positions, as a result of the perceived unattractiveness of such work by UK nationals, and, potentially, a limited labour supply. Whereas in Östergötland there is a qualitative demand resulting from a shortage of highly skilled workers, as was identified in the case study of company A and in the national level interview data.

Therefore, the Norfolk companies demonstrate a quantitative demand for labour and a numerically flexible workforce, which is coherent with the characterisation of the UK as a market-based economy with a lightly regulated labour market. It has also been found that two of the four Norfolk case study companies demonstrate elements of functional flexibility. It could be postulated that training a core group of staff to operate across different parts of the production process could partly be a response to the challenges of recruiting sufficient numbers of workers.

In considering the findings from the Norfolk case study companies, it could be said that EU migrants are helping to maintain what is an already segmented labour market structure in these companies. This assertion stems from the concentration of EU migrants in low-skilled, temporary jobs that are often left vacant by indigenous workers. In this respect, there is also an element of job categorisation between the EU migrant and UK workers, similar to that which was evidenced in company A in Östergötland, although under different circumstances. Company A provides a notable example of EU migrants contributing to segmentation in one of the Östergötland case studies. It can also be noted that data from the national level in Sweden suggests that there is an established need for EU migrants to fill shortage occupations in meat processing companies in the food manufacturing sector and, therefore, the findings from company A may be replicated in other such companies across Sweden. While noting the apparent segmentation in this area of the sector, it should also be noted that the other case study companies from the food manufacturing sector in Östergötland are manufacturers of dairy and confectionary products, which suggests that the nature of segmentation within the sector may vary depending on the type of activity of the companies.

Turning to the transportation and storage sector, the findings in both countries suggest that notably more emphasis is placed on achieving a numerically flexible, rather than a functionally flexible, workforce. This particularly concerns variations in the extent to which drivers are needed, which is generally dependent upon the demand for a company's services. The findings also display a degree of coherence in so far as there are no EU migrants in any of the Östergötland case study companies and only a marginal presence in the Norfolk companies. On the basis of this analysis it does not appear that EU migrant workers could be considered as a factor contributing to labour market segmentation in the Östergötland or the Norfolk case study companies.

However, the case study findings at the regional level convey a different picture to the data that has been collected from the national level employer and trade union representatives and to the associated documentary evidence. While the context is different, these data sources suggest that there is a more significant presence of EU migrants in the wider sector in both countries. In the Swedish context it has been observed that EU migrants are working in the sector on a self-employed basis. It has also been noted that there are around 1000 bogus self-employed workers in the sector, the majority of whom are Polish and operate under the provisions of the EU cabotage directive (Thörnquist, 2013: 22). In the UK context, a specific quantitative demand for EU migrants has been observed in response to a shortage of drivers from among the indigenous workforce (Freight Transport Association, 2017: 4), (REC, 2010: 6). This appears to result in a stronger demand for EU migrant workers in the UK sector than in Sweden. Therefore, in the UK, the demand for EU migrants, particularly those from the A8 countries, could be viewed as a result of a segmented labour market. However, in Sweden it could be considered that EU migrants

may be contributing to segmentation in the sector. If this pattern continues, it could be postulated that continued segmentation will fuel the future demand for EU migrants in the sector in Sweden and result in a higher concentration than is currently evident.

At this point comparisons can be drawn between the two sectors and countries. Following an analysis of the data, it has been assessed that there is a stronger element of segmentation in the food manufacturing sector in both countries than in the transportation and storage sector, which suggests a degree of convergence on a cross-sectoral basis. Looking at the sectors on a cross-country basis, it appears as though segmentation is more prominent in the UK than it is in Sweden. This supports the notion that was purported in chapter five that as a lightly regulated LME, the UK's labour market will be more segmented than in the more highly regulated CME of Sweden. It follows that the demand for EU migrant workers is greater in the UK than in Sweden, as postulated by Devitt (2011: 568). In this regard it could be said that evidence of segmentation in the UK is leading to migrant dense sectors of which the two sectors that have been explored in this research are key examples. Within this, the impact of segmentation on the demand for EU migrant workers in the Norfolk case study companies appears to be stronger in the food manufacturing sector than in transportation and storage.

The national perspective in Sweden and the UK

The previous analysis and assessment has determined that segmentation was not evidenced to the same extent in each sector and each country. In order to get a more nuanced understanding of why this is the case it is relevant to consider the national industrial relations systems and labour market context in each country. The interview data and

documentary evidence suggest that Sweden has experienced an overall increase in the number of EU migrant workers from eastern Europe since 2004. This notion is supported by reference to SE employer rep 1 who commented that the decision to immediately open up the Swedish labour market to A8 workers in 2004 was based on a general need for more workers. “We also need, of course, more labour force because we have, as you have in Europe, we have also problems with the demographic” (SE employer rep 1). This need was identified across all sectors and occupations.

Nevertheless, Gerdes and Wadensjö (2013: 18) comment that there were fewer EU migrants coming to Sweden than was the case for the UK and Ireland, the other two countries which did not introduce transitional arrangements following the enlargement of the EU. The suggested reason for this is that A8 migrants are more likely to have some level of fluency in English and that these countries have a greater demand for labour, particularly in some of the low-wage sectors like hotels and restaurants and cleaning (Gerdes and Wadensjö, 2013: 18). In parallel, “the unions in Sweden have successfully implemented a high (defacto) minimum wage according to agreements leading to the elimination of low wage jobs” (*ibid.*: 18). In this regard it can also be noted that SE union rep 1 observed that “there is no economic reason” for Swedish companies to use EU migrants that come to Sweden under the EU principle of the free movement of labour because they fall under the applicable collective agreements in the same way as Swedish workers. However, SE union rep 1 did also remark that Swedish companies in some sectors, notably construction, do still manage to access a cheaper workforce in the form of people arriving from east European member states as posted workers.

Although a general demand for labour was identified as a central reason for opening up the Swedish labour market to A8 migrants, SE employer rep 1 also noted that immediately following the 2004 enlargement there was a particular concentration of EU migrants from Poland and the Baltic states in seasonal work, such as agriculture, gardening and berry picking. However, as these workers began to realise the increased employment opportunities that they could now take advantage of across the EU, analysis by Zelano *et al.* (2014: 11) suggests that Polish and Baltic workers became less and less prominent among the berry pickers in Sweden. However, it is also noted that due to “tightened regulations and inspections of the working conditions of berry pickers from outside the EU/EES in 2012, workers from the CEE (countries) re-entered the berry picking market – then as self-employed berry pickers.” Although it is not mentioned in the work by Zelano *et al.* it could be deduced that the return of A8 migrants as berry pickers resulted from a shortage of labour from outside the EU as a result of a stricter regulatory approach.

This shows that there have been, and continue to be, examples of the occupational concentration of EU migrants in certain sectors in Sweden. It is notable, however, that the food manufacturing and transportation and storage sectors were not among those identified by the national level trade union and employer representatives or in the documentary analysis.

Looking at the UK labour market context in the early 2000s and the period leading up to the A8 accession, Frattini observes that “the United Kingdom was also experiencing an economic boom for much of this period, which coupled with its flexible labour market, made employers keen to hire immigrants” (2014: 3). This situation is confirmed by the UK employer rep who commented that “you have to look back at the time where the UK was

operating with a relatively robust rate of growth, with strong wage growth and pronounced skill shortages in a large range of sectors both high skilled and some of the lower skilled areas like agriculture, picking and food processing.” Analysis by The Migration Observatory suggests that the UK’s flexible labour market structure may have contributed to “the relative ease with which migrant workers have been able to find jobs in the UK, particularly when compared with countries with stricter labour market regulation” (2016: 4).

The evidence from the UK shows that EU migrants are also more prominent in some sectors and occupations than others. For instance, 24.5 per cent of EU migrants are working in the retail, hotels and restaurants sector, followed by 17.9 per cent in public administration and education and 14.5 per cent in manufacturing (Rienzo, 2018). Additionally, the occupational breakdown reveals that 20.9 per cent of EU migrants are in elementary occupations, such as cleaners, kitchen and catering assistants, 16 per cent are in professional occupations and 12 per cent are in processing occupations (*ibid.*).

Further insight is provided by the UK employer rep who observed that EU migrants have tended to progress from low-level elementary and food processing roles into higher level positions as they have become established in the UK labour market.

I think it is fair to say that initially there was a fairly substantial concentration around agricultural and early stage food processing, hospitality, some of the customer servicing facing businesses but also around some of the household services, cleaning, painting and decorating, building and so forth. I think since 2004 there has been a rapid spread from that area. (...) and that's not surprising if you look at the average education attainment of

people who work in the low jobs, typically they were well educated, quite young and mobile, were looking for paths up through the labour market (UK employer rep).

