Tracing the integration trajectories of diverse Spanish citizens in the UK

A thesis submitted to Middlesex University
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Helen N. J. McCarthy

M00551414

Social Policy Research Centre
Middlesex University

September 2019

Abstract

This thesis investigates the integration experiences of Spanish citizens who have arrived in the UK in the last decade. That period saw an increase in migration from Spain and a diversification of the flow. Among Spanish citizens coming to the UK there is a variety of class, ethnic and national backgrounds, including many individuals on their second migration. However, studies have tended to overlook this diversity and rarely look at immigration from Western Europe through the lens of integration. The concept of integration has received much merited criticism but new conceptualisations, grounded in empirical realities, have highlighted the dynamic, multi-directional and processual nature of the phenomenon. Drawing on these ideas, the project's aim was to explore to what extent these conceptualisations were effective in accounting for the integration trajectories of diverse Spanish citizens. Building on the new conceptualisations that have framed the study, I propose thinking of 'interactional integration': a series of multi-directional, interactional processes that constitute a continual renegotiation of identity and belonging. The study adopted a mixed-methods design based on the pragmatism paradigm, and used an online, self-administered survey and in-depth, semi-structured interviews to explore integration in three main domains: employment, social life, and language. The findings revealed a range of integration trajectories as well as a large number of interactions between the domains. Language, in particular, with its dual role as both a medium of communication and a marker of social identity, mediated experiences in the other areas. Different forms of capital – economic, social and cultural – played an important role in configuring how integration trajectories unfolded. These trajectories were also shaped by past migration history and the ways that citizenship was accessed, highlighting that citizens do not all start in the same positions. Legal status, and the rights that underpin it, is thus key to integration, but remains contingent – as the ongoing Brexit process has revealed. This contingency can foster feelings of ontological insecurity highlighting the multi-directionality of integration processes. I conclude by developing a conceptual map of 'interactional integration' and arguing that integration is a concept that still has a place for capturing the full range of experiences across multiple domains.

Acknowledgements

There are a many people who deserve an acknowledgement in these pages. Writing a PhD is a long journey and so many along the way provide emotional or intellectual support. Firstly, of course, a massive debt of gratitude is owed to my supervisors, Professor Eleonore Kofman and Dr Alessio D'Angelo, who have guided me through this process. A huge thank you must also go to all those who shared their stories and time with me for this research. I would also like to thank the wonderful Bev Agolini who, once again, provided detailed proof-reading. Any mistakes remain my own.

Family and friends have played a huge role in this process. I would not have made it this far without the love and constant support of my parents. Lucía, Lucila, and Tess, - the trio of Argentine doctors! – have all provided wise words at different moments and continue to inspire me with their academic and professional endeavours. But none of this would have been possible without two people: Shannon and Daren. Shannon, my transnational study-buddy, provided unfailing support through daily goal-setting, discussions of the big (and little) ideas and mini-celebrations for all the important milestones. And Daren was there throughout to keep me focussed on the end-goal and to help remind me that there was life beyond the PhD! Thank you!

Finally, I was lucky enough to be able to spend some time in Latin America and part of this thesis benefitted from the research stays in the Centro de Estudios de Conflicto y Cohesion Social under the guidance of Dr. Barozet and in the Universidad de Buenos Aires under the guidance of Dr. Chávez Molina. These research stays were organised in the context of INCASI Network coordinated by Dr. Pedro López-Roldán, a European project that has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie GA No 691004.

Contents

Chapter 1: Prologue: Migration, integration and citizenship in turbulent contexts

This project focuses on the integration trajectories of Spanish citizens in the UK during a period in which the UK is undergoing a profound socio-political shift in its relationship with the European Union (EU). But as with many academic endeavours, the evolution and development of the project had personal inflections (Martiniello and Rath 2010). Having grown up as the child of British immigrants in Luxembourg, as my academic career progressed, the question of integration, of assimilating, of fitting in, began to perplex me. Luxembourg is in many ways unique - due to its size and wealth. But one of its most salient features, and one that I was aware of from a young age, is the high proportion of immigrants – over 40% based on recent statistics (Statec Luxembourg 2019). Starting from a different time and place from the author quoted above, I began to wonder, what does it mean to 'fit in' if society is multiple and complex and changing?

Of course, in the mid 70s when my parents moved to Luxembourg, there was no question of the need for them to fit in. Society was not making demands of them. Their experience was probably among the most privileged form of movement: they were white, well-educated, and my father was moving to take up well paid work within the then European community. In the parlance common at the time, and still used today in some quarters, they were 'ex-pats' not 'immigrants'. Theirs was an initially easy transition. Nevertheless, it did require a transition, changes that were slow and evolving, and that continue to this day. It was in this context and living these slow changes, that I developed my academic career, first close to home looking at linguistic integration within multi-lingual Luxembourg (McCarthy 2011). Already at this stage, the question of citizenship emerged in my work, as immigrants to Luxembourg learnt Luxembourgish to comply with policy requirements for access to citizenship, theoretically aimed at furthering integration. Citizenship remains a key inherited privilege that affects individuals' life chances and their ability to move to enhance those life chances (Shachar and Hirschl 2007). My voluntary work with a Latin American community group in London brought this particularly into focus and led to me investigating dual citizenship in this community and questioning what the acquisition of a second citizenship means for Latin Americans in Europe (McCarthy 2012). Citizenship and access to forms of citizenship remain a hugely stratifying factor globally, affecting who can move and how easily. However, citizenship and the rights attached to it, remain contingent, as a number of recent cases in the UK press have demonstrated.[1]

[1] The Windrush scandal which saw a large number of British citizens of Caribbean descent denied their rights of residence in the UK leading in some cases to wrongful deportation has brought the contingency of citizenship into the mainstream (Wardle and Obermuller 2018). Similarly the recent decision of the Home

This current project picks up and draws together both these themes – integration in complexity and citizenship as stratifying yet contingent – in the context of increased socio-political turbulence. The last decade has seen a number of geo-political 'crises' in which concerns about migration have played a key role. The degree to which these crises are manufactured is open for debate (Crawley 2016), but questions about who is able to move, and what is expected of people after they have moved remains at the heart of numerous political debates. Just over the course of this doctoral project, we have seen Donald Trump elected – in part due to the mobilisation of racist rhetoric and a confected southern border 'crisis' – and the referendum to leave the European Union – which saw the slogan of 'taking back control of our borders' being deployed with devastating effectiveness (Virdee and McGeever 2018). In 2000, Nikos Papastergiadis (2000) noted that:

> "The current phase can best be described as turbulent, a fluid but structured movement, with multidirectional and reversible trajectories. The turbulence of migration is evident not only in the multiplicity of paths but also in the unpredictability of the changes associated with these movements" (2000, 7).

From the perspective of 2019, this statement seems prescient. Thus the need to discuss these issues in an empirically grounded way is likely to become more urgent. While a variety of politicians promise simplicity through catchy slogans, the truth is that we are living in a messy, complex world, in which changing migration patterns are just one element among many of the transformations that societies are undergoing. This thesis aims to examine one small element of this messy complexity and in so doing hopes to illuminate some of the nuances of these changes.

Secretary to strip a British citizen of citizenship while she is abroad, in effect making her stateless, has also highlighted the contingent nature of citizenship (Greenfield 2019).

Chapter 2: Setting the scene: why study integration of Spanish citizens?

The study of the changes that take place to individuals, groups and societies post migration has a long history (Brown and Bean 2006). Initially, studied in the classic immigration society of the USA, theorists posited a fairly linear pathway of transitions that migrant groups followed as they assimilated – or became similar to – the receiving society, implicitly acknowledged to be white, middle-class and protestant (Alba and Nee 1997). In this conceptualisation, migration was a one-off event – a permanent move. Although described as a 'melting pot', academic consensus was of an American mainstream that migrants and their descendants eventually became part of, with little real discussion of change on the part of the receiving society. However, as some expected changes among certain immigrant groups did not materialise, new conceptualisations were suggested, with integration proposed as an alternative that did not imply a complete renunciation of cultural backgrounds (Berry 1997). As scholars in European countries began to grapple with similar questions, the idea of integration was adopted and has become the dominant concept for thinking about the processes of change that occur after an individual has moved to a new country (Penninx and Martiniello 2004).

The interest in this process of change is justified due to the fact that it touches on so many aspects of academic study. Integration brings to the fore questions of cultural identities and how these change over time. It also raises questions concerning citizenship: who should have rights, and who should belong politically and under what conditions? Looking at integration reveals persistent inequalities between host society citizens and migrant groups and helps us understand the structural barriers that shape those inequalities. Integration at its core is also about time and processes of intergenerational change. But perhaps, most fundamentally of all, the question of integration gets to the heart of a key issue in sociology – that of the nature of the society and the relationship between individuals and society (Anthias 2013). It raises the question of how we should think about social change, and the mechanisms by which changes come about in society (May 2011).

However, integration remains a loaded word and its usage and application has received much merited criticism (Schinkel 2013; Wieviorka 2014; Anthias 2013; Valluvan 2018). Many people have pointed to the lack of consensus as to a definition of integration (Castles et al. 2002), suggesting that this weakness means it can be stretched to cover many different issues (Gidley 2014). Besides, many of the issues with the idea of assimilation remain. Integration, with its implication of one piece being incorporated into a whole, reproduces ideas of nation-states as coherent wholes that contain a singular culture (Anthias 2013). Moreover, ideas of linearity of processes persist in some accounts

which implies an end-point (Phillimore 2012). But who defines such an end-point? As the word has slipped into wider usage, and been adopted by politicians and the general public, problems with the concept have become more acute. Debates about integration have moved away from considering processes of change, to broader discussions of political philosophies and how they are translated into policy (Joppke 2007). Integration, in many popular discourses, is often presented as the policy 'solution' to the 'problem' of migration. Thus integration has increasingly taken on a normative and even at some stages coercive tone, as migrants are required to fulfil various integration requirements (Goodman 2010). Clearly, academic debates are not conducted in a separate realm from these wider discussions, and in this area the link between policy and research has come to be seen as problematic (Penninx 2013; Favell 2001).

Nevertheless, in the last few years, a number of scholars have sought to develop more nuanced, empirically grounded understandings of integration that have put migrants' experiences centre stage (L. Ryan 2017; Spencer and Charsley 2016; Grzymala-Kazlowska 2016; Erdal and Oeppen 2013). These have all been developed with particular attention paid to the fluidity of today's migratory movements, the increasing diversity of modern societies and the continuing importance of transnational connections. As migration patterns have become more complex globally, scholars have increasingly pointed to the diversity within migrant groups including in terms of legal status, ethnicity, language, religion and how these factors intersect (Vertovec 2007). These are also matched by a greater understanding of diverse patterns of movement – including multiple and onward movements within the EU (Lindley and Van Hear 2007). New conceptualisations of integration have sought to engage more explicitly with these factors. They seek to engage more explicitly with the temporal element of integration and the dynamic nature of the whole series of changes. These conceptualisations draw on a range of research dealing with social relationships, belonging and identities to highlight the importance of interactions for these processes (Phillimore 2012; Grzymala-Kazlowska and Phillimore 2017). As a result, they seek to move away from more static, fixed and normative ideas of integration. It is starting with these conceptualisations, which are examined more fully in the next chapter, that I shall proceed in this study. Thus for the purposes of this study integration is defined as: a series of multi-directional, interactional processes between migrant and society that constitute a continual re-negotiation of identity and belonging.

Why focus on Spanish citizens?

In this study, I have chosen to look at integration experiences of Spanish citizens in the UK. This group was chosen for empirical and theoretical reasons but also in part for pragmatic reasons . Firstly, it was clear that the Spanish case remained remarkably under-studied in the UK context

illustrating a clear gap in the literature (Jendrissek 2016). This appeared even more stark in the wake of the 2008-9 financial crisis which had seen a high number of Spanish citizens moving to the UK (Bermudez and Brey 2017; D'Angelo and Kofman 2017; González-Ferrer 2013). Moreover, there were two interesting features of this group of citizens which is of particular relevance for thinking about integration processes. One is that Spanish citizens are also EU citizens. The second was that there was a diversity of national backgrounds within this single citizenship group. Secondly, there was a practical component: I speak Spanish and am reasonably well connected with Spanish speaking groups in London, particularly Latin American groups, making fieldwork seem feasible.

The fact that Spanish citizens are EU citizens makes this case study interesting for a number of reasons. The European Union's regulations on free movement provide citizens of Member States with the ability to move and reside freely within the entire area of the European Union (Carmel 2013). Legal equality of EU citizens with citizens of the receiving Member State has underpinned the idea of free movement (Collett 2013). This has created a new and unique regulatory environment for migration, which, alongside the increasing ease and affordability of international travel and constantly evolving communications technologies, has created a new context for the study of migration (Cresswell 2010). As a result, EU citizens moving to the UK have traditionally enjoyed political, economic and social rights that have not always been available to other groups of migrants (Carmel 2013). The framing of the discourse around mobility at the political level of the EU implied that settlement of EU citizens was of little social significance (Carmel 2013) and thus there was no need to consider their 'integration'. Thus scholars working on free movement of EU citizens to the UK have only recently begun to look at this through the lens of integration (L. Ryan 2017; Grzymala-Kazlowska 2017).