The assertion that EU migrants in the UK have advanced into higher level positions with further training, time and experience has also been evidenced by Frattini (2014: 11) and was notably discussed in relation to the research findings for the food manufacturing sector (see chapter seven). The same findings also demonstrated evidence of labour market segmentation as a result of the under-employment of EU migrants in this sector in the Norfolk companies.

The research findings have demonstrated that EU migrants are a key component of the temporary workforce, at least initially when they are first looking to get a foothold in the labour market, and that there is a tendency for them to access such work through recruitment agencies. They are also seemingly more willing to occupy positions that are considered undesirable by indigenous workers, notably those that are more work-intensive, lower skilled and paying on or close to the minimum wage. In Sweden, there are far fewer EU migrants and those who are present on a temporary basis appear to often be posted workers who provide a specific service and then return to their country of origin. Therefore, they are seemingly less likely to enter Sweden under the EU free movement of labour principle and there does not appear to be a particular trend whereby they use private recruitment agencies to get a foothold in the labour market in the same way as EU migrants do in the UK. It is also the case that the work offered by recruitment agencies in Sweden does not appear to be characterised as low-skilled and low-paid and, therefore, as being unattractive to indigenous workers.

It can also be noted that although there are workers of different nationalities working in the case study companies in Östergötland, both from within the EU and from further afield, the responses given by the interviewees suggests that they do not see these people as migrant workers. This is because they have become established in Sweden over a period of time and are living permanently in the country and have stable employment. The perception that came across during the interviews is that a migrant worker is someone that comes to Sweden for a matter of months and then leaves. Posted workers providing a service for a fixed duration were also seen in this way. As was noted in chapter one, defining a migrant is complex. The responses by the UK interviewees suggest that the perception of who is a migrant is broader than in Sweden and associated with where someone comes from instead of the duration of their employment. This is an important point related to terminology and perspective because if the Swedish respondents had had a similar understanding of what constitutes an EU migrant to those in the UK, the reported presence of EU migrants in the Swedish case study companies may have been higher. Beyond its relevance for the analysis of the research findings, this is an example of the considerations that arise from comparative industrial relations research.

Analysis and summary

This chapter used the factors that were identified in the literature on segmented labour markets to provide a framework for assessing the nature and extent of segmentation in the case study companies and if this reflects the more general characterisation of segmented labour markets in these sectors in Sweden and the UK. These factors were assessed against the data collected from the case study findings and the interviews with national employer and trade union representatives, as well as documentary evidence. From this a further

assessment has been made as to whether segmentation, in cases where it is evident, is leading to migrant dense sectors and occupations. This has been explored in the context of employers' demand for EU migrant labour.

It can be recalled that the analysis of the literature in chapter four drew the assertion that differing approaches to labour market regulation in Sweden and the UK would lead to different outcomes in terms of the nature and extent of labour market segmentation at the level of the national industrial relations systems. Notably, it was suggested that the decentralisation of collective bargaining and the progressive weakening of collective action and a less institutionalised role for unions and employers' organisations in the UK, combined with a more legislative approach to minimum rights and the introduction of HRM, could be resulting in greater differentiation among indigenous UK workers and between these workers and EU migrants. This concerns their role and labour market status, which could be said to contribute to labour market segmentation. On the other hand, it was postulated that the role of the Industry Agreement in Sweden, which has continued to ensure a strong collective and (multi) industry approach to bargaining for the setting of the terms and conditions of employment, would result in less differentiation between individual workers and that where this is evident it is likely to be identified between sectors and less so between individuals within a certain sector due to the sectoral nature of collective agreements. Consequently, it was suggested that segmentation might be considered to be less prominent in Sweden's more highly regulated labour market than it is in the UK's flexible and less regulated labour market.

It is, therefore, interesting to observe that the research findings appear to suggest that segmentation is more evident in the Norfolk case study companies, in both sectors, than in

those in Östergötland. This is coherent with the notion that segmentation is a more prominent feature in the UK than in Sweden and that this is influenced, to a notable degree, by the nature of the respective national industrial relations systems and the role of their actors therein. Nevertheless, examples of labour market segmentation have also been found in the Östergötland case study companies and in the data gathered from national level actors. In this respect it could be inferred that a growing presence of EU migrants in Sweden is helping to contribute to a more segmented labour market structure in the two sectors, particularly the transportation and storage sector. At the same time, the UK labour market can already be considered as segmented and that the concentration of EU migrants in certain sectors and occupations, such as food manufacturing, is helping to sustain this.

The assessment of the extent of labour market segmentation in the respective sectors and countries helps to answer the first part of the research question and leads into the second part about whether segmentation results in migrant dense sectors and occupations. In this respect, it has been found that evidence of labour market segmentation was most pronounced in the Norfolk food manufacturing case study companies and it is these companies that were found to have the greatest presence of EU migrant workers. This suggests that there is an association between the extent of labour market segmentation and the concentration of EU migrants in this particular sector in the UK. Although the findings from the Norfolk case studies in the transportation and storage suggested less evidence of segmentation and only a limited presence of EU migrant workers, the findings from the national level suggest that segmentation is more notable across the sector as a whole and that this is also leading to a more notable association with the use of EU migrants. The findings suggest that both sectors have a shortage of indigenous workers and, therefore, a quantitative demand for labour, which is addressed, in part, by EU migrants.

Conversely, the case study findings in Östergötland demonstrate that the weaker evidence of labour market segmentation corresponds with a lower concentration of EU migrants. At the same time, there is the notable example of a demand for EU migrants to fill vacancies left unoccupied by indigenous workers in skilled positions in the meat processing part of the food manufacturing sector. It has also been observed that EU migrants comprise part of the self-employed pool of drivers in the Swedish transportation and storage sector. In both situations it could be postulated that while the sectoral labour markets are generally not segmented, there is the potential for this to develop and that EU migrants could be a contributory factor.

The final chapter will draw together the main outcomes of this research and consider whether the findings may be generalised beyond the present study.

10. Conclusion

Introduction

This study aimed to analyse and compare the nature and extent of employers' demand for EU migrant workers in Sweden and the UK through research conducted in the food manufacturing and transportation and storage sectors. In doing so, it has attempted to answer the following research question:

To what extent are certain sectors in the UK and Swedish economy characterised by segmented labour markets and does segmentation lead to migrant dense sectors and occupations?

While the focus has been on comparisons at the sectoral level, the research design and analysis of the findings have been situated in the context of the two countries' industrial relations systems and national variation in the nature of their economic organisation. While European integration has predominantly focused on economic policy coordination, labour markets continue to primarily be regulated at national level in accordance with the history, traditions and characteristics of national industrial relations systems. Despite developments in the coordination of economic policy at EU level, which has largely converged around a neo-liberal policy perspective, there also continues to be national variation in the nature of economic organisation, which has been considered in relation to the notion of varieties of capitalism. Consequently, divergent regulatory frameworks and economic practices are evident at the national level and impact on the demand for labour. It can also be noted that there are differences between sectors within a country as well as the potential for

convergence between sectors on a cross-country basis. Therefore, this study has used labour market segmentation theory to explore these aspects and as a framework for assessing the demand for EU migrant workers.

National industrial relations systems and labour market regulation

It has been observed that the policies pursued by governments and the relative strength and role of the organisations representing employers and workers have an important bearing on the nature of the regulatory environment and notable distinctions have been identified between Sweden and the UK to this effect. In Sweden, the main means of labour market regulation is multi-employer bargaining, which takes place through the negotiation of sectoral collective agreements. These agreements are complemented by workplace level bargaining. In contrast, labour market regulation in the UK is primarily conducted through government legislation and a much more limited role for collective bargaining. Where collective agreements are negotiated this is usually at the workplace level, although there continues to be aspects of sectoral-level bargaining in the public sector. It has been demonstrated that there were moves towards the decentralisation of collective bargaining in both countries between the 1960s and 1980s. While Sweden did this in a way that retained a coordinated approach, in the spirit of the Swedish model, in addition to the scope for workplace level bargaining, the UK predominantly moved to single-employer, workplace bargaining, in instances where unions are recognised and able to negotiate with companies. These distinctions have been referred to as the organised and disorganised decentralisation of collective bargaining in Sweden and the UK respectively and reflect the essential difference in the approach to labour market regulation in these two countries.

This approach has been evidenced in the case study findings in relation to the role that sectoral collective agreements play in regulating the employment relationship in Sweden. Notably, it has been found that due to the nature of labour market regulation in Sweden there are no cost advantages to be derived from the use of EU migrant labour. The nature of employers' demand for temporary workers in the two sectors is also largely associated with covering peaks in demand during certain seasons and the summer holidays and is primarily addressed through the use of indigenous workers, notably students. Furthermore, as a result of the collective agreement for the recruitment industry, there does not appear to be the association between temporary work and low-skilled, low-paid jobs, as has been identified in the UK. Some of the case study findings also point towards companies focussing on functional flexibility and the introduction of new technology as a way to address issues around the supply and availability of labour. Where there was evidence of a specific demand for EU migrant labour (in the food manufacturing sector) this resulted from an identified skill shortage and was in the process of being addressed through a workplace collective agreement to up-skill existing workers, rather than relying on temporary EU migrants. Collectively, these aspects point towards limited evidence of segmentation in the Swedish labour market.

In contrast, the UK case studies highlight the lack of joint labour market regulation, with the exception of one of the companies, and demonstrate the focus on legal regulation in the form of the National Minimum Wage and individual employment rights. Both sets of case study findings, and particularly those in the food manufacturing sector, identify a quantitative demand for labour although the nature of this demand and the workers that are used to respond to it varies between the two sectors. While there are aspects of seasonality in the food manufacturing sector, it was also found that there is an ongoing demand for

temporary workers in low-skilled, minimum wage, entry level positions in which there is a lack of indigenous workers. The findings suggest that there is a large presence of EU migrants, particularly from A8 countries, in these jobs and that this represents a structural demand for EU migrant labour. The case study findings for the transportation and storage sector point towards a more seasonal dimension to the demand for temporary workers and that this is more likely to be addressed by indigenous workers, while noting that some EU migrants also play a role. Therefore, there is greater evidence of labour market segmentation in the UK labour market than has been identified in Sweden.

The sectoral dimension

Ruhs and Anderson make a pertinent observation that “there is no one-size-fits-all approach as labour markets operate differently, depending, for example, on the sector, occupation, type and size of firm and on the extent of labour market segmentation” (2010: 17). Therefore, in addition to the key differences that have been identified between the national labour markets there are also important sectoral aspects within them, which this study has aimed to explore.

In Sweden, the main point of divergence between the sectors relates to the potential for the undermining of collective regulation in the transportation and storage sector. This could occur through the use of self-employed, or bogus self-employed, EU migrants that exploit the provisions of the EU cabotage directive to work illegally in Sweden. It could be said that both circumstances could potentially, over time, lead to greater evidence of labour market segmentation in this sector and create a structural demand for EU migrant labour. Conversely, the findings for the food manufacturing sector establish that there is a

structural qualitative demand for skilled EU migrant workers in the meat processing part of the sector, which existed prior to 2004. In this example, collective regulation, through the workplace agreement in company A, aims to reduce the reliance on EU migrant workers and can, therefore, be viewed as a prominent point of differentiation between the sectors in Sweden.

In the UK, the main point of differentiation between the sectoral case study findings relates to the structural demand for EU migrants in the food manufacturing sector, which contrasts with a marginal presence of these workers in the transportation and storage case study companies, as above. However, within the wider data set for the transportation and storage sector in the UK, interviews with actors at the national level and documentary sources point towards a more systematic use of EU migrants in temporary positions in other parts of the country, including the East Midlands, which borders the East of England region, in which Norfolk is located. Therefore, within Norfolk, there are two distinct sectors in terms of the demand for EU migrant workers, but when viewing the transportation and storage sector findings in the national context the case study findings could be classed as atypical.

From the perspective of a cross-country sectoral comparison, it can be said that there is a point of convergence in the food manufacturing sector in terms of an element of a structural demand for EU migrants, although there is a notable distinction in the nature of this demand. In Sweden this represents a qualitative demand for skilled EU migrants to work in specific occupations in the meat processing part of the sector. In the UK, there is a quantitative demand for EU migrants to fill low-skilled positions that are seemingly unattractive to indigenous UK workers.

Therefore, while it is not clear that there is a strong convergence between the sectors across the two countries that would appear to challenge the varieties of capitalism concept of Sweden as a CME and the UK as a LME, these distinctions, drawn from the case studies and wider research, do highlight the importance of considering sectoral differences and thus constitute an important contribution to this research.

Labour migration and labour market segmentation

This research has used the theoretical framework provided by labour market segmentation theory to explore employers' demand for EU migrant labour in the two countries. This was based upon the researcher's assessment of the relative limitations of the established economic and socio-economic migration theories, which primarily focused on migration within and from developing countries, for undertaking comparative research on migration into two developed European countries.

Among the early proponents of labour market segmentation theory, Piore (1979: 35) highlighted that migrant workers should be considered part of the segmentation process through determining a labour market structure in which migrants are predominantly located in the secondary sector while indigenous workers occupy jobs in the primary sector. The concept of labour market segmentation has also been discussed in relation to Doeringer and Piore's (1971) notion of ILMs and Atkinson's (1984) flexible firm model. These models feature prominently in the literature and have been reviewed and subsequently analysed in view of the research findings. Beyond these theoretical approaches, chapter five also identified a number of other factors from the literature that result in, or contribute to, labour market segmentation. These are: the contractual nature of

the employment relationship; the nature and extent of employment regulation, which can be extended to the wider functioning of the industrial relations system; the extent to which there are company-specific training policies, notably in the context of an internal labour market structure within a company; and an insider-outsider labour market structure. Therefore, it can be said that labour market segmentation is multi-faceted and that its characteristics are not evident in a uniform way, but rather that they are manifested in different forms in different sectors and countries in view of the variation in the national industrial relations systems and the nature of their economic organisation. Consequently, it is argued that this has been useful for framing the comparative analysis of the findings, which are set within diverging national and sectoral labour market contexts. In this respect, as segmentation theory incorporates different factors, this could be seen as an advantage that enables its adaptation to different national labour markets.

A central aspect of the various approaches that have been elaborated around labour market segmentation theory is the notion of a distinction between different groups of workers, which has been presented in the form of a primary and secondary sector (Piore, 1979), (Dickens and Lang, 1985); a core and peripheral group of workers (Atkinson, 1984); traditional and contingent workers (Gallagher and Sverke, 2005); and the concept of an internal and external labour market (Doeringer and Piore, 1971), (Lovering, 1990). Analysis of the research findings and relevant documents demonstrates that aspects of these different approaches are evidenced. However, within these approaches, potential limitations to the various components of segmentation theory can also be identified. These were outlined from a theoretical point of view in chapter five and discussed in relation to the findings in chapters seven, eight and nine. One such point is whether segmentation is more likely to result from the nature of a worker's contract or the job that they are

performing and this has been explored in relation to the critique of Atkinson's (1984) description of core and peripheral workers, which is largely based, respectively, on whether a person is a full-time permanent employee or a temporary worker. However, as the findings have exemplified, workers that perform what could be viewed as core tasks within a particular company or sector may also be recruited under a peripheral or contingent employment relationship as a temporary or part-time worker. Therefore, rather than determining segmentation according to a focus on the core-periphery distinction in the way that it was conceived by Atkinson (1984), this research suggests that segmentation is likely to result from temporary workers in less regulated labour markets performing broadly the same job as other workers. This is particularly relevant in the case of EU migrant workers in the Norfolk food manufacturing companies who are temporary agency workers and, if they are seen to perform well, may subsequently be employed directly by the company.

Another potential limitation of segmentation theory is the notion of the primary and secondary sectors. The literature identifies that there is a tendency for migrant workers to be concentrated in low-skilled, low-paid and insecure work and this was born out in some of the case study findings, which goes in the direction of the primary-secondary distinction. However, a potential limitation could be when this is considered against the prospects for further training and career progression that were identified in the majority of the case study companies in the two sectors and countries. Even though the findings identified limited evidence of an ILM structure in the case study companies, this was not found to be due to a lack of training opportunities and so, at least at a theoretical level, training may create the potential for mobility within a company or to another company via the ELM and this could be further considered. Looking for work in another company could

also be explored in the context of situations in which further training does not lead to career (or wage) progression opportunities, as has also been identified in the research findings, particularly in smaller companies.

Associated with this, there could be further reflection on the role of ILMs. The findings suggest that ILMs, where they continue to be evident, do not necessarily create progression opportunities in the way that they once did. This can be seen in the context of an increase in the number of smaller companies and sub-contractors as well as the use of external recruitment to fill management level positions. In parallel, employers increasingly appear to require workers that have a combination of general and occupation-specific skills, which can result in skills becoming more transferable and labour becoming more mobile. Therefore, whether such skill requirements help to further reduce the relevance of an ILM and help to reduce segmentation between workers within a company and those on the ELM would benefit from additional consideration.