This shift in focus followed the accession of ten new member states to the EU in 2004[2] and the subsequent large increase in migration from Eastern and Central European countries to the UK (Burrell 2010). Until that point, intra-EU mobility was still a relatively rarely studied phenomenon, with the few studies focussing on a small group of highly skilled individuals who were highly mobile (the so-called 'Eurostars') (King 2002; Favell 2008). Since the accession of the new member states

[2] The European Union (previously the European Community) has undergone different periods of expansion. From the mid 80s until the mid 90s there were 12 members (the UK, Ireland, France, Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Denmark, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Greece) who were then joined by three further countries: Austria, Sweden, and Finland. This grouping is commonly referred to as the EU15 in statistics (or sometimes the EU14 with the UK excluded). This was followed in 2004 by the addition of ten new countries (Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Malta, Cyprus). This group is commonly referred to as the A8 or EU8 (Malta and Cyprus generally excluded). In 2007, Bulgaria and Romania also joined (referred to as the A2) followed in 2013 by Croatia.

and the increase in migration from a number of Central and Eastern European countries to the UK, the study of intra-EU movement became a specific topic characterised in a particular way (Engbersen and Snel 2010; Burrell 2010). However, studies on movement from Western European countries remain relatively thin on the ground (Ryan and Mulholland 2014a).

In the meantime, changing socio-political contexts have created shifts in the type of movements coming to the UK from the EU. This study is situated in the aftermath of one turbulent socio-political event, the financial crisis of 2008-2009. The financial crisis and its aftermath resulted in an increase in migration from some EU countries to the UK (Vargas-Silva and Markaki 2015). Countries in Southern Europe, including Spain, that experienced high levels of youth unemployment and unemployment more generally, saw an outflow to countries in northern Europe, particularly the UK and Germany, from around 2012 onwards (D'Angelo and Kofman 2017; M. Izquierdo, Jimeno, and Lacuesta 2016). While some studies emerged in the immediate aftermath most are framed around and focus on a youth response to the crisis (Bartolini, Gropas, and Triandafyllidou 2017; Jendrissek 2016), in spite of the fact that flows have been considerably more diverse (McIlwaine and Bunge 2016).

This project is also situated in the midst of a new turbulent socio-political event: Brexit. The UK's decision to leave the European Union (commonly referred to as Brexit) heralds a new age of political turbulence that has been unfolding as this project has progressed. The decision to leave the EU upends the regime of rights-based freedom of movement for EU citizens, raising a number of questions in terms of their future mobility and residential status post-Brexit (B. Ryan 2017). This event has highlighted the contingency of the rights attached to EU citizenship (B. Ryan 2017; D'Angelo and Kofman 2018). But it also has presaged urgent conversations about discrimination and racism, and the kind of society the UK aspires to be. Scholars have highlighted how Brexit reveals the UK's long-standing uneasy relationship with its European neighbours; the population's discontent with the political legacy of the financial crisis and a certain colonial nostalgia (Virdee and McGeever 2018). Brexit is not a moment, but an ongoing process that is likely to have diverse geographical, classed, gendered and racialised impacts (Guerrina and Masselot 2018; Ben Anderson and Wilson 2017; D'Angelo and Kofman 2018; Bhambra 2017). EU citizens resident in the UK have had their feelings of belonging disrupted by the Brexit process, as they find themselves re-positioned within public debates not as citizens but as migrants (Ranta and Nancheva 2019; Bhambra 2017; D'Angelo and Kofman 2018). Considering this from the lens of EU citizens with diverse ethnic and national identities allows us to consider the question of what EU citizenship really means. A change in rights

and status seems likely to have implications for integration processes, a question this study will seek to attend to.

The second important feature of the group of Spanish citizens looked at for this study is their internal diversity. Within those moving from Spain to the UK, scholars identified a particular group – that of Latin Americans who had naturalised as Spanish citizens and were undertaking a second or onward migration to the UK (McIlwaine and Bunge 2016, 2018; Mas Giralt 2017; Ramos 2017). These individuals were from a number of different Latin American countries, including Ecuador, Colombia and Argentina, but in common to them all was the fact that they held dual citizenship with Spain and had spent a considerable amount of time living in Spain before moving again. Their movement also was often interpreted in response to the crisis (McIlwaine and Bunge 2018), but usually they were considered as a separate category, rarely discussed as part of the wider movement from Spain to the UK. This in part reflects different demographic profiles in terms of age, life stage, and education level (Ramos 2017; McIlwaine and Bunge 2016) but it also highlights how the research framing of an issue shapes the categories of study and who gets included. This onward movement is just one example that highlights how fluid 'new' forms of migration can be; with multiple movements, periods spent back in the origin country and circulations all forming part of increasingly complex patterns of migration facilitated in this case by holding dual (EU) citizenship (Ramos, Lauzardo, and McCarthy 2018). Starting with the premise of looking at those who held Spanish citizenship, I was interested in exploring all the different experiences of integration within this group, including those who had already undergone the experience of integration in another setting. Thus looking at the integration experiences of Spanish citizens in the UK raises a number of interesting issues that will allow us to develop and deepen our understanding of integration and its relationship to citizenship and national identities as well as looking at what the implications of previous migratory experience are for integration processes. While citizenship is often used as a proxy for national and ethnic identities, in our increasingly complex world in which dual citizenship is becoming more common, that relationship no longer holds. The turbulent political context of financial crisis and Brexit adds an interesting dimension, challenging us to consider the continuities as well as the discontinuities in processes of change.

Research aim and questions

As briefly sketched above, integration is a concept that encompasses a number of different processes of change and touches on a number of different areas of interest for migration scholars. With such a large topic it is therefore necessary to situate the study and define a suitable scope for the research. I was interested in grounding my study in lived experiences and exploring these in

reasonable depth. However, as integration is a multi-dimensional phenomenon, I was also keen to ensure that I was capturing experiences across a range of different areas of life. Seeking to move away from older, static representations of integration, the overarching question driving this project was:

To what extent are new conceptualisations of integration able to account for integration trajectories of diverse Spanish citizens?

In order to respond to this, this main question was broken down into three main components, each of which contributed to some element of the overall question.

1) **What are the integration trajectories of Spanish citizens in the UK?**

In order to assess whether new conceptualisations help us to account for integration experiences, we first need to understand the nature of such experiences. I chose to focus on integration trajectories across three main areas of life: the labour market; the social realm and language. Choosing three areas that were quite different was part of seeking to build up a more holistic idea of 'integration'. In looking at three different areas, I was also keen to consider how they interacted and impacted on one another. I chose to use the word trajectories in wording this question (and throughout the thesis) to highlight movement that does not necessarily have a specific end-point. Thus the aim was to highlight how people could move forwards and backwards in their processes of change.

Secondly, and as highlighted above, in order to build a full picture of the experiences of Spanish citizens, I needed to interrogate the diversity within the group of Spanish citizens. Thus I sought to delve into the complexity of different individuals' experiences:

2) **What do differences in experiences of diverse Spanish citizens reveal about integration and the factors that affect it?**

As discussed above, one key element of the diversity that I was interested in was that of people who had already had migratory and integration experiences and were undertaking a second migration. Considering this group alongside their fellow Spanish citizens highlights the commonalities of citizenship but also the limits of using it as category of explanation. In seeking to unpick differences

of experience, I also look at how different factors intersect and interconnect, and how these interconnections can help us to understand different integration experiences.

Finally, in seeking to explain Spanish citizens' experiences, and in taking a migrant-centred approach, I sought to understand how people felt about the processes of the change that they experienced particularly in the somewhat turbulent context they were living through. Thus I asked:

3) **How do Spanish citizens feel about their integration trajectories?**

Newer conceptualisations of integration have highlighted how integration takes place through interactions and engagements. Thus the emotional content of those engagements becomes important when thinking about integration. In the past, migrants' own views of integration were often overlooked. However, part of developing a more nuanced understanding of these processes involves getting to grips with how it feels and how people themselves think about it.

The questions above provided the framework around which to structure the thesis. Thus while the overarching question runs through the whole work, the specific sub-questions guide the analysis in individual chapters. In the following section I will briefly set out how these questions will be answered through the remainder of the thesis.

Outline of thesis

I begin by outlining the state of the debate on integration and the way integration has been theorised in academic literature. Tracing the usage and development of the concept in the UK and European context, I outline some of the newer conceptualisations that have attempted to move away from the word's more problematic associations. In particular, I pay attention to three approaches that have been developed in the UK in the last couple of years, highlighting the strength and weakness of each (L. Ryan 2017; Grzymala-Kazlowska 2016; Spencer and Charsley 2016). I also draw attention to some of the debates around citizenship, class and ethnicity, highlighting how certain assumptions about citizenship feed into assumptions about integration. This linkage between citizenship, class and ethnicity is something I return to in chapter four when looking specifically at the case of Latin American-Spaniards. The remainder of chapter three is spent reviewing existing research on integration focussing on the three main domains of the study: employment, language and social connections. This covers a vast range of literature, each of which could potentially warrant its own review, thus I have sought to limit, where possible, the focus to studies from the UK, or studies that have looked at these issues in relation to migration of Spaniards or those from Southern Europe.

Chapter four sets out what we already know about the Spanish population in the UK. As mentioned above, research on the Spanish community in the UK has been fairly limited, reflecting a wider phenomenon of few studies focusing on EU15 groups. This chapter thus draws on recent official statistics from both UK and Spanish sources, to build up something of the numerical picture regarding age profile, country of birth and geographic spread of the Spanish population in the UK. I review the recent studies that have investigated Spaniards in the UK as well as discussing research conducted in Spain regarding Spanish emigration. In the second half of the chapter, I examine the history of migration between Spain and Latin America and demonstrate how that impacts citizenship policies today. Finally, I review the greater number of studies that have looked at recent Latin American migration to the UK.

Moving on to the empirical study, chapter five covers my methodology and research design. Having identified some of the diversity within my target study group in chapter three, I set out how I sought to capture this diversity through a mixed methods approach. The chapter explains the rationale for mixed methods and highlights features of my online survey and in-depth qualitative interviews. An overview of survey participants and interviewees is also provided to contextualise findings in subsequent chapters. Throughout this chapter, I explore reflexively the challenges thrown up and my own positionality in the research, particularly with regard to language use.

In the first substantive findings chapter, chapter six, I seek to answer the first sub-question listed above, namely, what are the integration trajectories of Spanish citizens in the UK? In this chapter, I will explore the overall experiences using both survey and interview data with respect to three main areas: language, employment and social connections. I will show how through their engagements and interactions with the receiving society, people's integration proceeds. I begin by considering each domain separately as studies have revealed how integration processes can occur in one area independently of one another. I then move on to explore some of the many complex interactions between the different areas, exploring for instance how elements of the structural domain (such as jobs and housing) may be facilitated by social contacts. I also consider the interactions between language and social connections and how these all impinge feelings of belonging and being at home.

In chapter seven, I address the second sub-question: what do differences in experiences of diverse Spanish citizens reveal about integration and the factors that affect it? This chapter is concerned with delving into the complexity of different experiences and giving a full account of how these might impact on integration trajectories. In particular this chapter focuses on those who have a previous history of migration, having migrated first from Latin America to Spain and then onwards to

the UK. The chapter highlights some of the different factors such as family responsibilities, different motivations for migration and different classed positions that flow from people's previous experience of migration to affect their integration trajectories in the UK.

In chapter eight I explore participants' emotional engagement with and understanding of their integration processes. Looking at how people narrate their experiences of integration reveals the importance of wellbeing for integration. People describe the importance of a level of emotional resilience as a part of the processes of integration. This is understood in reference to the multifocality that migrants have with engagements both 'here' and 'there', thus there is a constant sense that migrants are developing and adapting their ways of being. A sense of belonging 'here' is developed in daily interactions and living a 'normal' life. The turbulence of the socio-political shift engendered by Brexit has thrown this belonging into question, highlighting how integration processes can be unsettled. The process forces a shift in subjectivities and identities and a questioning of the future.

Finally, chapter nine seeks to draw all the findings together to discuss the over-arching question: to what extent are new conceptualisations of integration able to account for integration experiences of diverse Spanish citizens? In reviewing the findings, I highlight four themes that emerged throughout the thesis that seem currently to be inadequately captured or explained in accounts of integration. First, I draw attention to classed differences that cut across different ethnic and national backgrounds. Individuals move with different levels of capital and have different capacities to mobilise and re-constitute such capital. These different positionings make a huge difference to how people experience their integration trajectories. Secondly, I discuss what the case study reveals about the role of citizenship in integration processes. Citizenship or legal status shape many elements of integration processes, but the case study highlights how access to this status is stratified, but also how the citizenship is still a conditional status and rights and protections can be removed. Thirdly, I highlight the role of language, arguing that its role in mediating and structuring integration processes had not been adequately interrogated in many accounts. Finally, I emphasise the importance of understanding emotional engagement throughout the integration process. In exploring these accounts, I consider each of the three selected, highlighting the strengths of each account and revealing any gaps. I conclude by presenting my own conceptual map of integration processes which builds on the work of these different accounts.

Chapter 3: Theorising integration

Mobility in all forms has come to be seen a constitutive feature of modern life (Castles, De Haas, and Miller 2014; Papastergiadis 2000). But with mobility comes its counterpart, immobility – or settlement, and perhaps it is more accurate to reflect that, "the tension between movement and settlement is constitutive of modern life" (Papastergiadis 2000, 10). Processes of settlement after migration touch on many issues of interest to sociology. There are questions about labour markets and inequalities within them; questions about citizenship, rights and political participation; questions about the formations of cultural and national identities and of course the questions of how society is re-configured through these processes. Integration has been one of the key lenses through which scholars and policy makers have thought about processes of settlement of migrants within a society. But a nagging doubt remains: in the context of increased fluidity, hypermobility and ever increasing diversity, does the notion of integration remain relevant? In this chapter, I will seek to address this question by reviewing some of the theoretical development of the idea of integration.

Zincone, Caponio, and Carastro (2003) have categorised research on integration into three groups: studies that have aimed at understanding and analysing the process(es) of adaptation and settlement; studies that have focused on national 'models' of integration; and research that has sought to define and develop indicators or outcomes of successful integration. In this review, the aim is to focus on the first of category of these studies, those that have focussed on the processes of integration, as it is in this area that this project seeks to situate itself. Much early discussion focussed on different national models of integration as a way of understanding how nation-states sought to come to terms with migration-related difference (Brubaker 1992). While these have been useful in capturing some broad philosophical differences, the realities of integration remain more complex (Loch 2014; Joppke 2007). I argue that it is time to focus the debate about integration on a more nuanced understanding of the empirical realities. Broader questions about social cohesion and different models of living together with difference will not be touched on in this review. Similarly, studies that have sought to define indicators of integration, which have been mainly driven by policy aims, will not feature. Instead this review will start with how the concept of integration has developed and how it has featured in the debate on free movement within the EU. I will highlight the problems associated with the concept particularly with regard to how it is currently used in political and public discourses. The way in which debates on citizenship, class and ethnicity interact with this discussion of integration will also be examined. I will then turn to more recent literature that has attempted to re-frame and re-conceptualise integration in response to some of these challenges. In the second half of the chapter I will review a selection of studies falling under a range

of themes, - employment, language, social connections, and transnationalism and local belonging - that are of particular relevance to this study.

Situating research on integration and intra-EU mobility

Widely used in political and public debates, scholars have struggled to agree on a definition for the word 'integration', with Stephen Castles and colleagues arguing that "there is no single, generally accepted definition, theory or model of immigrant and refugee integration," (Castles et al. 2002, 114). Its usage in public life is often unclear and has been repeatedly criticised (Wieviorka 2014; Valluvan 2018), but its continuing salience demands that scholars engage with the concept in the hope of informing and steering a more nuanced public debate.

The use of the word 'integration' developed as a counterpoint to the more widely used concept of 'assimilation' which was developed and widely used in the US (Alba and Nee 1997; Favell 2001). Broadly speaking, under this theorisation it was understood that over time, often across generations, immigration groups slowly became more like the 'mainstream' majority in a broadly linear fashion. The end point of this process was often seen as naturalisation, or gaining full citizenship. This mainstream majority is implicitly recognised as white, middle-class and protestant (Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas 2016). While other theorists have developed the idea to account for greater complexity in trajectories (Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997) the idea has still been criticised for the assumption of a loss of cultural background. Instead integration was posited as an alternative model in which the minority group maintained elements of their cultural background whilst still becoming an integral part of the receiving society (Berry 1997).

The notion of integration has become much more widely used in European contexts particularly in recent years (Favell 2001; Penninx and Martiniello 2004; Valluvan 2018). However, some have argued that the idea of integration has been adopted and become widely used in Europe without adequate theorisation and problematisation for the different context (Favell 2001; Martiniello and Rath 2010). Although supposedly different from the idea of assimilation, many people argue that the term integration continues to be used in ways that imply assimilation (Grzymala-Kazlowska and Phillimore 2017). Thus many of the criticisms that have been made of assimilation have also been levelled at integration. The concept of integration has implied one group becoming part of another larger whole. It has been critiqued for being state-centric in which the nation-state is understood to be a bounded, culturally coherent whole (Favell 2001; Grzymala-Kazlowska and Phillimore 2017; Anthias 2013). The idea has also been criticised for requiring all the adaptation to be on the side of the immigrant, without acknowledging any role for the receiving society. As a normative concept,

definitions have varied depending on the outcome that has been sought (Spencer and Cooper 2006; Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas 2016). This has meant that in many policy discourses, integration has coercive connotations, as the majority gets to decide when someone is 'integrated enough' (Ben Gidley 2014). As Anthias (2013) comments, discourses on integration and diversity continue to essentialise and perpetuate ideas of 'us and them'. An interest in outcomes and indicators has fed this obsession with the end result, rather than a process (Gidley 2014). It has also been argued that the concept of integration, developing as it did out of models of US adaptation (Schneider and Crul 2010), is unsuited to a more complex society characterised by both super-diversity and hyper mobility (Grzymala-Kazlowska and Phillimore 2017; Rutter 2015).

Some have suggested that this is partly because the development of the concept has been policy-driven, and as such, academics have been playing catch up (Penninx 2013). This certainly can be seen to an extent in the proliferation of research on integration that has been funded by government institutions or supra-national bodies such as the EU (Favell 2001). One result of this in Europe, has been that integration has only been researched for so-called 'third country nationals' –those from outside the EU. This is because at the EU level, integration is not deemed to be necessary for mobile EU citizens as they have equal rights. Those that have been targeted for integration policies are those who are seen as part of an intractable policy issue – whose movement and participation is problematised (Mügge and Van der Haar 2016). Thus academic work has developed alongside the EU's political discourse which has increasingly sought to differentiate a new form of movement for EU citizens. The distinction is made semantically between the movement of the third country nationals, who are deemed to 'migrate', while, on the other hand, EU citizens are deemed to be 'mobile' when they move to another European country. While 'mobility' is welcomed and encouraged through a range of policies and funding programmes (Kofman 2015; King 2002), the EU and its member states have sought increasingly draconian measures to restrict the 'migration' of those from outside the EU (Crawley 2016). This distinction has also built on the implicit idea that migration is more permanent whereas European mobility is considered more temporary. Integration, previously considered as a long-term, linear process was thus less relevant for temporary movements.

Early studies on intra-EU migration in the UK emphasised the temporariness of many of these new flows and the uncertain plans for the future of many of those arriving (Eade, Drinkwater, and Garapich 2007; Burrell 2010; McGhee, Moreh, and Vlachantoni 2017) leading some to characterise this as a new form of migration best captured by the idea of 'liquid migration' borrowing from

Bauman's ideas of 'liquid modernity' (Engbersen and Snel 2010). Nevertheless over time, new patterns of mobility including circular migration and transnational commuting have been observed alongside longer-term settlement, as intentions change over time (Ryan 2015a; Spencer et al. 2007). Researchers turned to investigate a range of other areas of EU migrants' lives, such as their social and family lives (Ryan 2011; Ryan et al. 2008), but rarely were these studies framed in terms of integration. While policy discourse has focused on the idea of legal equality and equal rights between EU citizens that has underpinned free movement, scholars have increasingly drawn attention to the fact that accessing rights in practice and availing oneself of the opportunities of freedom of movement are structured by inequalities (Trenz and Triandafyllidou 2017; Carmel 2013). In many EU member states freedom of movement has become increasingly politicised (Nielsen 2013) and hierarchies of desirableness have emerged with distinctions made between those from the newer accession countries (the A8 and A2) and those from the older Western European countries (EU15) (Collett 2013). The politicisation of EU free movement reached its pinnacle in the campaign for the UK's referendum to leave the European Union. The ongoing debate since the result to leave the EU was announced in June 2016 has drawn questions about the settlement of EU citizens in the UK into sharp focus.

Integration in policy and public discourse

In European policy circles, integration has become a more widely used concept since the early 2000s. In 2004, the Council of the European Union published its Common Basic Principles of Integration. Some of the most important elements of the concept as has been defined at EU level are that it is: processual and dynamic, two-way (i.e. involving the participation of the receiving society) and multi-scalar (i.e. involving individuals, groups and society) (Council of the European Union 2004). The strong focus on employment has been criticised for failing to pay adequate account to social dimensions (Kofman 2015; Collett 2013). Nevertheless, the concept has been evolving; while early integration indicators were focused on employment, education, social inclusion and active citizenship, more recent iterations have included elements of social cohesion and civic engagement which have included elements such as public attitudes to immigration and experiences of discrimination (Huddleston, Niessen, and Tjaden 2013).

In the UK, the term was more often associated with the settlement of refugees, and has often been seen to have negative assimilationist tendencies (as contrasted with multicultural policies) (Rutter 2015; Spencer 2011). Ager and Strang (2008), commissioned by the Home Office, attempted to come up with an operational, normative definition based on a literature review, interviews with refugees and triangulation with stakeholders. They came up with ten domains divided into four broad

categories: means and markers; facilitators; social connections; and foundation. Whilst means and markers included many of the key structural indicators such as those linked to housing, employment, education and health, the authors were keen to stress that integration outcomes could not only be linked to attainment in these areas. Since 2012, the term has again gained traction in UK central government, with the publication of Creating the Conditions for Integration, although it has not been associated with any central programme of policy (Rutter 2015). Integration in these documents has often been understood in terms of a process that allows for full participation in society. Jill Rutter (2015) writing with a policy audience in mind has suggested a new definition of integration as "the capability of migrants to achieve social inclusion and well-being" (Rutter 2015, 72) a definition which seeks to highlight the economic and social elements of integration and downplay ideas of cultural change. Rutter (2015) distinguishes integration from social cohesion and argues for different policy interventions. In both cases, she argues that policy on integration in the UK has lacked clear objectives and has failed to intervene in a consistent and joined up manner.

In some cases, the issue has not been the poor conceptualisation of the term in policy documents, but rather poor operationalisation into policy programmes. This has in part been linked to wider political contexts such as public opposition to immigration and austerity, but also to poor coordination infrastructure between departments (Rutter 2015), rigid limitation of scope (at EU level in terms of who the policy is thought to be targeted at) (Mügge and Van der Haar 2016), lack of political interest and political competence at the EU level (Collett and Petrovic 2014). Media and public discourse constantly presents integration as a form of test in which some (most) minorities have failed and integration policies have become increasingly entwined with policies of entry (Kofman 2005). This has been matched by a number of EU countries adopting explicit policies that require migrants to comply with integration contracts or pass integration tests in order to gain full legal membership through naturalisation (Borevi, Jensen, and Mouritsen 2017; Goodman 2010). A further persistent problem with public discourses has been the idea that integration is the remedy or protective feature against forms of religious extremism (Rutter 2015) and thus implicitly targeted at specific groups. It is this confusion that has frequently led to problematic associations of the idea of integration or integration policy.

The entanglements of class, citizenship and ethnicity in debates on integration

Traditionally the 'end point' of integration was assumed to be the moment in which migrants became citizens, and were fully accepted into society. Nevertheless, historically different European countries have had very different approaches to their citizenship policies particularly with regards to

how easily migrants and their descendants can access citizenship (Vink and de Groot 2010). Increasingly European states seek to take a managerialist approach in order to control who can fully belong (Bonjour and Chauvin 2018; Kofman 2005). This has been enacted through a range of policies which have selected individuals who are considered to be culturally or ethnically closer to the national community (Mateos and Durand 2012) or those with greater levels of economic resources (Kofman 2005; FitzGerald et al. 2017). These policies reveal the neo-liberal and neo-assimilationist assumptions that underpin them: that those who are wealthy are more easily integrated due to the fact of not becoming a burden on the state.[3] This is also implicitly gendered; family migrants (disproportionately female) are presumed to be economically inactive, and as a result entry routes for family migrants have been restricted with integration criteria targeting women imposed at the border as part of admission criteria (Kofman, Saharso, and Vacchelli 2015).

Naturalisation is often assumed to be the end point, but original citizenship is frequently used as a proxy in immigration and integration policies in order to make this selection. In some cases, original citizenship has been used as proxy by immigration and integration policies to select for those considered to be easier to integrate (FitzGerald et al. 2017). Citizenship can be used to select those who are perceived to be ethnically or culturally close (for instance when commentators in the UK promote greater immigration from the Commonwealth referring primarily to those from Australia, Canada and New Zealand) but also often for a certain level of wealth (this is the basis of most visa laws). Thus having a European citizenship exempts EU citizens from being subject to integration policies as a matter of EU law. This is rationalised in terms of the fact that EU citizens have de jure equality with the nationals of other EU member states, but has also implicitly drawn on ideas of shared European cultural identity and often a shared whiteness (Bonnett 1998). Coming from a high income country, and being highly educated or moving into certain types of jobs are often associated with different modes of entry which allow individuals to bypass any integration requirements. In spite of the variety and heterogeneity that exists within a receiving society (including classed, ethnic, gender and cultural differences), integration discourses often rely on the ideas of the 'class-lessness' of the receiving society (Bonjour and Chauvin 2018). However, increasingly, citizenship can no long act as a simple proxy, as the links between citizenship, wealth, and ethnicity become more complex. In fact, as research on free movement has shown, despite *de jure* equality, accessing rights in a free movement context has increasingly become the preserve of the better off, with states applying ever

[3] This has become more acute as the same rationale begins to be applied to citizens within the country (strivers versus shirkers). Employment and productivity have become the key features on which citizens and would-be citizens are all to be measured up (Bridget Anderson 2012).

more restrictive interpretations of the law that particularly impacts women and minorities seeking to exercise those rights (O'Brien 2016). The definition of 'work' under free movement law has excluded unpaid care work, impacting on EU migrant women's ability to access their rights to residence and social security (Shutes and Walker 2018). Both men and women in precarious, low-paid jobs are at risk of having residence rights denied as a result of requirements for levels of economic activity, but due to the interplay of work and care, the practical impact is gendered (Shutes and Walker 2018; O'Brien 2016). These uneven impacts have also been accompanied by processes of racialisation in the UK that have seen nominally 'white' groups of EU migrants, particularly from Eastern Europe become ethnicised in popular discourses (Fox, Morosanu, and Szilassy 2012).