Furthermore, it can be seen that in the UK context, particularly in the food manufacturing case studies, the under-employment of EU migrants, notably A8 migrants, in terms of them being over-qualified for the positions that they are occupying, is a prominent factor of segmentation, which only appears to have received limited attention from a theoretical perspective. It is also notable that this scenario differs from the historical nature of migration to the UK in which migrant workers in the initial post-war period tended to be low-skilled and occupied corresponding positions. Therefore, in the context of present-day trends, further consideration could be given to the scenario in which there is an increasingly highly skilled and highly mobile workforce within the EU, yet these workers

are often employed in positions below their level of educational attainment and ability, which is resulting in a growing trend for the under-employment of EU migrant workers.

Consequently, an important contribution of the research is the identification of the limitations of labour market segmentation theory and the need for further development of this theory to frame migration research.

Reliability, validity and generalisations

Where possible, the data has been triangulated to assess the credibility of the findings. This feeds into an assessment of the extent to which replication of the findings has occurred and whether they may be generalised beyond the present research. This is elaborated in relation to the findings from each sector and country.

It has been seen that there is a notable presence of EU migrants in company A in the Östergötland food manufacturing sector in response to a shortage of skilled Swedish workers in meat processing. This demand was also evidenced in the findings from interviews with national level trade union and employer representatives. Therefore, it is possible to claim the successful triangulation of the finding that there is a structural demand for EU migrants in meat processing companies in Sweden. The data also suggests that external generalisation of this finding could be claimed beyond the present study. In the same sector in Norfolk, it was found in each of the case studies that EU migrants are being used to address the companies' quantitative demand for labour, which results from a shortage of indigenous UK workers who are seemingly unwilling and uninterested in working in the lower level positions in the sector. The same finding was identified in

documentary sources with approximately 27 per cent of the food manufacturing workforce said to be composed of EU migrants (Lang and Schoen, 2016: 32), and through interview findings from national employer and trade union representatives and a local recruitment agency. Therefore, successful triangulation of the data can also be claimed. From this, the external generalisation of the findings could also be claimed beyond the present study. It could also be argued that literal replication has been found between the two sets of case study data in Östergötland and Norfolk in so far as EU migrants are used to fill roles that are unoccupied by indigenous workers, even if the nature of this demand is different.

Turning to the transportation and storage sector, the use of self-employed drivers in the sector in Östergötland was only briefly touched upon in the case study findings. However, this emerged as a significant issue in the interviews with the national level trade union and employer representatives and is supported by documentary analysis. Therefore, even though this was not elaborated to any notable extent in the case study findings, the implications on labour market regulation and the future potential for labour market segmentation in the sector in Sweden were identified by three different data sources and so could be considered as being successfully triangulated. Consequently the national findings could also be generalised beyond this study, even though the case study outcomes could not be. A similar scenario occurs with the Norfolk case study findings, which identified a very limited presence of EU migrants in the companies, while the national interview data from employer, trade union and recruitment representatives indicated that the employment of temporary EU migrants, especially from A8 countries, is significant in other parts of the UK. This also allows for the data to be considered as successfully triangulated and with a credible claim to the generalisation of the national level findings beyond this study.

The Norfolk findings, in particular, could be viewed as being atypical due to the disparity between them and the national level data. This also highlights how regional variation is another important factor to consider in such a study of labour markets and the employment of EU migrant workers. For while Norfolk may be atypical in terms of the composition of the workforce vis-a-vis other parts of the UK, the findings do demonstrate coherence with other characteristics of the sector, such as the size of firms; training opportunities, but with seemingly limited progression opportunities; and low levels of unionisation, all of which is relevant to a discussion around labour market segmentation and the demand for workers in the sector.

Lastly, the outcome of the Östergötland and Norfolk case study findings for the transportation and storage sector highlight the strengths of the research design in terms of the way that interview data and documentary analysis was used outside of the county level case studies.

Brexit and its implications

Employers' demand for EU migrant workers is a particularly prominent issue in relation to the UK's decision to leave the EU and the consequences that this may have for companies' access to workers. The Norfolk case study findings for the food manufacturing sector and the findings from the national level data in the transportation and storage sector demonstrated the role that EU migrants play in meeting companies' quantitative demand for workers and in providing employers with a numerically flexible workforce. Together these elements could be described as evidence of a structural demand for EU migrants. Until there is further clarity on the post-Brexit arrangements concerning the migration of

EU nationals to the UK and vice-versa it could only be speculated that companies in these sectors may, therefore, struggle to meet their labour needs, particularly in low-skilled positions. Potential solutions could include attracting more indigenous UK workers to these roles or the UK government reforming its policy towards non-EU migrants to enable them to take up low-skilled jobs. The first option may carry some potential, but is likely to require a change in mindset among the indigenous workforce and, potentially, improved terms and conditions, while the second option seems unlikely in the context of the Government's ambition to reduce net migration to the tens of thousands (House of Commons Home Affairs Committee, 2018: 9).

In conclusion, this research has established that some sectors are more segmented than others, both when assessed on a cross-country basis and when viewed within a national setting. Furthermore, there does appear to be an association between the extent of segmentation in a given sector and the extent to which there is a concentration of EU migrants in that sector and its occupations. Further research would be needed to assess how far these findings are applicable on a broader scale in Sweden and the UK, for example through gathering data from a larger number of companies and in multiple locations.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: List of interviewees

This appendix presents an anonymised list of the interviewees that took part in the study and which have been referred to in chapter six and the presentation and analysis of the data in chapters seven, eight and nine.

Exploratory data collection phase

Brussels, Belgium

It can be noted that these interviews were primarily conducted as a context setting exercise with the intention to increase the researcher's knowledge of the sectors and issues concerned and to help prepare the main data collection phase in Sweden and the UK. Therefore, these interviews are not cited in the presentation and analysis of the findings. Consequently, the following is a list of the type of organisations that the interviewees represented and no descriptor is required.

- A sectoral trade union organisation for the food manufacturing sector
- A sectoral trade union organisation for the transportation and storage sector
- The European office of a UK cross-sectoral trade union
- A European industry body for transportation and logistics
- A sectoral employers' organisation for agriculture
- A Swedish regional representation office
- A European organisation for private employment agencies

Main data collection phase

Sweden

Sectoral case studies

Food manufacturing

- HR rep A – representative of the human resources, company A, case study one
- Union rep A – workplace trade union representative, company A, case study one
- HR rep B – representative of the human resources, company B, case study two
- Union rep B – workplace trade union representative, company B, case study two
- HR rep C – representative of the human resources, company C, case study three
- PRA rep 1 – representative of a private recruitment agency in Ostergotland, case study three

Transportation and storage

- HR rep H – representative of the human resources, company H, case study eight
- HR rep I – representative of the human resources, company I, case study nine
- HR rep J – representative of the human resources, company J, case study ten

National and regional level actors

- SE union rep 1 – representative of a national cross-sectoral trade union organisation
- SE food employer rep – representative of a Swedish employers' organisation in the food sector
- SE food union rep – representative of a trade union for the food sector
- SE transport employer rep 1 – representative of a Swedish employers' organisation in the transport sector
- SE transport employer rep 2 – representative of a Swedish employers' organisation in the transport sector
- SE transport union rep – representative of a Swedish trade union for the transport sector
- SE employer rep 1 – representative from a national cross-sectoral employers' organisation
- SE employer rep 2 – representative from a national cross-sectoral employers' organisation

- SE employer rep 3 – representative from a national cross-sectoral employers' organisation
- SE agency rep 1 – representative of a national organisation for recruitment agencies in Sweden
- SE agency rep 2 – representative in the Ostergotland regional office of a national organisation for recruitment agencies in Sweden
- PRA rep 3 – representative of a private recruitment agency in the Östergötland region
- PRA rep 5 – representative of a private recruitment agency in the Östergötland region
- SE transport education rep – representative of an organisation that provides training to people in the transportation and storage sector

UK

Sectoral case studies

Food manufacturing

- HR rep D – representative of the human resources, company D, case study four
- H&S rep A – representative for training and health and safety, company D, case study four
- PRA rep 2 – representative of a private recruitment agency in Norfolk, company D, case study four
- HR rep E – representative of the human resources, company E, case study five
- HR rep F – representative of the human resources, company F, case study six
- Union rep F – workplace trade union representative, company F, case study six
- HR rep G – representative of the human resources, company G, case study seven

Transportation and storage

- HR rep K – representative of the human resources, company K, case study eleven
- WO manager 1 – warehouse operations manager, company K, case study eleven
- HR rep L – representative of the human resources, company L, case study twelve
- HR rep M – representative of the human resources, company M, case study thirteen
- HR rep N – representative of the human resources, company N, case study fourteen

National and regional level actors

- UK union rep 1 – representative of a national cross-sectoral trade union organisation working in the food manufacturing sector
- UK union rep 2 – representative of a national cross-sectoral trade union organisation working in the transportation and storage sector
- UK union rep 3 – representative of a national cross-sectoral trade union organisation working in the transportation and storage sector
- UK union rep 4 – representative of a national trade union organisation
- UK employer rep – representative from a national cross-industry employers' organisation
- UK training union rep – representative of a trade union affiliated training organisation
- UK agency rep 1 – representative of a national organisation representing private recruitment agencies in the UK
- Norfolk union rep 1 – regional trade union representative
- PRA rep 4 – representative of a private recruitment agency in Norfolk
- PRA rep 6 – representative of a private recruitment agency in Norfolk
- UK migration agency rep – representative of migration research agency in the UK

Appendix 2: Outline of indicative questions for elite, semi-structured interviews

This appendix contains the indicative questions that were used for the elite, semi-structured interviews in the exploratory phase of the research in Brussels, Belgium and in the main data collection phase in Sweden and the UK. The questions for the main data collection phase are presented according to those that were used for the case studies in Östergötland and Norfolk and those that were used for interviewing national and regional level actors.

Exploratory data collection phase – Brussels, Belgium

European sectoral trade union and employer organisations

1. What would you consider to be the main characteristics of the sector from an economic and social perspective?
2. What are the main issues at EU level that you are working on at the moment?
3. What would you say is the most challenging issue for trade unions and employers in this sector – at EU and/or member state level?
4. Can you give me an overview of the nature of employment in the sector?
5. In general terms, how would you describe the composition of the workforce?
6. Do you think the 2004 enlargement of the EU has had any impact on the sector? If yes in what way?
7. To what extent do you consider workers to be organised in this sector at the member state level? In which countries is organisation particularly strong? (*for trade union representatives*) / How influential do you consider the trade unions to be in this sector at the Member State level? (*for employer representatives*)
8. Which EU directive or initiative (in the field of social policy) do you consider to have had the greatest influence on the sector or which you think has the potential to if a recent initiative?
9. Are there any upcoming initiatives at European level that you believe will have a particularly significant impact on the sector and your members?
10. Can you give me any additional information about the sector in Sweden / the UK?

11. Would you have any recommendations for where I can access more information about the sector (in-house publications or other external work/research, upcoming conferences)
12. Is there anyone you would recommend (from your membership) that I could contract in Sweden and the UK to discuss the national situation in the sector?

UK cross-sectoral trade union organisation

1. What are the main issues that you are currently working on at EU level?
2. To what extent has the 2004 enlargement of the EU impacted on your work and that of the union in the UK?
3. To what extent does the union organise workers in the food manufacturing/transportation and storage sectors?
4. To what extent are (EU) migrant workers active in the union?
5. To what extent do you think that there is a concentration of, and/or reliance on, EU migrant workers in the food manufacturing/transportation and storage sectors in the UK?
6. Which EU directive or initiative (in the field of social policy) do you consider to have had the greatest influence on the UK labour market or which you think has the potential to if a recent initiative?
7. Are there any upcoming initiatives at European level that you believe will have a particularly significant impact on your members?
8. Can you give me any additional information about the two sectors in the UK?
9. Would you have any recommendations for where I can access more information about these sectors (in-house publications or other external work/research, upcoming conferences)
10. Is there anyone you would recommend (from your membership) that I could contract in the UK to discuss the national situation in these sectors?

Transport industry organisation

1. What would you say are the defining characteristics of the industry?
2. What issues are you currently working on at the EU level?
3. What are the key concerns for your members?

4. To what extent has the economic crisis impacted upon the industry?
5. What sorts of roles (jobs) are performed in the industry?
6. What sorts of skills are required by people working in the industry?
7. According to your own knowledge, or from what you hear from your members, to what extent would you say that EU migrants are working in the industry (in a general European context)?
8. What do you think will be the main issues for the industry in the coming years?
9. Would you have any recommendations for where I can access more information about the sector (in-house publications or other external work/research, upcoming conferences)?
10. Is there anyone you would recommend (from your membership) that I could contact in Sweden and the UK to discuss the national situation in the sector?

Recruitment industry organisation

1. What have been the main trends experienced by private recruitment agencies over the past 5-10 years as concerns the recruitment of workers?
2. Are there some sectors or industries that are more likely to recruit workers through agencies than others?
3. To what extent have migrant workers from the A8 countries been using private employment agencies to find work since 2004?
4. What sort of roles do A8 migrants who seek work through private employment agencies tend to perform?
5. What is the nature of this work, for example is there a trend for it to be on a temporary or fixed-term basis or of a more permanent nature?
6. To what extent would you say that employers may view EU migrants as 'ideal' agency workers?
7. Can you give an overview of the nature of employment in the food production and transportation and storage sectors in the EU?
8. Which EU directive or initiative (in the field of social policy) do you consider to have had the greatest influence on the way in which private employment agencies operate?
9. Are there any upcoming initiatives at European level that you believe will have a particularly significant impact on private employment agencies?

10. Would you have any recommendations for where I can access more information about the role of private recruitment agencies in the recruitment of EU migrant workers (in-house publications or other external work/research, upcoming conferences)
11. Is there anyone you would recommend (from your membership) that I could contract in Sweden and the UK to discuss the national situation in the industry?

EU representation office of a Swedish region

1. Can you give me an overview of the labour market in the region?
2. To what extent would you consider the food production and transportation and storage sectors to be important to the region – in terms of the economy and providing employment?
3. What are the main reasons for companies (in these sectors) to locate in the region?
4. To what extent is there a presence of migrant workers in the region?
5. Do you consider there to be any EU directives or initiatives (in the field of social policy) that are particularly affecting the food production and transportation and storage sectors in the region or the country more broadly?
6. Can you provide me with any names and contact information for companies operating in the food production and transportation and storage sectors?
7. Would you have any documents / leaflets about the region (in English)?

Main data collection phase – Sweden and the UK

Case study interviews in Östergötland and Norfolk

Human resources representatives

1. How many people are currently employed in the company (approximately)?
2. To what extent has the company been recruiting workers over the past 5-10 years (in general terms)?
3. What is the nature of the employment that you are offering (temporary, full-time, part-time, seasonal) and how does this correspond to the positions that are vacant?
4. What are your recruitment methods?
5. There has been an overall trend in the UK for an increase in temporary employment between 2004 and 2012. Based on your experience, would you say that this is due to an increase in people specifically looking for temporary employment or do you think it is more a case that this is reflecting companies' needs?
6. To what extent do you employ people on a temporary basis (through an agency) to give you flexibility to adapt to changes in demand for your products/services?
7. To what extent do you look to recruit people with an established skills set or with a view to training people on the job?
8. To what extent do you promote from within to fill positions and/or put emphasis on flexibility/adaptability of your staff to meet your needs?
9. To what extent are, or have, (EU) migrant workers (been) employed in the company?
10. What roles/positions do (EU) migrants currently, or have previously, fill(ed) in your company (lower end or more supervisory/managerial)?
11. To what extent does the type (full-time, part-time) and duration (permanent, temporary) of employment that (EU) migrants have determine their position in the company or their work tasks?
12. Have you noticed an increase in the number of EU migrants looking for work in your company since the enlargement of the EU to Central and Eastern European countries in 2004?
13. Are trade unions recognised in the company? If not, why not?
14. [*If unions recognised*] What is the nature of collective bargaining (which issues (pay?), scope (company level, sectoral), frequency, coverage)

15. [*If unions recognised*] To what extent do workplace union representatives influence decision-making processes, or have the chance to voice their opinions?
16. Are there are pieces of current employment law or potential laws that you are concerned about from the point of view of how you recruit workers or manage the employment relationship in your company (for example the implementation of the temporary and agency workers legislation or NMW legislation)?

Workplace trade union representatives

1. How long have you been working for the company and how long have you been a work place representative?
2. What does your role as a work place representative involve?
3. What are the main issues/concerns for your membership?
4. What is your approach towards the organisation and recruitment of workers?
5. What is the nature of the employment relationship in your work place? For example, to what extent are workers hired on a permanent/temporary basis, full-time/part-time?
6. In your experience, how does your company tend to recruit workers – directly, through agencies or as posted workers?
7. To what extent are (EU) migrants employed in your work place?
8. What roles do the (EU) migrant workers typically perform?
9. Do you think that the type (full-time, part-time) and duration (permanent, temporary) of employment that (EU) migrants have impacts upon their opportunities within the company and the roles they perform?
10. How active are (EU) migrants in the union?
11. How does the presence of (EU) migrant workers affect your role as a work place representative, for example are there different challenges associated with representing them compared to UK nationals?
12. Are you aware of any tensions between ‘local’ and (EU) migrant workers when it comes to issues such as availability of work and wage levels?
13. How important do you consider it to be that companies have in place a process for worker progression from lower to higher positions (an internal labour market) so that people already within the company have an opportunity to progress, rather than the company relying on external appointments to fill vacancies?