The entanglement of class, citizenship, gender and ethnicity are important in discussions of migration experiences more generally and experiences of integration more specifically (Bonjour and Chauvin 2018). It should be noted that citizenship does not always align with national or ethnic identities.[4] Similarly, although coming from a high-income country, holding a passport which is from 'higher up' the hierarchy of passports (Castles 2005) may guarantee easier mobility, it does not necessarily mean the individual in question comes with a higher level of economic capital. Often, however, those who do have a higher level of resources, 'the elite', are able to be mobile irrespective of any restrictions placed on their particular citizenship (Castles 2005; Ong 1999). It has been argued that class has been under-examined in migration studies but that it fundamentally shapes migration experiences (Van Hear 2014; Bonjour and Chauvin 2018). Class, and people's ability to access various forms of capital, is fundamental both to the modes of migrations, routes and entry, but also to experiences post migration (Van Hear 2014; Oliver and O'Reilly 2010). But understanding and assessing classed positioning in migration contexts is complex, as the particularities of national and social contexts significantly shape people's ability to access and mobilise resources (Oliver and O'Reilly 2010). Class signifiers, the symbolic capital, may be transportable across borders but may not be convertible (e.g. foreign qualifications), resulting in struggles and negotiations around classificatory identifications (Eade, Drinkwater, and Garapich 2007; Oliver and O'Reilly 2010). Often research on integration has not considered class explicitly. When migration research has considered social location, it has tended to focus on those at either end of the scale – elites or those facing particular disadvantages. One exception has been research on what has been termed 'middling transnationals' – individuals from middle-class backgrounds who are internationally mobile and engage in transnational practices (Conradson and Latham 2005a, 2005b; Smith 2005; Tapini 2018).

[4] For instance in Spain, there are a number of different nationalist movements seeking recognition, the most notable of which are the Catalan and the Basque regions (Bollen and Díez Medrano 1998).

This group, it has been argued, probably constitutes a rather large portion of intra-EU migration (Parutis 2014).

The intersection of class and gender within migration studies has also been overlooked. As already highlighted above, immigration policies have gendered impacts due to the de-valuing of reproductive work; men and women's different engagement with the labour market and the fact that women and men circulate differently in global migration regimes (Kofman 2008). Through international migration, class and gender relations are re-configured in both 'sending' and 'receiving' contexts (McIlwaine 2010; Cortés and Oso 2017), thus there is a need to examine how class and gender relations intersect in a dynamic way across space and time (Kofman 2008). Thus integration experiences are ultimately shaped in complex ways by gender, citizenship, ethnic identities and class. The interplay of these different factors will be examined within one citizenship group in this study.

Re-conceptualising integration

In order to take account of some of the issues identified above, more recently scholars have been seeking to develop more nuanced models and conceptualisations of integration. Much of this has come out of a desire to focus on the empirical processes and move the idea of integration away from the political rhetoric. As Erdal and Oeppen (2013) observe, "an important distinction should be made between empirical observations of integration as a process that affects migrants and the societies in which they live, and the politically loaded idea of integration as an identifiable 'endpoint' that social policy can implement" (2013, 870). This has also been driven by a desire to formulate ideas about integration that can take account of 'new' forms of movement that is increasingly the norm for migration (Grzymala-Kazlowska and Phillimore 2017). Thus, instead of migration being a 'one-off' leading to settlement in a single country it may be characterised by multiple movements, leading to a call for concepts that move beyond integration to take account of the super-diverse and more mobile society in which we now live (Grzymala-Kazlowska and Phillimore 2017).

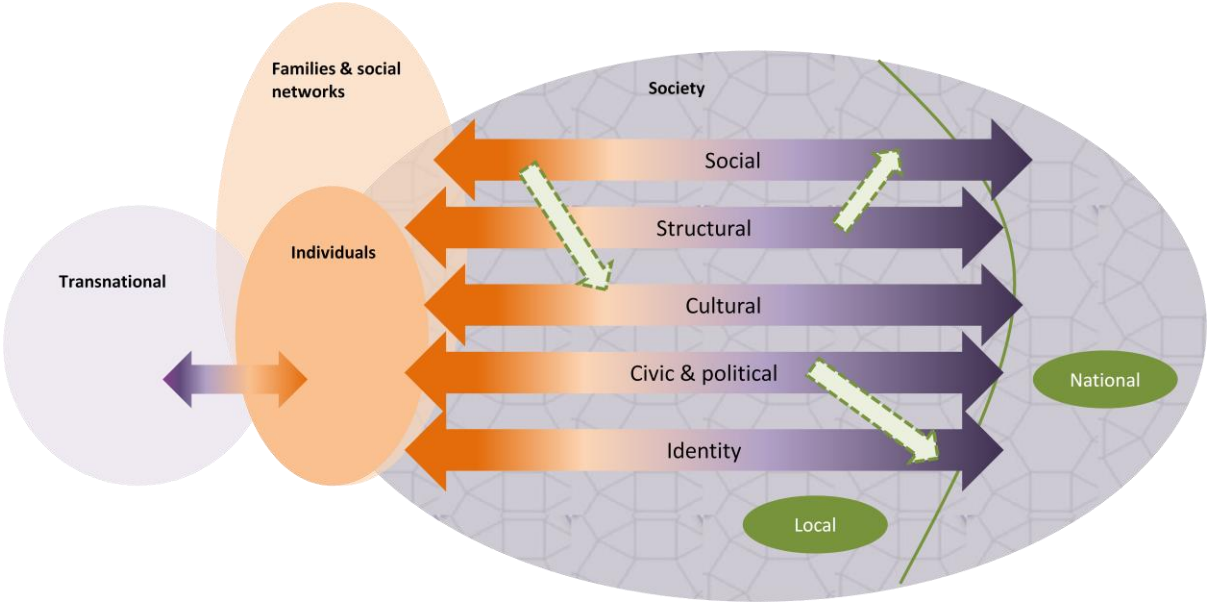
Different scholars have approached this from slightly different angles. Jenny Phillimore has argued that integration is best understood as "an ongoing negotiation between past and present, and country of origin and country of refuge, wherein identity is contested and constantly moving" (Phillimore 2012, 527). Ponzo et al. (2013) described integration loosely as, "the dynamic, multi-actor process of mutual engagement that facilitates effective participation by all members of a diverse society in the economic, political, social and cultural life, and fosters a shared and inclusive sense of belonging" (2013, 6). Most academics agree on the idea of integration as a process, or a

series of processes of mutual engagement that take place across a number of different domains (Spencer and Cooper 2006). However, the way these domains have been classified and characterised has varied. As mentioned above, Ager and Strang's (2008) model goes further than most in defining ten domains categorised into four broader categories. Relationships between these domains are not specified, but the four categories: markers and means, facilitators, foundation, social connection - provide a useful way of thinking through different types of engagement. Rinus Penninx (2013) and colleagues have suggested a model that emphasises the multi-scalar facets of integration with individuals, groups and institutions all implicated (Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas 2016). This model specifies three main domains: socio-economic; legal/political and cultural/religious and emphasises the interactions between them with multiple double-ended arrows, but interestingly does not explicitly include a social domain. Erdal and Oeppen (2013) go further by suggesting that fundamentally there are two key dimensions of integration: structural and socio-cultural. An alternative way to approach the problem is to consider integration in terms of participation and belonging (Crul and Schneider 2010) as transversal elements that cut across domains. Scholars have also agreed that integration processes and experiences can vary widely between individuals (Spencer 2011; Grzymala-Kazlowska and Phillimore 2017; B Gidley and Jayaweera 2010). As a result, while not ignoring the reality of group dynamics, there is a greater focus on individuals in recent research, with the group no longer the dominant unit of analysis (Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas 2016; Spencer and Charsley 2016). It is thus at the level of the individual, focussing on empirical realities, that we should study integration (Erdal and Oeppen 2013; Spencer and Charsley 2016).

Spencer and Charsley, (2016) whilst acknowledging that integration may not be the ideal term, have attempted to build a multi-layered model (see figure 3.1 below) which allows systematic and nuanced analysis of empirical realities. Initially designed for the case-study of non-EU spouses coming to join migrants in the UK, the model, they argue, is flexible enough for application across a range of different cases. They suggest that integration process can be understood as two-way processes of participation, and personal and social change. They suggest thinking about integration processes as taking place across domains and maintain that processes in one domain can develop independently of one another. However, experience in one domain can affect another – either positively or negatively. Their model also draws attention to the fact that the majority society is not homogenous but differentiated by factors such as class, age, ethnicity and income represented by the mosaic background of the bubble. Similarly, processes of integration include a spatial dimension with many processes taking place at the local level but some also being relevant at the national level. They also maintain that short term migration is not something that is unable to be captured in this

model arguing that "integration processes begin with the first moment of engagement: for the newcomer on the day of arrival (if not before, through transnational contact with family and friends, anticipatory socialisation and, in practical terms, pre-entry integration programmes)" (Spencer and Charsley 2016, 6). In further developing the model, they go on to outline 'effectors' that can either facilitate or impede these processes. They highlight effectors at the individual level related to the forms of human capital the individual has on arrival. Effectors can also include families and social networks (either in the receiving society or in the country of origin); opportunity structures in the receiving society and policy interventions. Finally, they identify that effectors can be transnational in nature and cut across those previous categories.

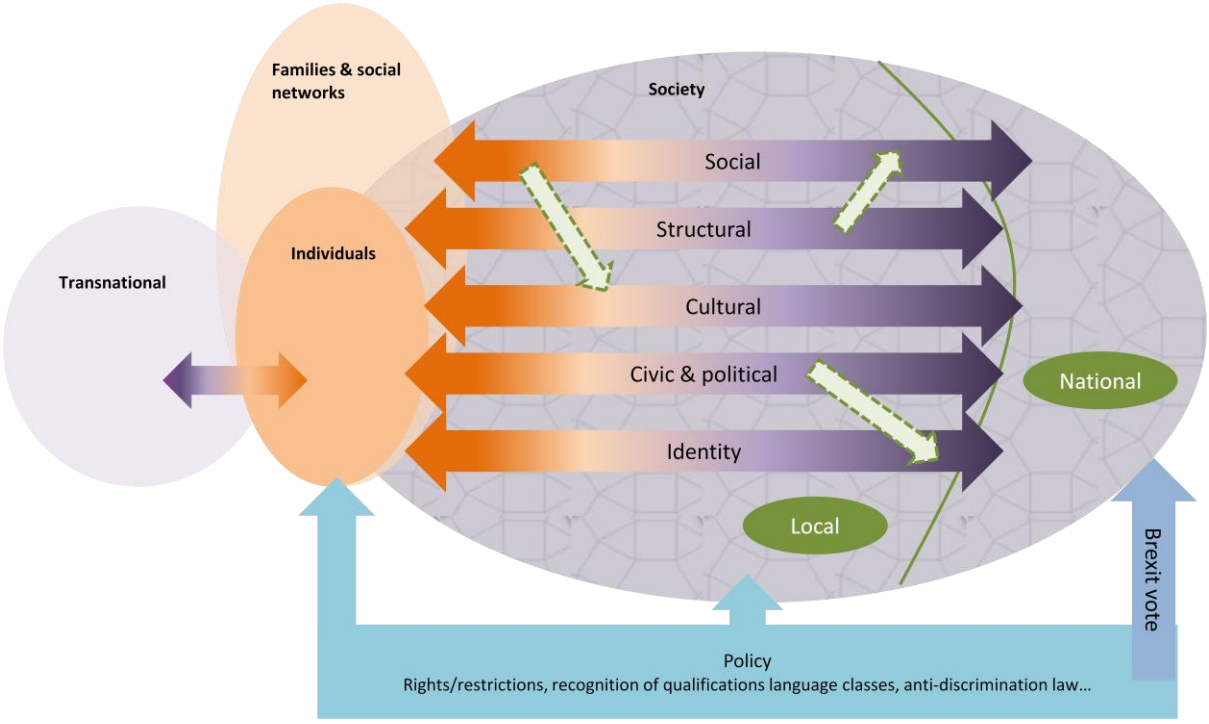
Figure 3.1: Model of integration as multiple, inter-related multidirectional processes across domains. Author's reproduction of figure 2 from Spencer and Charsley (2016)



The value of this model is that it captures and draws attention to a range of different elements that have proved problematic in previous conceptions of integration in a relatively simple representation. As such, this model seems to present a fuller account than other theoretical approaches and presents a good jumping off point for analysis of an empirical context and further critical theoretical development. One of the features that I believe makes it particularly suitable for use in this project is the focus on multiple domains and the interactions between them. This is regularly talked about in theories of integration but rarely analysed systematically in empirical studies. While the temporal dimension is hard to capture in a model form, Spencer and Charsley (2016) highlight the importance of time and life course in their description of the application of the model. Finally, the model draws attention to the range of factors (structural opportunities within society, transnational factors, human capital factors, factors relating to the individual's social network and policy interventions)

which create the context and shape integration processes. These 'effectors' provide a means to think about changes to context in order to consider how that might change the integration processes. One of these changes could be, for instance, the outcome of the UK's referendum on EU membership which could be seen to have both impacts in policy and in public attitudes (see figure 3.2).