Recruitment agencies

1. Can you explain the process of how you interact with companies and how you go about finding workers to fill their vacancies?
2. Based on your experience/observations, to what extent have companies been recruiting workers in this sector(s) over the past 5-10 years?
3. In your experience, what are employers' priorities when recruiting workers through an agency, why do they use an agency?
4. What sort of positions do you typically recruit for in this sector(s) (jobs performed; low/high end)?
5. What is the nature of this employment (temporary, full-time, part-time, seasonal)?
6. There has been an overall trend in the UK for an increase in temporary employment between 2004 and 2012. Based on your experience, would you say that this is due to an increase in people specifically looking for temporary employment or do you think it is more a case that this is reflecting companies' needs?
7. Based on your experience what sort of presence do (EU) migrant workers have in this sector?
8. Have you noticed an increase in the number of EU migrants looking for work since the enlargement of the EU to the Central and Eastern European countries in 2004?
9. Based on your experience, to what extent would you say that companies view (EU) migrants as a source of temporary and flexible workers and that they recruit them on this basis to meet their short-term requirements for additional labour or to fill skills gaps?
10. Do you think that this has a negative impact on their labour market status and the positions they occupy i.e that it limits their prospects of finding permanent work in higher-end positions and creates the notion of 'migrant jobs'?
11. What is your perspective on the implementation of the temporary and agency workers legislation?
12. Do you have dialogue with local regulatory bodies, such as trade unions, the health and safety executive, gang master licensing authority on issues such as terms and conditions for agency workers or on the temporary and agency workers legislation implementation?

Regional and national level interviews

Cross-sectoral employers' organisations

1. How long have you been working for this organisation?
2. What is the business perspective on EU migrant workers?
3. Did your member companies support the opening up of the labour market to east European migrant workers in 2004 and 2007 Why/why not?
4. What are the most common countries of origin for EU migrant workers in Sweden/UK?
5. This country has a history of being open to EU migrant workers. Why do you think that it is?
6. To what extent do you think that EU migrant workers meet companies' staff and skills needs?
7. To what extent would you say that these workers are well integrated into the labour market and have similar sorts of opportunities to 'local' workers?
8. How important do you consider it to be that companies have in place a process for worker progression (an internal labour market)?
9. Do certain companies display a particular demand for mobile or migrant workers? For example is there a concentration of, or reliance on, such workers in particular sectors or occupations?
10. There has been an overall trend for an increase in temporary employment over the last 10 years. Based on your experience, would you say that this is due to an increase in workers specifically looking for temporary employment or do you think it is more a case that this is reflecting companies' needs?
11. To what extent would you say that EU migrant workers find employment as temporary workers through private employment agencies, are taken on directly by companies or are posted workers?
12. Do you think that the type (full-time, part-time) and duration (permanent, temporary) of employment that (EU) migrants have impacts upon their opportunities within a company, the roles they perform and their overall labour market status?
13. What role, if any, does your organisation play in the regulation of the labour market? If not a direct one, how do you support your members in this respect?
14. What are your views on the approach to setting a minimum wage?
15. What is your perspective on the implementation of the temporary and agency workers legislation?

Cross-sectoral trade union organisations

1. What are the main issues/campaigns that you currently working on?
2. Are there particular issues that you are addressing in the food manufacturing and/or transportation and storage sectors?
3. How do you promote the organisation and recruitment of workers in/to trade unions?
4. To what extent would you say that EU migrant workers are active in trade unions in Sweden?
5. There has been an overall trend for an increase in temporary employment over the last 10 years or so. Based on your experience, would you say that this is due to an increase in workers specifically looking for temporary employment or do you think it is more a case that this is reflecting companies' needs?
6. What issues, if any, does a high proportion of temporary workers present for trade unions in terms of their ability to recruit and organise workers?
7. To what extent do you think that there is a concentration of, and/or reliance on, EU migrant workers in certain sectors, in general, and in the food manufacturing and transportation and storage sectors, in particular?
8. Do you think that the type (full-time, part-time) and duration (permanent, temporary) of employment that EU migrant workers have impacts upon their opportunities within a company, the roles they perform and their overall labour market status?
9. Are you aware of examples of any tensions between 'local' and EU migrant workers when it comes to issues such as availability of work, wages etc?
10. How important do you consider it to be that companies have in place a process for worker progression (an internal labour market)?
11. [*Where relevant*] What role does your organisation and/or your members, play in the regulation of employment, in general, and in the food manufacturing and transportation and storage sectors, in particular?
12. [*Where relevant*] Could you describe the process that your organisation goes through and the role it plays at the different stages of a bargaining round?

Trade union representatives working for sectoral organisations or that work on sectoral issues

1. What are the main issues that you are working on in the area of food manufacturing/transportation and storage?
2. To what extent does your organisation organise workers in this sector?

3. What is your approach towards the organisation and recruitment of workers in the sector?
4. To what extent are (EU) migrant workers active in the union?
5. There has been an overall trend for an increase in temporary employment between 2004 and 2012. To what extent has this been the case in the food manufacturing/transportation and storage sector?
6. Based on your experience, what are the reasons for the high/low use of temporary workers in this sector?
7. What issues, if any, does the use of temporary workers in the sector present for your organisation in ms of your ability to recruit and organise workers?
8. To what extent do you think that there is a concentration of, and/or reliance on, (EU) migrant workers in this sector?
9. Do you think that the type (full-time, part-time) and duration (permanent, temporary) of employment that (EU) migrants have impacts upon their opportunities within a company, the roles they perform and their overall labour market status?
10. Are you aware of examples of any tensions between ‘local’ and (EU) migrant workers when it comes to issues such as availability of work and wage levels?
11. How important do you consider it to be that companies have in place a process for worker progression (an internal labour market)?
12. [*Where relevant*] What role does your organisation play, if any, in the regulation of employment in this sector (for example negotiation of workplace agreements)?
13. What is your perspective on the implementation of the temporary and agency workers legislation?

Organisations representing recruitment agencies

1. What have been the main trends experienced by private recruitment agencies over the past 5-10 years in the recruitment of workers?
2. In your experience, what are employers’ priorities when recruiting workers through an agency, why do they use an agency?
3. Are there some sectors that are more likely to recruit workers through agencies than others?
4. Can you give an overview of the nature of employment in the food production and transportation and storage sectors from the perspective of private recruitment agencies (f/t, p/t, temporary, roles performed)?

5. There has been an overall trend for an increase in temporary employment between over the last 10 years or so. Based on your experience, would you say that this is due to an increase in people specifically looking for temporary employment or do you think it is more a case that this is reflecting companies' needs? How has this affected the recruitment industry?
6. To what extent would you say that EU migrant workers use recruitment agencies to find work? What do you think the reasons are for this?
7. Based on your experience, to what extent would you say that companies view EU migrants as a temporary and flexible workforce and that they recruit them on this basis to meet their short-term requirements for additional labour or to fill skills gaps?
8. To what extent do you think that there is a concentration of, and/or reliance on migrant workers to meet employer's needs for staff/skills in the food manufacturing and transportation and storage sectors?
9. Do you think that the type (full-time, part-time) and duration (permanent, temporary) of employment that migrant workers have impacts upon their opportunities within a company, the roles they perform and their overall labour market status?
10. Is there a particular piece of legislation that you feel has had an especially significant impact on how private recruitment agencies operate?
11. Do you have dialogue with national regulatory bodies, such as trade unions, or health and safety bodies on issues such as terms and conditions for agency workers or on the temporary and agency workers legislation implementation?
12. Are there any upcoming initiatives at national/European level that you believe will have a particularly significant impact (positive/negative) on private recruitment agencies?

*Representative of a cross-sectoral employers' organisation working on training issues
(Sweden only)*

1. In your experience, to what extent do companies systematically offer learning and training opportunities?
2. Is this something that would be part of a collective agreement? If so, could you give me an example of the provisions of such an agreement, for example how long does a worker need to be in a company before being able to access training? Who pays for the training?
3. Who determines the content of the training – the employer, employee or the two together?
4. To what extent do trade unions advocate learning and training opportunities for workers?

5. To what extent do workers take up the opportunity to do training?
6. From an employers' perspective, what are the advantages that companies can get from offering work place training opportunities? Do you think there are any disadvantages?
7. To what extent do you think that learning and training opportunities in companies help to establish or support a system of internal progression / an internal labour market in a company?
8. What role does your organisation play, if any, in promoting a culture of learning and training in companies?
9. According to your own experience, or from what you hear from your members, to what extent do (EU) migrant workers participate in work place learning and training? Are there specific issues that can affect the extent of their involvement, such language or duration of employment?
10. Could you comment on any specific examples of learning and training initiatives from companies in the food manufacturing and/or transportation and storage sectors?

Representative of an organisation providing training in the transportation and storage sector (Sweden only)

1. Could you describe the role of the organisation and why it was created?
2. Could you give some examples of projects that you are working on related to the education and training of workers in the transport sector?
3. What is your relationship with the social partners in the transport sector? How do they shape or contribute to the work that you do?
4. Is training available to all employees, do they have to be permanent employees? Who decides who receives the training?
5. Do you have a role in identifying the training needs of individual staff?
6. Is it your role to determine the content of the training (the curricula) or is that something that would be done together with the social partners jointly, or mainly with the employers/companies?
7. What type of training do you provide? Is this provided directly by your organisation or in partnership with schools/colleges/universities?
8. Does training take place in the workplace or externally or a combination of both – i.e. theoretical and practical?
9. To what extent has the progressively increasing role of technology in the transport sector affected skills requirements in companies?

10. Are there some specific skills shortages that are identified in the sector - in high or low skilled positions? Why do you think these shortages exist?
11. Do companies / trade unions aim to make the sector more attractive to people through skills development opportunities?
12. What would be considered high and low skilled jobs in the transport sector?
13. Does the training help workers to progress internally in their companies, for example to get promoted and maybe move from being blue collar to white collar?
14. Are you aware of EU migrant workers (workers from other EU countries) taking part in training programmes?
15. Are there additional pre-conditions for their participation in training, such as language ability, having a permanent contract etc?

Trade union affiliated training organisation (UK only)

1. In your experience, to what extent do workers proactively look for learning and training opportunities?
2. How do you go about promoting learning and training opportunities in the workplace?
3. Are there some criteria that workers need to meet before being eligible for training, such as time spent at a company?
4. On the job training is likely to be related to the specificities of a particular workplace, what are the advantages/disadvantages of this - for example how transferable are the skills acquired through this type of training?
5. Could you comment on any specific examples of learning and training from the food manufacturing and/or transportation and storage sectors, such as the content of training, who received it etc?
6. To what extent do you consider work place training to enhance workers' opportunities for career progression?
7. To what extent do (EU) migrant workers participate in work place learning and training and are there specific issues that can affect the extent of their involvement, such language or duration of employment?
8. Do you have specific policies to reach out to (EU) migrant workers?
9. How do representatives of your organisation interact with employers to determine the type of training that workers receive?

10. To what extent is the content of the training set by employers to address their skills needs?
11. To what extent does your organisation's work contribute to promoting union membership and values more broadly?

Representative of a migration research agency (UK only)

1. Could you briefly describe what your role at the agency?
2. When the agency prepares its reports which actors does it consult as part of this process?
3. There appears to be a lack of reliable data on EU migration to the UK. Do you find this to be the case and, if so, to what extent does this impact on the ability to make informed migration policies?
4. Several of the agencies reports show an increase in the share of migrants in the food manufacturing and transport sectors between the periods 1994-2002 and 2002-2008. What factors do you think explain this (eg structure of the economy/labour market)? What impact, if any, do you think the 2004 accession of the A8 countries has had in this respect?
5. Do you see that employers display a specific demand for EU migrant labour (quantitative/qualitative) and what are the reasons behind this demand? For example is it linked to the nature of the work and the characteristics of EU migrants?
6. To what extent do you think that the type (full-time, part-time) and duration (permanent, temporary) of employment that EU migrants have impacts upon their opportunities within the UK labour market, the roles they perform and their overall labour market status?
7. To what extent does the evidence suggest that EU migrant workers use private employment agencies as an entry point into the UK labour market?
8. Amid the current political discussions about the ability for EU migrant workers to come to the UK under freedom of movement, to what extent would you say that there is (still) an economic case for EU migration to the UK?

Appendix 3: Confirmation of ethical approval for fieldwork

Appendix 3.1: Ethical approval for main data collection phase in Sweden and the UK



RESEARCH AND ENTERPRISE SERVICES

17th January 2014

Robert Plummer
Research Institute for Social Sciences
Claus Moser Building

Dear Robert,

Re: A comparative study of the employment of EU migrant workers in Sweden and the United Kingdom

Thank you for submitting your revised application for review. I am pleased to inform you that your application has been approved by the Ethics Review Panel. The following documents have been reviewed and approved by the panel as follows:

| Document | Version | Date |
|------------------------------------|---------|----------|
| Summary of Proposal | 1 | 02/10/13 |
| Letter(s) of Invitation | 1 | 02/10/13 |
| Information Sheets | 3 | 19/12/13 |
| Consent Form | 1 | 02/10/13 |
| Consent Form for the use of quotes | 1 | 02/10/13 |
| Interview Topic Guides | 1 | 02/10/13 |

If the fieldwork goes beyond the date stated in your application, you must notify the Ethical Review Panel via the ERP administrator at uso.erps@keele.ac.uk stating ERP2 in the subject line of the e-mail. If there are any other amendments to your study you must submit an 'application to amend study' form to the ERP administrator stating ERP2 in the subject line of the e-mail. This form is available via <http://www.keele.ac.uk/researchsupport/researchethics/>

If you have any queries, please do not hesitate to contact me via the ERP administrator on uso.erps@keele.ac.uk stating ERP2 in the subject line of the e-mail.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "B Bartlam", with a long horizontal flourish underneath.

Dr Bernadette Bartlam, Chair – Ethical Review Panel

CC RI Manager
Supervisor

Appendix 3.2: Ethical approval for exploratory data collection phase in Brussels, Belgium



**Keele
University**

RESEARCH AND ENTERPRISE SERVICES

15th April 2013

Robert Plummer
Research Institute for Social Sciences
Keele Management School
Keele University, ST5 5BG

Dear Robert,

Re: 'A comparative study of the employment of EU migrant workers in Sweden and the United Kingdom'

Thank you for submitting your application for review. I am pleased to inform you that your application has been approved by the Ethics Review panel. The following documents have been reviewed and approved by the panel as follows:

| Document | Version | Date |
|--------------------------------|---------|----------|
| Application Form | 2 | 09/04/13 |
| Summary of Proposal | 1 | 02/03/13 |
| Letter of Invitation | 1 | 02/03/13 |
| Information Sheet | 2 | 09/04/13 |
| Consent Form | 1 | 02/03/13 |
| Consent Form for use of quotes | 1 | 02/03/13 |
| Interview Topic Guide | 1 | 02/03/13 |

If the fieldwork goes beyond the date stated in your application 31st December 2013 you must notify the Ethical Review Panel via the ERP administrator at uso.erps@keele.ac.uk stating ERP2 in the subject line of the e-mail. If there are any other amendments to your study you must submit an 'application to amend study' form to the ERP administrator stating ERP2 in the subject line of the e-mail. This form is available via <http://www.keele.ac.uk/researchsupport/researchethics/>

If you have any queries, please do not hesitate to contact me via the ERP administrator on uso.erps@keele.ac.uk stating ERP2 in the subject line of the e-mail.

Yours sincerely

Dr Bernadette Bartlam, Chair – Ethical Review Panel

CC RI Manager
Supervisor

Appendix 4: Fieldwork information sheets

Appendix 4.1: Information sheet for main data collection phase in Sweden and the UK



Information Sheet

Study Title: A comparative study of employment in the food manufacturing and transportation and storage sectors in the United Kingdom (UK) and Sweden.

Aims of the Research

The overall aim of this project is to research companies' demand for workers, their skills requirements, recruitment, allocation of roles and work organisation. Within this, there is a specific focus on if and how EU migrants meet companies' staff needs and their labour market situations in the food manufacturing and transportation and storage sectors in the UK (Norfolk) and Sweden (Östergötland). The labour market status of EU migrant workers in these sectors will be explored and compared in the context of the two countries' industrial relations systems.

Invitation

You are being invited to consider taking part in an interview for this study on the employment of EU migrant workers in Sweden and the UK. This project is being undertaken by Robert Plummer as part of his doctoral studies at Keele University (UK) and is supervised by Dr Steve French.