Figure 3.2: Effectors on processes of integration. Author's reproduction of figure 3 taken from Spencer and Charsley (2016) and amended by the author.



One of the features highlighted in the above model is the opportunity structures that are afforded by society and the fact that these can have an impact (positive or negative) on integration processes. Crul and Schneider (2010) have looked at this element, using data from a large scale survey in multiple European countries with children of immigrants from different nationality backgrounds. Their analysis turns attention to the different *integration contexts* in the different cities, namely the institutional arrangements in housing, education, the labour market etc. *as well as* the configurations of super-diversity, which they argue all young people need to adapt to. Focussing on one element of the integration context – education – they show how second generation Turkish young people are achieving different educational outcomes in different European countries. Whilst highlighting structural opportunity contexts, they also emphasise that these interact with migrants' specific agency and human capital: "in different contexts, different subjective and objective options of individuals for gaining access and claiming participation depend on different individual and group

resources (i.e. economic, social and cultural capital)" (Crul and Schneider 2010, 1260). They highlight two different elements of integration, namely participation and belonging, and argue that the context of institutional arrangements is of particular importance for participation. In contrast, the context of national and local discursive practices are more important for feelings of belonging.

Phillimore, Humphris, and Khan (2017) also take a rather different approach, considering integration through the lens of the resource conservation framework. Interviewing recently arrived (less than two years) migrants in the UK of diverse backgrounds, they consider how migrants engage in acts of reciprocity to build up resources lost through the migration process. Thus they argue that it is possible to conceive of integration processes as "attempts to replace or substitute resources lost through migration and utilised in order to get on socially and economically while reducing acculturative stresses" (Phillimore, Humphris, and Khan 2017, 4). This work highlights the agency of the migrants, even among those who have little to offer in terms of resources. It also importantly draws attention to some of the processes by which social relationships become important, not simply for access to crucial information, but also for building psychological stability and self-esteem. They argue that this approach "moves integration theory in a completely new direction focusing on agency in the form of exchange of resources rather than identity (Bhatia and Ram 2009) or functional indicators (Ager and Strang 2008)" (Phillimore, Humphris, and Khan 2017, 13).

Other scholars have sought to move away from the idea of integration completely, replacing it instead with new notions to capture some of the complexity. Aleksandra Grzymala-Kazlowska (2016) has argued for a new conceptualisation of integration based on the idea of social anchoring. The author critiques the concept of integration, along similar lines that have been discussed above, arguing that integration "originates from structural and functional assumptions that immigrants constitute an alien element needing adjustment and connection to a society perceived as an integrated social system" (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2016, 1127). Further she argues that although new theorisations of integration are often complex and multidimensional, "they usually do not include identity in a sufficient way, despite the argument that identity can play a crucial role in mediating all social relations and human actions" (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2016, 1126). Social anchoring stresses both the emotional elements of settlement and adaptation but also the need to lead secure and stable lives (something also discussed by Bygnes and Erdal 2017). The concept of 'social anchoring' is thus presented as an analytic tool which builds on the metaphor of the anchor to encourage new theoretical work. The definition provided for social anchoring is "the process of finding significant reference: grounded points which allow migrants to restore their socio-psychological stability in new

life settings" (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2016, 1131). This definition contains within it an assumption about the nature of migration – that it disrupts socio-psychological stability.

Drawing on interviews with 40 recently arrived Polish migrants in the UK, she argues that 'anchors' can be maintained in the country of origin and then new anchors can be established in the receiving country (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2017). Anchors may have different flexibility and reflect differences in ability to change but the process of un-anchoring is also possible. Whilst the idea of anchoring has intuitive appeal as a metaphor, and does draw attention to affective dimensions, the conceptualisation of 'anchors' remains somewhat thin. Anchors, sometimes referred to as footholds, seem to be a range of different types of things such as social connections, welfare institutions and families. Although she argues that this variability highlights the multidimensionality of the anchors (economic, legal, cultural, spiritual etc), it is unclear how this is different from an analysis that discusses domains, and indeed referring to all these as anchors seems to only seek to make these domains less clear. (She also frequently refers to 'spheres of connection' with British society, which similarly draws to mind ideas of domains). It does not seem that there is anything inherent in the idea of anchoring that brings to mind multiplicity or simultaneity. Moreover, the process by which some things become anchors and why some things are able to become social anchors while others do not is not clear.

A slightly different conceptualisation has been suggested by Louise Ryan (2017) based on work looking at different groups of EU migrants in the UK (Ryan and Mulholland 2015; L. Ryan 2017). Building on the idea of 'embeddedness' – an idea which sought to account for economic decisions with reference to people's positioning within social networks (Granovetter 1985; Hess 2004) - she develops the concept of 'differentiated embedding'. In contrast to embeddedness, a static end state, embedding implies a dynamic process of negotiating identities and attachments across different sectors and spatial scales. Differentiated embedding is thus presented as "a way of thinking about the nuanced details of migrants' experiences of engagement with the people and places that make up their social world, and in a way that may mitigate often fixed and narrow concepts such as 'integration'" (L. Ryan 2017, 235). While focusing on the relational aspect of 'embedding', the concept keeps in mind the importance of different spaces for structuring experiences. This is enhanced in this study by a visual methodology which requires migrants to plot their social relationships across different 'sectors' of society on a sociogram. However, while the visual method usefully highlights different areas of life – these areas are not spatially coherent. Building on the work of Hite (2003) who created a typology of different forms of embeddedness, the author also

argues that the notion can capture different degrees and depths of attachment and belonging – highlighting its differentiated nature. While Ryan refers to 'structural' and 'spatial' embedding, the empirical application seems to be purely about social relationships. Migrant narratives around these relationships highlight the possibility of 'dis-embedding' or some form of 'ambiguous embedding'. This is shown to be subjective, the result of a change of feelings. As she notes, "Embedding is neither unidirectional nor irreversible. Migrants do not simply continue to embed over time; on the contrary, it is apparent that life events – such as divorce or bereavement – may result in ambiguous or even reverse embedding (dis-embedding)" (L. Ryan 2017, 248).

Many of these approaches share similarities. All highlight the interactional and relational element of integration and all highlight the fact that these take place across different domains or areas of life. Most recognise that experiences can vary across these different areas. Most also highlight that integration processes are uneven, they do not progress linearly. Most accounts, to varying degrees, also make reference to the transnational dimension, highlighting that this can play a role in integration processes. Nevertheless, the accounts vary in the degree to which they place emphasis on different areas. The ideas of social anchoring and differentiated embedding have clearly been influenced by the literature on social networks. In so doing, they seek to add greater depth and richness to what have otherwise been somewhat superficial accounts of what 'social' integration looks like and why it may be important. However, it is possible that starting with concepts that are fundamentally about social relationships, elements of the structural dimension, such as legal status, can be downplayed. In contrast, the various models suggested may prove too rigid to account for all of the variability of experiences. They may also attempt to capture too much in a single account.

Research on integration: key themes

In the following section, I will review some of the existing studies looking at integration processes, with a focus on mobile intra-EU citizens. Not all of the studies are necessarily framed in terms of integration, but all are interested in some element of the processes of change that occur after migration. I have focussed on some of the main themes which are relevant for this thesis and the wider debate on integration. Each theme encompasses a vast body of literature, and thus it is impossible to be comprehensive. However, in this short review I aim to highlight some of the key issues that may be of particular relevance to this study. Where possible, I have also focussed on research that has looked at intra-EU migration and work that has been conducted in the UK context.

Employment

Many researchers argue that participation in the labour market is a fundamental aspect of structural integration (Penninx 2013; Spencer 2011; Ager and Strang 2008). Not only is employment linked to

financial independence for the individual, it can also be associated with a sense of wellbeing and confidence. It has been argued that, "Migrants' position in the labour market has a significant impact on other dimensions of integration. It also has an impact on the perception of the host population towards them," (Spencer and Cooper 2006, 16). Since integration is a series of processes that involves both the individual migrant and the members and institutions of the host society, the impact on the host society is also relevant for a wide range of integration processes. However, this contributes to neoliberal discourses in which the only positive case that can be made for immigration is in terms of the degree to which migrants are able to 'contribute' or at least be self-sufficient, thus setting up categories of 'deserving' and 'undeserving' migrants (Bridget Anderson 2012; Bonjour and Chauvin 2018).

The UK's labour market has been characterised by its flexibility but research has found that migrants may find it difficult to progress (Marangozov 2014). Prior to the financial crisis, the UK had undergone a long period of growth, in which the economy absorbed people, and there were a number of labour shortages (Bridget Anderson and Ruhs 2010). Since then, although unemployment has remained fairly low, the recovery has been slower to take hold and improvements to wages have stagnated (OECD 2018). However, theses overall trends disguise huge differences within the labour market. The UK labour market is segmented and over time, a range of policies have come to affect and structure the 'need' for migrant labour in certain sectors (Wills et al. 2010; Bridget Anderson and Ruhs 2010). As a result, certain sectors of the UK economy have become reliant on migrant labour particularly in large towns and cities, such as London. These sectors tend to be dominated by work with low pay and poor conditions that are unattractive to British workers. The UK has also seen a rise in outsourcing and moves towards having a flexibilised labour force through greater use of agency workers and zero hour contracts (Benton and Patuzzi 2018). Scholars have argued that particularly irregular migrants or those subject to immigration control are most likely to be in these precarious positions (Wills et al. 2010). In principle, this does not apply to EU citizens arriving in the UK to gain employment, as they have the right to work. However, in practice other structural factors combine to create precariousness – e.g. language skills, lack of contacts and lack of knowledge about the labour market (Wills et al. 2010; McIlwaine and Bunge 2018).

Despite this broad segmentation, migrants' positions within the UK labour market can vary significantly depending on a range of factors. This variation in experience is so wide that it has led some to suggest that "it is not possible, or indeed helpful, to think of a generic experience of migrants in the UK labour market" (Cangiano 2008, 9). Clark et al (2018) make a similar argument,

suggesting that referring to a singular labour market conceals huge geographic differences and underplays structural barriers that are encountered by migrant groups differently. These structural barriers include but are not limited to: discrimination; legal status; differential levels of recognition of qualifications; national stereotyping. For instance, it has been shown that white migrants do better than ethnic minority migrants in terms of pay and job quality (Zwysen and Demireva 2018; Dustmann and Fabbri 2005). Other studies have shown how reasons for migration to the UK also have an impact on labour market outcomes, with those who have moved for work achieving better overall (in part due to positive selection) (Campbell 2014; Ruiz and Vargas-Silva 2018). The labour market also varies significantly based on locality as Clark et al (2018) have demonstrated. Using the index for multiple deprivation, they show that those living in more deprived areas have lower wage growth and higher rates of unemployment across all migrant groups. This research demonstrates that migrants have different opportunities to access and progress within labour markets depending on where they live.

Of course one of the major structural barriers that exists in terms of migrants' ability to secure jobs is their legal status. At the time of writing this is not a barrier encountered by EU citizens, who have had the right to work or seek work through freedom of movement, although this is likely to change once the UK has fully left the EU (Rolfe 2019). As a result, EU citizens are generally among the groups of immigrants who have fared better in the UK's labour market, often overrepresented within higher occupational categories (Cangiano 2008; Clark et al. 2018). However, once again this disguises substantial differences within the group of EU citizens. Distinctions are often made between the groups from countries that acceded to the EU at different times. Broadly speaking, those from the EU15 are considered to have the best outcomes within the labour market, followed by those from the A8 countries, followed by those from the A2 countries. Those from A8 countries may have initially struggled to find employment in line with their skill-set (Spencer and Cooper 2006; Eade, Drinkwater, and Garapich 2007; Nowicka 2014), but have experienced progression over time (Burrell 2010; L. Ryan 2017). Within the EU15 there are also important differences. Research has shown that even amongst those from southern Europe (Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece) different profiles of labour market participation emerge with distinct differences between those from Spain and Portugal (D'Angelo and Kofman 2017). This is due in part to divergent migration profiles in terms of time of arrival and means of entry, but is also linked, of course, to structural factors in the country from which they've come, such as differences in the education systems. Thus it can be hard to draw generalisations based on broad categorisations.

The research described above goes some way in presenting the multiplicity of factors that affect labour market outcomes for migrants. These factors complicate idealised models developed by economists who saw migrants as individuals with human capital that can move to fit into labour market gaps wherever they exist. The reality is more complex. As research has shown, recognition of skills and qualifications is in fact a social process, in which gender (Kofman and Raghuram 2005; Erel 2010); and national and racialised stereotyping play a role (Raghuram, Henry, and Bornat 2010; Csedő 2008; Nowicka 2014). The concept of 'human capital' - and the skills that underpin it - is thus not neutral. Human capital cannot be carried seamlessly across borders, but is rather shaped and structured in social processes in the new country (Friedberg 2000; Nowicka 2014). Employers play a huge role in this process, but so do the individual migrants themselves and their ability to signal their value to employers (Csedő 2008). Faced with the barriers described above, migrants develop strategies to negotiate and re-value their skills (Erel 2010), strategies that have been described as 'migration skills' (Nowicka 2014). Employers may be uncertain about qualifications and trainings gained abroad, thus undertaking further education in the UK and gaining recognised institutionalised cultural capital in the host country, is a key way for migrants to access the labour market (Csedő 2008; Erel 2010). The types of qualifications (e.g. science, engineering or business versus social sciences or humanities); the confidence of the individual and of course their English language ability are all important in whether they are able to demonstrate their value to employers (Csedő 2008; Nowicka 2014). These analyses move beyond the catch-all idea of human capital, and instead consider different forms of cultural capital - institutionalised through qualifications, or embodied through looking and sounding a certain way - that may be needed to fully succeed in the labour market (Cederberg 2012; Erel 2010). This more nuanced discussion draws attention to the way that each individual's social location helps determine and shape the processes by which they access and succeed within the labour market.