Before you decide whether or not you wish to take part, it is important for you to understand why this research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read this information carefully and discuss it with colleagues, friends or relatives if you wish. Do not hesitate to contact me if there is anything that is unclear or if you would like more information.

Why have I been invited?

You have been invited because you are working for a company in either the food manufacturing or transportation and storage sector in Östergötland or Norfolk or because you are involved in worker recruitment to these sectors or represent, or work for, a trade union representing workers in these sectors and locations.

You are being invited to take part in an interview, which will be part of a case study on the employment of EU migrant workers in each sector/country. Each case study will be made up of interviews with people in companies that are working on human resources/recruitment, the organisation of workplace or shop floor operations and trade union representatives; branches of local recruitment agencies and national recruitment organisations; and local trade union branches and national union federations.

Do I have to take part?

You are free to decide whether you wish to take part or not. If you do decide to take part you will be asked to sign two consent forms, one is for you to keep and the other is for my records. You are free to withdraw from this study at any time and without giving reasons.

What will happen if I take part?

If you consent to taking part you will be agreeing to a semi-structured interview that should take in the region of 30 minutes to 1 hour to complete. Interviews will be conducted in English. The indicative interview questions will be available to you in advance so that you are aware of the content and direction of the interview.

If I take part, what do I have to do?

If you agree to take part you will be asked to sign a consent form at the start of the interview. At this point you will be asked if you give your consent to the interview being audio recorded. The reason for recording the interview is to accurately capture the responses to the questions and to aid the researcher in the analysis of the data. The interview will enable you to give your opinions on aspects of the research project directly related to your work situation and area of knowledge. You will have the right to end the interview at any point. The date, time and place of the interview can be arranged to accommodate your preferences.

What are the benefits (if any) of taking part?

You will be contributing to a piece of research in an area that is of topical interest to local, national and European policy makers and researchers and one where relatively little comparative work has been undertaken.

What are the risks (if any) of taking part?

There are no risks associated with agreeing to participate in an interview.

How will the data be used?

During the interview the researcher will take notes and, if the participant agrees, record the interview. This information will be used to help inform the researcher's PhD project and any subsequent academic publications that arise from the doctorate. You will have the opportunity to preserve your anonymity, meaning that your identity will be protected when the interview findings are reported. You will also have the opportunity to consent to whether you can be quoted and if there is any information from the interview that you would like the researcher not to report.

Please note, however, that the researcher is required to work within the confines of current legislation over such matters as privacy and confidentiality, data protection and human rights and so offers of confidentiality may sometimes be overridden by law. For example in circumstances whereby the researcher is made aware of future criminal activity, abuse either to yourself or another (i.e. child or sexual abuse) or suicidal tendencies he must pass this information to the relevant authorities.

Who will have access to information about me?

The names and contact details of the people that take part in this research will be treated in confidence and will only be accessible by the researcher and his supervisor, Dr Steve French. The pre-interview consent form also gives you the option to indicate whether you would agree to being contacted by the researcher about possible participation in future

research projects. Any further research project would be subject to separate ethical approval by the university.

How will the data be managed?

All data will be stored by the researcher on a secure password-protected drive on a Keele University server. Printed interview transcripts and consent forms will also be safely filed in a locked cabinet in the office of the researcher's supervisor at Keele University. None of these documents will be disseminated in any way. Data will be retained for at least five years by the researcher and securely destroyed following the completion of the project.

The researcher is aware that he is managing data with legal implications and is following the Keele University policy on research data management. This policy can be viewed on the Keele University website,

<http://www.keele.ac.uk/researchsupport/researchdatamanagement>.

Who is funding and organising the research?

This research is privately funded by the researcher and is being independently organised by him in line with the requirements of Keele University.

What if there is a problem?

If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, you may wish to speak to the researcher who will do his best to answer your questions. You should contact Robert Plummer r.c.plummer@keele.ac.uk. Alternatively, if you do not wish to contact the researcher you may contact Dr Steve French (lead supervisor to Robert Plummer) or Nicola Leighton if you remain unhappy about the research and/or wish to raise a complaint about any aspect of the way that you have been approached or treated during the course of the study:

Dr. Steve French
Senior Lecturer in Industrial Relations and HRM
Keele Management School
Keele University
ST5 5BG
United Kingdom
Tel: 0044 (0)1782 733609
E-mail: s.r.french@keele.ac.uk

Nicola Leighton
Research & Enterprise Services
Dorothy Hodgkin Building
Keele University
ST5 5BG,
United Kingdom
Tel 0044 (0)1782 733306
E-mail: n.leighton@keele.ac.uk

Contact for further information

Robert Plummer r.c.plummer@keele.ac.uk

Appendix 4.2: Information sheet for exploratory data collection phase in Brussels



Information Sheet

Study Title: A comparative study of the employment of EU migrant workers in Sweden and the United Kingdom.

Aims of the Research

The overall aim of this project is to research the labour market situations of EU migrant workers in the food production and transportation and storage sectors in Sweden and the United Kingdom (UK). The labour market status of EU migrant workers in these sectors will be explored and compared in the context of the two countries' industrial relations systems.

Invitation

You are being invited to consider taking part in this study on the employment of EU migrant workers in Sweden and the UK. This project is being undertaken by Robert Plummer as part of his doctoral studies at Keele University (UK) and is supervised by Dr Steve French.

Before you decide whether or not you wish to take part, it is important for you to understand why this research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read this information carefully and discuss it with colleagues, friends or relatives if you wish. Do not hesitate to contact me if there is anything that is unclear or if you would like more information.

Why have I been invited?

This phase of the research involves conducting a series of background interviews with practitioners working at the European level in Brussels. In this respect you have been invited to take part in this research because you are considered to have specific knowledge of either the sectors/locations/issues that this research aims to investigate. The information gathered from these interviews will be used to inform the researcher's understanding of the sectors and issues that will be researched during the second phase of the fieldwork that will be conducted at a later stage in Sweden and the UK.

Do I have to take part?

You are free to decide whether you wish to take part or not. If you do decide to take part you will be asked to sign two consent forms, one is for you to keep and the other is for my records. You are free to withdraw from this study at any time and without giving reasons.

What will happen if I take part?

If you consent to taking part you will be agreeing to an interview that should take in the region of 30 minutes to 1 hour to complete. You will have the opportunity to preserve your anonymity and any comments made during the interview will be treated in confidence.

If I take part, what do I have to do?

If you agree to take part you will be asked to sign a consent form at the start of the interview. The interview will enable you to give your opinions on aspects of the research project that directly relate to your area of expertise. You will have the right to end the interview at any point. The date, time and place of the interview can be arranged to accommodate your preferences.

What are the benefits (if any) of taking part?

You will be contributing to a piece of research in an area that is of topical interest to European and national level policy makers and researchers and one where relatively little comparative work has been undertaken.

What are the risks (if any) of taking part?

There are no risks associated with agreeing to participate in an interview.

How will information about me be used?

During the interview the researcher will take notes and, if the participant agrees, record the interview. This information will be used to help inform the researcher's PhD project and will not be used for any additional research purposes without prior consent.

Who will have access to information about me?

The names of the people that take part in this research and the comments that they make during interview will only be accessible by Robert Plummer as the researcher and his supervisor, Dr Steve French. As was mentioned, you will have the opportunity to preserve your anonymity and to consent to whether you can be quoted and if there is any information that you would like the researcher not to report.

How will the data be managed?

All data will be privately and securely stored by the researcher on a private and password protected home computer in a locked environment. Any printed interview transcripts will also be safely filed at the researcher's home address and will not be disseminated in any way. Data will be retained for at least five years by the researcher and securely destroyed following the completion of the project.

The researcher is aware that he is managing data with legal implications and is following the Keele University policy on research data management. This policy can be viewed on the Keele University website,

<http://www.keele.ac.uk/researchsupport/researchdatamanagement>.

Who is funding and organising the research?

This research is privately funded by the researcher and organised by him in line with the requirements of Keele University.

What if there is a problem?

If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, you may wish to speak to the researcher who will do his best to answer your questions. You should contact Robert Plummer r.c.plummer@keele.ac.uk.

Alternatively, if you do not wish to contact the researcher you may contact Dr Steve French (lead supervisor to Robert Plummer) if you remain unhappy about the research and/or wish to raise a complaint about any aspect of the way that you have been approached or treated during the course of the study:

Dr. Steve French
Senior Lecturer in Industrial Relations and HRM
Keele Management School
Keele University
ST5 5BG
United Kingdom
Tel: 0044 (0)1782 733609
E-mail: s.r.french@keele.ac.uk

Contact for further information

Robert Plummer r.c.plummer@keele.ac.uk, +32.(0)499.941.284.