Linguistic competence

Language is often cited as fundamental to processes of integration and its role in a range of different areas is highlighted (Oliver 2016; Blommaert 2016; Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas 2016; Ager and Strang 2008). In studies that have focused on settlement and integration, language is usually understood as a form of human or cultural capital (Chiswick and Miller 2001). Improving language skills is known to be associated with improved earnings and better positions in the labour market (Dustmann and Fabbri 2003). Migrants to the UK generally have a good level of English language: in the UK, 89% of migrants report speaking English well or very well (Fernández Reino 2019). Furthermore, many develop a level of proficiency that means they speak English at home, although this varies. Among EU migrants, seven out of ten EU15 citizens report using English as their main

language at home compared to only 22% of other EU citizens (Fernández Reino 2019). However, language is not only involved in communication. Instead, the work of Pierre Bourdieu has demonstrated how language usage is shaped by our habitus and thus language plays a role in re-creating social hierarchies (Bourdieu 1977). These factors make the study of language particularly relevant when thinking about integration, and below I will outline some key issues highlighted by previous research.

Numerous studies have sought to build models to explain the different factors that can account for the variability in immigrant groups' progress in language learning and use of languages. Taking a fairly mechanistic view about investment in language learning, Chiswick and Miller (2001) established a model that built on the idea of three main mechanisms to account for differences: exposure; efficiency (that is how much language competence increased based on a single unit of exposure) and various economic measures. Variables were categorised to fall within these three main categories. Thus living in an area with fewer first language speakers, a longer duration in the destination country, and being from a country with some form of colonial connection to the destination (all variables linked to greater levels of exposure) were associated with improved language competence. Being younger at the time of migration, from a country that was further away and with a language that was more similar (all variables linked to efficiency) were also associated with better language competence. Similar findings have been reproduced in different contexts. Van Tubergen and Wierenga (2011) considered the language acquisition of Turkish and Moroccan immigrants in Belgium and found an effect for age, education level, number of other first language speakers in the neighbourhood, and intention to stay. Kristen, Mühlau, and Schacht (2016) looked at Poles' and Turks' language improvements over time in a range of destination contexts (including the UK). They found younger migrants arrived with a higher level and improved more over time. Those with secondary level of education also showed greater improvement. Those intending to stay for the longer term, those with friends from the destination country, and those who consume destination media all show greater improvement in their language abilities. Taking a slightly different approach, Akresh, Massey, and Frank (2014) highlighted the importance of exposure *before* migrating. A lot of aspects of a migrant's life pre-migration, such as amount of travel or periods spent abroad, types of language learning, are relevant to the overall level of language competence. This study interestingly highlights the different impact of factors depending on what measure of English usage is being focussed on (i.e. use of English in the workplace, in social settings with friends or in the home, consumption of English language media). While some independent variables show a similar effect on all the English language variables, for others there is a much greater degree of variability. This focus

on different outcome variables is important, as it highlights the multi-dimensionality of language use. They conclude, “English language ability is a necessary though not sufficient condition for social and cultural assimilation, which may depend on other factors as well” (Akresh, Massey, and Frank 2014, 202).

These studies provide important contextual understandings. However, as large scale quantitative studies, they give little indication of the experiences of these processes. Language competence is about more than communicative function; language is also tied up with social and cultural identities. Learning a language often involves learning a huge number of different linguistic ‘registers’ that are used and operate in different social contexts (Blommaert 2016; Grenfell 2011; Blommaert, Collins, and Slembrouck 2005). Föbker and Imani's (2017) study looking at accompanying migrant partners in Germany and the UK draws attention to this, showing how language learning is also about learning specific embodied linguistic cues and acquiring the specific local cultural capital required. Their study highlights the difficulty of being able to accurately describe and measure a specific language level that is necessary for employment or forming new social relationships. It also demonstrates how the receiving context plays a role due to the perceived tolerance of linguistic differences. However, this may intersect with other exclusionary processes. In this context, studies have highlighted the way that language learning intersects with gender relations in migration contexts (Pavlenko and Piller 2001). In some cases, women face gendered barriers of access to language learning, and often have different motivations. This highlights the need to attend to the ideologies of language and gender that are dominant in different communities and consider how they intersect and constitute one another (Pavlenko and Piller 2001).

Language is fundamental to interaction and thus can be a mechanism through which power is deployed. Language thus has the ability to re-create hierarchies and inequities (Bourdieu 1977; Grenfell 2011). Clara Holzinger's (2019) qualitative study looking at Hungarian immigrants accessing employment services in Austria, found both ‘manifest’ and ‘symbolic’ language barriers that impeded migrants’ access to services. While ‘manifest’ barriers were examples of some form of communication failure, ‘symbolic’ barriers were those constructed by both migrants themselves and public officials due to a perceived lack of linguistic competence. In this context, she argues that: “existing power imbalances between migrants and officials are reinforced through communication in the foreign language. In the specific context, social hierarchies are reproduced based on language proficiency as opposed to economic capital” (2019, 2728). Holzinger’s study also points to the importance of ‘lay interpreters’ for migrants seeking to access services, and thus the value of people

having social networks from which they can draw to seek this support. Other research has highlighted how discursive practices and linguistic ability is used as a marker for competence and the correct 'attitude' in employment contexts (Roberts 2013; Allan 2013). Looking at English language classrooms in Canada, Kori Allan (2013) showed how language teachers and recruiters encourage immigrants to show the 'right' attitudes, presenting both 'authentic' but relatable personalities through their linguistic performances rather than addressing or even acknowledging structural barriers to employability such as discrimination or lack of recognition of overseas experience. Similarly Celia Roberts (2013) investigated job interviews for repetitive, low skilled jobs in the UK and found that migrants were much less likely to secure these jobs as a result of interviewers' perceptions about the inadequacy of migrants' discursive practices. She highlights how linguistic performance in this context is used as a guide to competence in a way that is unacknowledged by the interviewer and despite the fact that none of the roles in question required linguistic abilities.

As a result, discrimination and exclusion on the grounds of linguistic ability and accent is common. Social psychologists have shown a preference for 'native' accents in babies as young as five months (Kinzler, Dupoux, and Spelke 2007), demonstrating that accent and the way someone speaks is a hugely important cue of in-group belonging (Gluszek and Dovidio 2010b, 2010a). Speakers with non standard accents can be perceived to be less intelligent, less competent (Gluszek and Dovidio 2010a) and are perceived to be less credible (Lev-Ari and Keysar 2010). This stigma against those with 'non-native' accents has been shown to lead to stereotyping, impatience in communication and other forms of prejudice (Spencer-Rodgers and McGovern 2002). As with other forms of prejudice, discrimination on the basis of accent often intersects with and reinforces of forms of discrimination or exclusion such as on the grounds of ethnicity or perceived economic status (Holzinger 2019). With many people holding the view that monolingualism is the norm and necessary for cohesion in a nation-state, the mere presence of other languages in public spaces can be perceived as threatening to cultural identities (Musolff 2019). These views have arguably become more common in the UK in recent years as public debates about the provision of language services have brought these issues to the fore (Musolff 2019).

Thus language plays a huge role in all forms of migrant adaptation and many spheres of life. Nevertheless, in spite of this, language often sits uneasily in theories of integration. Sometimes it is given its own domain such as in the model developed by Ager and Strang (2008) whereas in other cases it is bundled into the cultural domain (Spencer and Charsley 2016; Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas 2016). In other accounts, it is talked about extensively, but the complex role that it can

play in terms of both communication as well as in how it structures the dynamics of interactions and shapes social identities is not interrogated.

Social relationships

Social relationships are known to be fundamental to many processes of integration as they can facilitate access to information, to jobs, to emotional support, can support language learning and can be the sources of new negotiations of belonging and identity (Cheung and Phillimore 2013; Phillimore, Humphris, and Khan 2014). Studies have drawn on theories about social capital and social networks in order to try to understand migrants' social experiences. The idea of social capital, originally developed by Bourdieu (1986), was popularised with the work of Robert Putnam (2000, 2007). Putnam's distinction between bonding ties (between you and people who are like you in some important way) and bridging ties (between you and people unlike you in some important way) has been widely used in migration studies usually to refer to relationships within ethnic groups (bonding) and between ethnic groups (bridging). The interest in these different types of ties was driven by the idea that different types of relationships could provide different resources to an individual. Bridging ties were thought to be important for 'getting on' while bonding ties have been described as important for 'getting by' (Putnam 2000). However, as Floya Anthias (2007) has argued, Putnam's use of the term social capital is overly broad and linked in great part to ideas of social cohesion. She argues that social capital should be considered in its original Bourdieusian spirit in terms of contributing to processes of social stratification. Moreover, Anthias argues that social capital is not the same as simply having networks. Only if you can mobilise those networks to access resources can it be called social capital and an individual's ability to mobilise those networks may be dependent on their position within them (Anthias 2007). Investing in social networks also requires effort, and opportunities to access and participate in social networks and social relationships depend on time and resources (Ryan, Erel, and D'Angelo 2015).

Louise Ryan's (2011) work drawing on detailed case studies of eight Polish migrants within the UK highlights the false dichotomy made between bonding and bridging capital. She argues that sharing a nationality may not be enough to ensure bonding ties and overlooks important heterogeneity within groups. Instead, she argues that bridging ties should be thought of in terms of the resources they provide access to and that scholars should consider social location and social distance as important elements in analysis. It has often been assumed that migrants start with tight networks of co-ethnics and develop into more expanded networks with more bridging relationships. However, a number of studies have challenged this idea of sequencing, suggesting in fact processes are more complicated than this (Ryan et al. 2008).

The effect of other domains, such as employment and language, on social relationships has also been considered in a number of studies. Kearns and Whitley (2015) used a large scale survey to look at what they call 'functional' factors (education level, employment and English language level) on a range of indicators of social integration. Overall, they found that all of these factors (having a job, a higher level of education, higher level of English) had a positive impact on measures of social integration. Time in the local area (as opposed to in the country in general) was also positively associated with indicators of neighbourliness and social support. Their work interestingly draws attention to different facets of social integration (contact with friends, local trust and neighbourliness, social support) but they are also mindful of the specificity of the local context in which the survey was conducted (a deprived area of Glasgow). Ryan (2015b) has also considered the importance of place as structuring opportunities for establishing new relationships. In looking at the processes of friendship-making of highly qualified Irish migrants in the UK, the study also draws attention to the interaction of two different domains (employment and social connections). She emphasises the roles of professional identities and networks as a source of establishing social relationships. Professional networks and spaces of professional contact have also been found to be important for highly skilled French professionals living in London (Ryan and Mulholland 2014a).

Exploring the dynamics of social relationships brings to the fore the emotional element of processes of integration and how these can change over time as people experience moments of social isolation, loneliness or loss of confidence (Ryan 2015b; Gilmartin and Migge 2015; Rouvoet, Eijberts, and Ghorashi 2017). Making new friends can take time and require effort and investment (Ryan, Erel, and D'Angelo 2015; Ryan 2015b; Phillimore, Humphris, and Khan 2014). Establishing new networks doesn't happen overnight, leading some to feel a sense of loss of what they've left behind (Phillimore, Humphris, and Khan 2017; Casado, Hong, and Harrington 2010). Multiple qualitative studies have reported on the perceived difficulty of EU migrants to make friends with 'English' people (Ryan and Mulholland 2014a; Ryan 2010). Speaking the language fluently does not necessarily lead to greater ease in establishing close relationships with individuals from the receiving society (Ryan and Mulholland 2015; Rouvoet, Eijberts, and Ghorashi 2017; Föbker and Imani 2017).

Social relationships are also inherently linked to feelings of identity and belonging. Even passing social contacts, such as recognising people in the street to say hello to, can generate feelings of belonging (Phillimore, Humphris, and Khan 2014). Claiming a sense of agency by offering another migrant help or information was another way migrants cultivated a sense of belonging through

social relationships (Phillimore, Humphris, and Khan 2014, 2017). Other studies have highlighted how migrants often have to re-negotiate class and ethnic identities through contact with British people and British institutions as well as other migrant groups (Ryan 2010; Eade, Drinkwater, and Garapich 2007). As this brief review has highlighted social relationships touch on every aspect of life and there are many different ways of exploring this topic. While much productive work has focussed on the idea of social capital and innovative methodologies have developed to look at social networks, fewer studies have focussed on the process of making new friends.

Transnationalism, local belonging and the emotions of integration

Since the idea of transnationalism became prominent in migration studies, academics have been interrogating the nature of the relationship between transnationalism and integration (Erdal and Oeppen 2013; Waldinger 2017; Vertovec 2009). Building on traditional ideas that saw migration as a one-off event with integration leading to permanent settlement, maintaining ties abroad was seen as somehow problematic for full integration (Levitt and Jaworsky 2007) (echoed in earlier views on dual citizenship, where until recently the maintenance of origin country citizenship was seen as problematic (Spiro 2016)). Some early studies argued that migrants engage with transnationalism as a means of mitigating experiences of exclusion experienced in the receiving society (Faist 2000). However, many would argue that that idealised model of immigration never existed in reality and some forms of transnational engagement have long been a feature of migration despite not being recognised as such (Levitt and Jaworsky 2007; Spiro 2016; Vertovec 2009).

Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004) argued for the idea of 'simultaneity' – that migrants could maintain lives, routines and practices in multiple social fields that crossed borders. These practices (ways of being) and feelings of belonging (ways of becoming) did not hinder incorporation in the receiving society. They argue for a transnational social field, that recognises that "individuals occupy different gender, racial, and class positions within different states at the same time" (2004, 1015). Similarly, Erdal and Oeppen (2013) argue that the relationship between integration and transnationalism is not a zero sum game and that most empirical work supports the idea that transnationalism and integration co-exist. In fact, they argue that transnationalism and integration are social processes with many parallels. Multiple factors, such as life course, changes in receiving and sending contexts, and social capital, may change the level of transnational engagement and engagement with integration processes. They argue for taking a migrant-centred approach – one that recognises people's agency in these processes but also pays attention to how their agency is constrained by structural factors. They argue that migrants undertake different forms of 'balancing acts' between

the two processes and suggest a typology to classify the interactions as either additive, synergistic or antagonistic.

While a transnational lens has helped to reduce the allure of 'methodological nationalism' (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002), studies of transnational practices have revealed that, in fact, very often, it is connections between very specific localities that are resonant in migrants' lives (Brickell and Datta 2011). As most people's lives play out on smaller spatial scales, studies that examine this translocality capture the way specific locales are infused with meanings through imaginative and emotional engagements (Brickell and Datta 2011; Christou 2011). Thus lived experiences take place between a specific 'here' and a specific 'there', mediated by social interactions and different levels of affective engagement (Boccagni and Baldassar 2015). Feelings of belonging develop in particular spatially grounded and temporally bounded ways (May 2011; Christou 2011; Fortier 2000).

These transnational engagements are particularly intense when they involve the maintenance of family relationships across transnational space. Migration often involves re-configurations of families, as members move across space, and relationship dynamics shift as a result (Kofman 2004). Work on transnational families has sought to highlight the lived realities and complex negotiations that take place particularly with regard to care and the investment in emotional capital and the reproductive work of the family (Bryceson and Vuorela 2002; Oso 2016; Baldassar and Merla 2014). These negotiations all play out in the context of varying expectations of gender roles and relations (Cortés and Oso 2017; Herrera 2012). Studies have also sought to draw out the complex interplay between spatial mobility and social mobility in the wider context of the transnational family (Oso and Suárez-Grimalt 2018, 2017). While usually approached through specific lenses, such as gender or family, several scholars have pointed to the implications of transnational family life for integration. Thus, establishing a family, whether through re-unification or with a new partner, can often be a trigger for longer-term settlement (Erdal and Lewicki 2016; Ryan and Mulholland 2014b). In contrast, changes to personal relationships, whether through relationship breakdown, illness or death can act as catalysts for returns (Erdal 2014; Cortés and Oso 2017). Once again these decisions are all taken in the context of ongoing and shifting emotional engagements with individuals in the country of origin and settlement (Oso 2016). Engaging with the emotional dimension in people's experiences of migration and subsequent settlement is thus hugely important in understanding the processes by which they adapt to their new physical location and negotiate their belonging in interactions with others (Boccagni and Baldassar 2015; Christou 2011; May 2011).

Bringing it all together

For the purposes of brevity, this review has highlighted different studies according to main themes. However, as the conceptualisations of integration above demonstrate, integration is inherently multi-dimensional, meaning it is difficult to focus on a single element. Below I highlight a few other studies that have examined multiple dimensions within a wider frame of 'integration' in other parts of Europe.

Gilmartin and Migge (2015) undertook a study to specifically look at integration experiences of EU citizens in Ireland. Drawing on interviews with 39 respondents, their research is innovative in that it included two sequential interviews, allowing exploration of changes over time and combined participants from both EU-15 and EU-10 countries. The authors emphasise that integration pathways begin with the reason for migration, arguing that the motivation for migration can impact integration experiences. The authors use Ager and Strang's (2008) model of integration but focus on three main domains, cultural, social and employment, as they were emphasised in the narratives of interviewees. In line with findings from the UK, many EU migrants had experienced some downward mobility in the labour market on first arrival but the majority had been able to trade up over time (Parutis 2014; Nowicka 2014). Similarly many reported having started off with more social bonds (i.e. relationships with co-ethnics) but over time some had managed to form more social bridges (relationships outside of group of co-ethnics). They argue that improvement in one domain can mitigate issues in other domains and highlight how the importance of certain domains varies over time for the individual. Thus an initial focus on employment may be replaced by a sense that social relationships are more important.

Dubucs et al. (2017) drew on a mixture of quantitative and qualitative data to examine Italian migrants' incorporation in Paris and the relation to their transnational activities. They found overall 'good' indicators of integration – including no residential clustering, Italians being well dispersed throughout the labour market, and fairly strong local attachments to the city. They also explored differences between those who had migrated pre and post crisis and somewhat surprisingly found no significant differences. The study also explored the relationship between engagement with transnational activities and their incorporation. They found a positive correlation, suggesting engagement with transnational activities strengthened feelings of local attachment so they argue that Italian migrants engage in 'synergistic balancing acts' drawing on Erdal and Oeppen's (2013) typology.

Rouvoet, Eijberts, and Ghorashi (2017) have also looked at experiences of Italian migrants in Amsterdam. Drawing on 22 qualitative interviews with long term migrants (20 years plus), they aim to challenge the dominant discourse in Dutch policy that sees integration as a linear process. They argue that two forms of identification came out of the narratives of the migrants: one along functional lines, in which individuals emphasise their identification with the Netherlands in terms of the contribution in the workplace or in a voluntary capacity. The other - emotional identification - tended to take the form of identification at the city or neighbourhood level, with few people identifying as Dutch. They highlighted two paradoxes: one that functional identification in early stages can later hinder emotional identification – in that those who had focused on work regretted not having invested more in social connections and so felt somewhat socially isolated in older age. But *also* that investment in learning the language and social interactions didn't necessarily lead to greater emotional identification because at some point migrants tired of trying to fit in. They also highlight how most of the respondents felt they had one foot in Italy and one in the Netherlands. Whilst some relished the freedom of this, others expressed some regret at this 'in betweenness'.

Conclusion

Integration is a large and complex topic with no single definition. As with many sociological concepts, scholars have approached it from different angles, leading some to argue that it has become over-stretched. Nevertheless some of the key issues identified with the idea of integration actually pertain to how the word is deployed by politicians and in public discourse, as well as on the assumptions that underpin such usage. Integration has also become increasingly entwined with a wider debate about immigration policy – and who should be allowed entry. With the increasingly neo-liberal rationale underpinning much discourse on public policy, those who are seen as more easily 'integrated' and less of a burden on the state are prioritised.

Integration is clearly a major sociological topic, whether or not one chooses to use that word to describe it. At its heart, it raises questions about the nature of the society and individuals' relationships to it, and also about processes of social change. While previous research tended to focus on groups of immigrants as their unit of study, more recent attempts have sought to ground integration theory in the empirical realities of migrants' lived experiences. Many of the more recent conceptualisations have developed a more nuanced picture of what integration looks like. Points of similarity across these accounts suggest there is some consensus developing around what integration entails: a series of interactional processes of change that take place across multiple spatial scales and in different domains, involve individuals, groups and institutions and that are not unidirectional. These processes are affected by differences relating to the individual (age, gender,

life stage, education level, ethnicity, class etc.) and the social networks in which they are embedded. While certain accounts have sought to identify new words to capture this concept, many of the underlying features remain the same.

Reviewing studies within key themes relevant to this study, employment, language, social relationships and transnationalism, has revealed how often experiences in one area are intertwined with another. Given that integration processes may proceed independently in different domains but may interact, this project will seek to analyse these interactions. In covering multiple dimensions the aim is to discuss integration in a more holistic way, and in chapter six I will seek to take the big picture approach. Many of these studies also revealed that individual differences are very important in shaping different experiences. I will seek to explore some of these individual differences and how they impact on integration trajectories. Thus although this is a case study with a single citizenship group – Spanish citizens – as we shall see in the next chapter, there is much diversity within this group.

Chapter 4: Spanish citizens in the UK

The Office for National Statistics estimated that in the year ending June 2018 there were 174,000 Spanish nationals living in the UK (Office for National Statistics 2018c). The data suggests that migration from Spain to the UK has increased markedly in the last two decades. The 2011 census showed a 53.6 percent increase from 2001 in the number of Spanish nationals (D'Angelo and Kofman 2017). This has continued since 2011, with migration from Spain increasing by 74,000 between 2011 and 2015, making Spanish nationals the group with the third highest growth from the EU after Poles and Romanians (The Migration Observatory 2016b). Data on registration for National Insurance numbers has also shown a marked rise with 172 percent increase in registrations from Spain between 2010 and 2014 (D'Angelo and Kofman 2017). Research on this phenomenon has primarily been framed in terms of the financial crisis and has been captured under a broader banner of renewed interest in increasing flows from Southern Europe to Northern Europe (D'Angelo and Kofman 2017; Domínguez-Mujica and Pérez García 2017). Nevertheless, migration from Spain to the UK remains understudied (Jendrissek 2014; Morgan 2004) particularly from the lens of the experiences of people after arrival.

In this chapter, I seek to answer the question: what do we know about Spanish citizens currently resident in the UK? I have chosen to focus on the category of those who have Spanish citizenship, and who have lived for a period in Spain before moving to the UK. This is a heterogeneous group of individuals and one of the aims of this thesis is to explore what that heterogeneity means for integration experiences. While much research in migration studies has been accused of adopting an ethno-nationalist lens, in which the focus of the research is always on one ethnic/national group, I would argue that in focusing on citizenship we can seek to move beyond that. Focussing on Spanish citizens means that in principle all of the individuals in question have the same rights in the UK. Nevertheless, Spanish citizens are made up of individuals from multiple ethnicities, national/regional identities and migratory experiences. Thus in response to potential criticism about focussing on one group, I would argue that methodological nationalism can be avoided by being attentive to the differences within a single group. While it can be difficult to do justice to all of the complexity of heterogeneous identities, in this thesis the focus will be on so-called third country nationals, predominantly from Latin America, who have gained a Spanish passport and made use of it by moving to the UK. As a result, this chapter reviews migration and associated social changes between three geographical regions: the UK, Spain and Spanish-speaking Latin America.

In the following, I will set out what we know from official sources about those holding Spanish citizenship living in the UK and how this has evolved over the last decade.[5] Migration from Spain in this period has been shaped by the global financial crisis and thus research that has examined this will be reviewed. However, recognising the continuity of migration from Spain I will briefly sketch some details of migration of Spanish nationals prior to the crisis. In order to understand and be able to attend to the diversity within this group, I will then review some of the other social changes to affect Spain: changes to the class and education system and the large increase of immigration from Latin America. Since Spanish citizens with a Latin American background feature as a key part of the study, the final section will consider this group, by discussing immigration between Spain and Latin America; routes to Spanish citizenship; and existing research on the Latin American community in the UK.

What do we know about Spanish citizens currently in the UK?

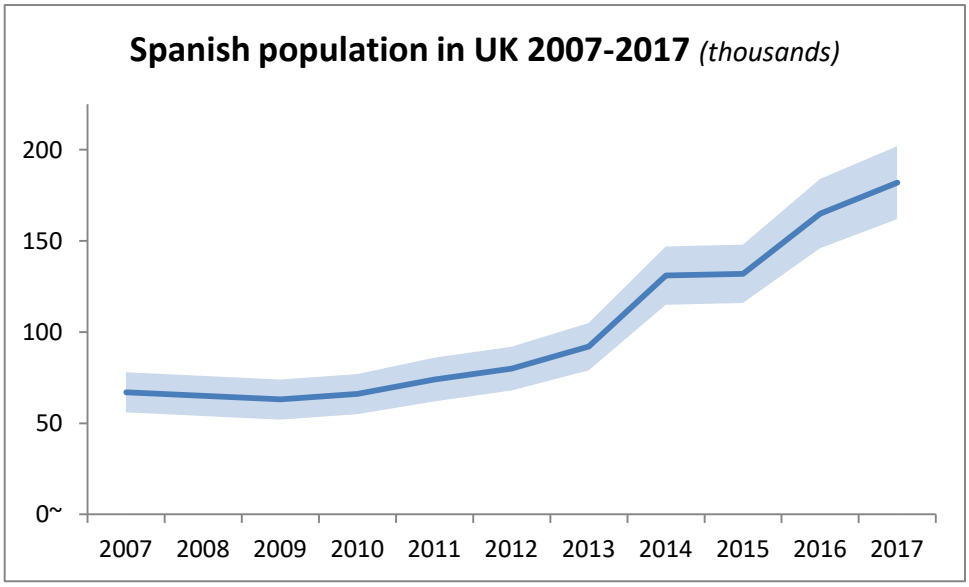
Spanish nationals have been coming to and living in the UK for many decades, indeed they were listed in the 1861 Census (Morgan 2004). However, prior to the most recent flow, the most significant increase was found between the 1951 and 1961 census when the population of Spanish nationals in the UK tripled (Morgan 2004). . During this period, under Franco, emigration was actively encouraged to mitigate the effects of the recession through the Institute of Emigration which assisted people with some of the practical elements of moving country (Jendrissek 2016). Although the UK did not attract such significant numbers of Spaniards as other parts of Europe, from the late 50s, migration from Spain to the UK increased substantially, with the number of entries peaking at 26,000 in 1965. This migration was primarily driven by moves from poor, rural regions of Spain with Andalusia and Galicia dominating (T. Morgan 2004). This migration was primarily made up of young people but was also gendered, with increasing numbers of women arriving. In 1966 60% of the arrivals were female (T. Morgan 2008). The 1971 Immigration Act, along with the economic downturn in the 70s, saw Spanish migration to the UK decline and as a result the total population declined in the 80s. Nevertheless, in the 1990s with the creation of the single market, continuing unemployment in Spain and the increasing ease of travel, migration from Spain began to increase once again, with particular increases thought to have occurred in the latter years of the decade (Morgan 2004). Thus between 1991 and 2001 the Spanish population in England and Wales grew by

[5] Citizenship and nationality are often used interchangeably in everyday speech and in the context of official statistics in the UK. Despite the differences between the two statuses that do exist in some contexts, I will follow everyday usage in referring interchangeably to Spanish nationals or Spanish citizens. This, however, will be differentiated from national identities to be used to refer to people's sense of identity with a nation-state. A Spanish national therefore does not necessarily have a Spanish national identity but could have for instance a Colombian national identity or a Catalan national identity. National identities can obviously also be multiple alongside multiple citizenships/nationalities.

37 percent from 37,687 to 51,563 (T. Morgan 2004). This steady growth has continued through the first decade of the 21st century increasing to 54 percent and a total population of approximately 79,184 Spanish nationals.

However, it has been in the period since 2011 that the rate of growth has increased. In the graph below, based on population estimates from the Annual Population Survey,[6] a slow and steady increase from 2007 is replaced by a faster rate of growth from 2011/2012 onwards. In the period between 2011 and 2017, it is estimated that the population has doubled in size, hitting 182,000 Spanish citizens in the UK – likely an all time high (T. Morgan 2008).

Figure 4.1: Spanish population in the UK yearly estimates from the Annual Population Survey 2007-2017.



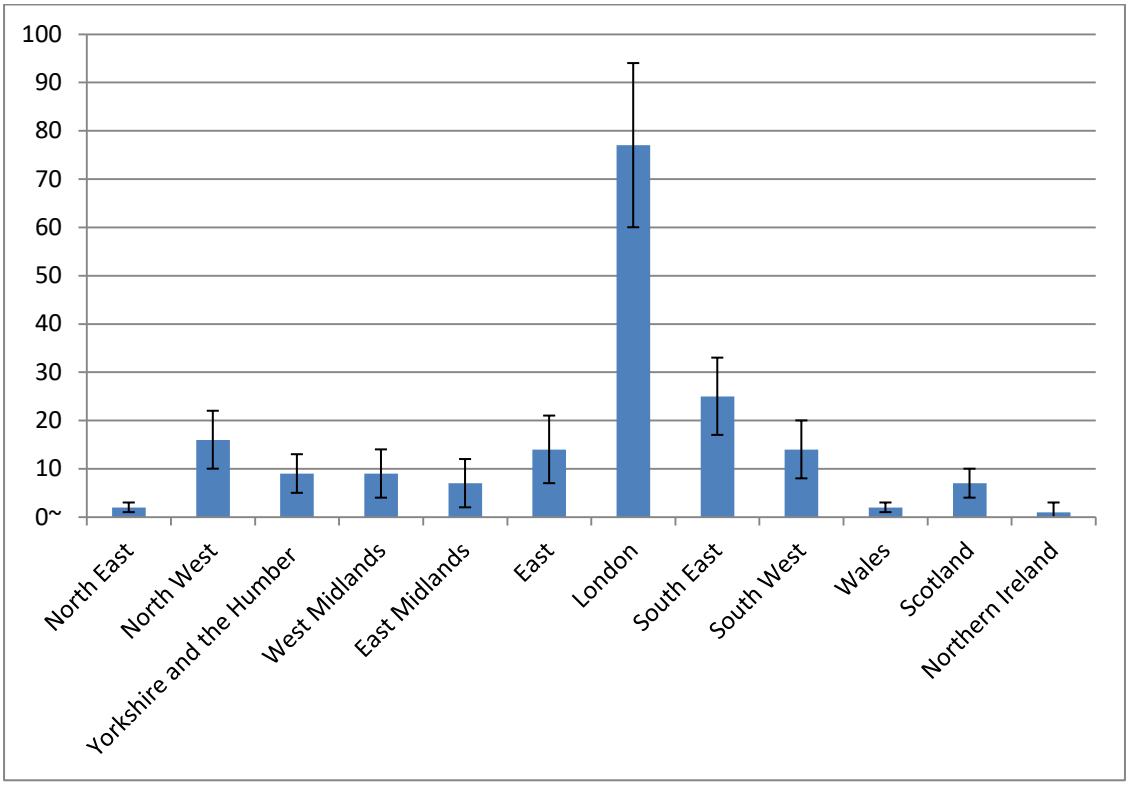
Source: Author graph from Office for National Statistics (2018) with 95% confidence interval.

Numerous other sources also point to this increase in migration from Spain during this period. National Insurance Number registrations, sometimes used as a measure of migration flows, also provide evidence of this upwards trend. Although not a completely reliable indicator of numbers of entries, since applying for a National Insurance number does not necessarily mean an individual has definitively moved to the UK, the data does provide an indication of the uptick in entries of Spanish citizens in the period between 2011 and 2014. Between 2007 and 2014 the number of registrations of Spanish nationals more than quadrupled, reaching a peak of 50,260 in 2014, before levelling off and decreasing slightly from 2016.

[6] The Annual Population Survey provides useful estimates between censuses but is considered less reliable due to the smaller sample sizes and the exclusion of those in communal dwellings.

Official data can give a few more indications about the profile of this population. According to APS estimates, the Spanish population is heavily concentrated in London with 42 percent of the total population there. As can be seen in figure 4.2, other areas that are relatively important are the South-East, the North-West and the South-West. In each of these regions, urban areas such as Brighton and Southampton, Manchester, and Bristol feature as important concentrations, continuing a trend that saw Spanish citizens mainly settling in urban areas (Morgan 2004). Northern Ireland, Wales and the North East all have very small populations.

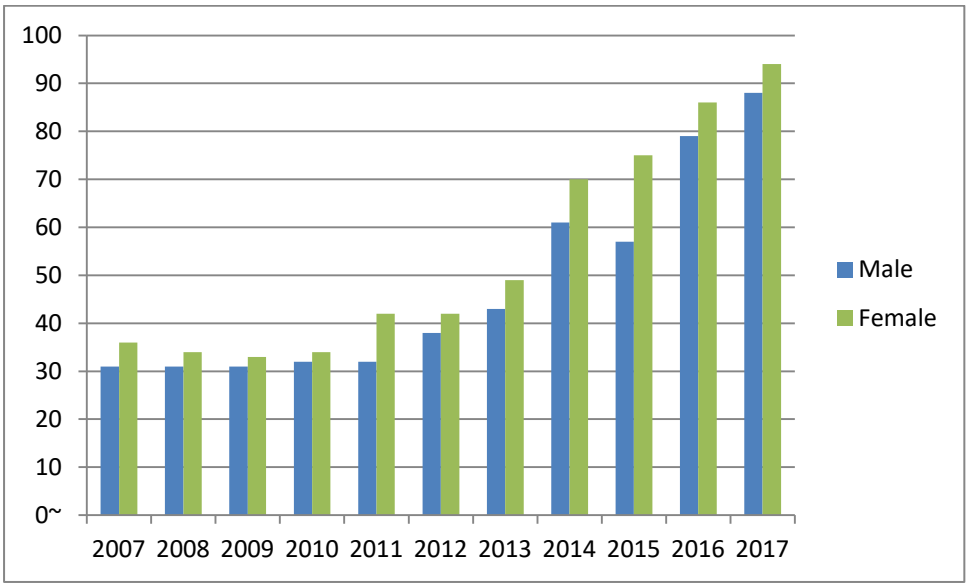
Figure 4.2: Spanish population in different regions of the UK



Source: Author graph based on APS 2017 estimates, 95% confidence interval bars.

Since the Second World War the Spanish population in the UK has been characterised by a slight over-representation of women (Morgan 2004, 2008). This trend appears to have continued in the recent decade with the population estimates for each year showing a slightly higher number of females to males (figure 4.3) although this is closer to parity than in previous years.

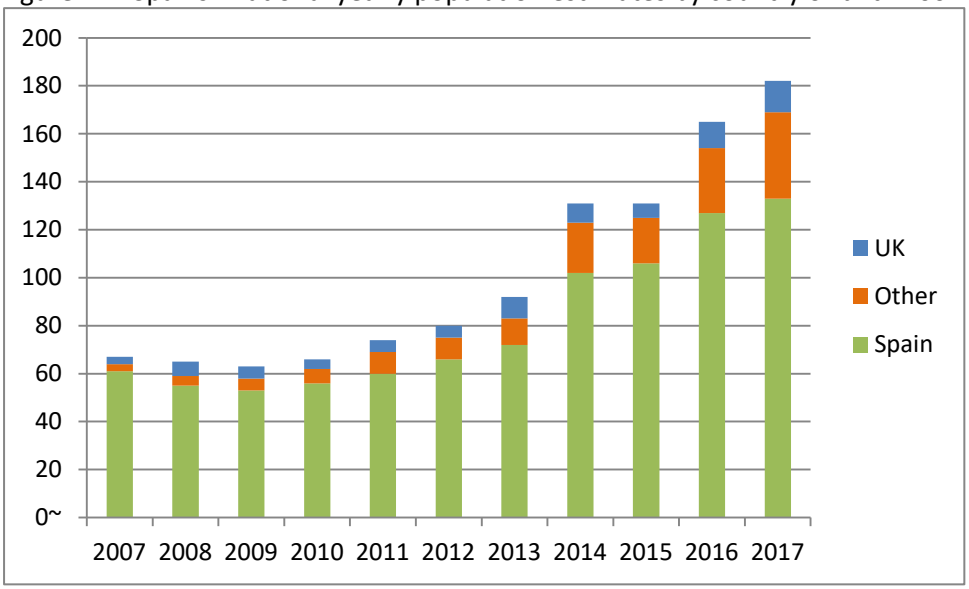
Figure 4.3: Male and female population estimates for Spanish nationals in the UK between 2007 and 2017.



Source: Author graph from the Office for National Statistics (2018).

These estimates also allow a distinction between country of birth and nationality. In the 2011 census, cross-tabulating Spanish nationality with country of birth revealed that 12 percent of the Spanish nationals in the UK at that time were born in a non-EU country (D'Angelo and Kofman 2017). Figure 4.4 similarly reveals country of birth for the Spanish population in the UK, differentiating between those born in the UK, Spain or anywhere else and indicates an increasing proportion of Spanish nationals born in other countries since 2011, with 20% of the Spanish population in 2017 born in another country (other than the UK or Spain).

Figure 4.4: Spanish national yearly population estimates by country of birth 2007-2017

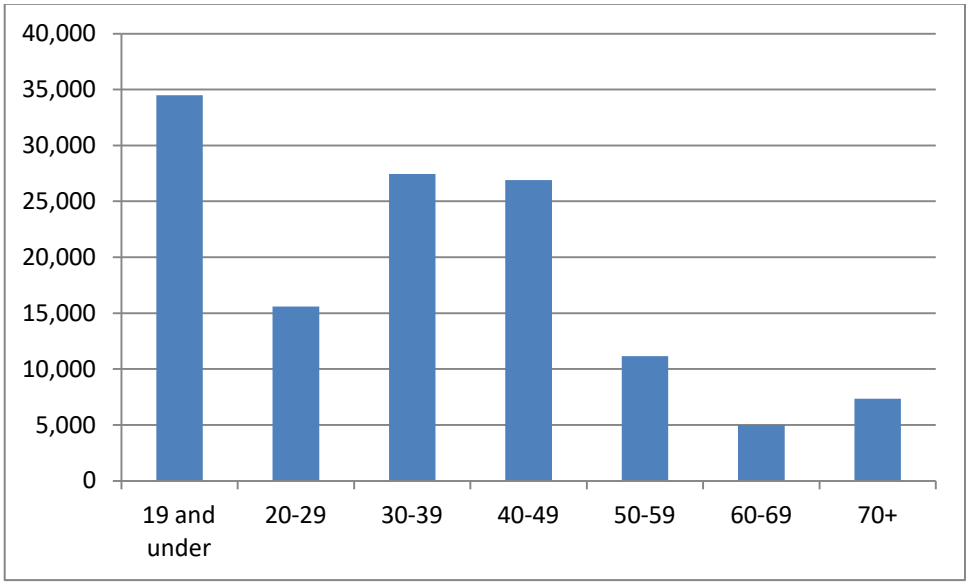


Source: Author graph from data from the Office for National Statistics (2018).

Official Spanish statistics can also give us some indications about the population of Spanish citizens in the UK. Using registration data from the consulate (*Padrón de Españoles Residentes en el Exterior - PERE*), we can get some indication of both place of birth of the population and age profile. The total population figure from the consulate is lower than the estimate from the APS due to a persistent issue of lack of registration (Romero Valiente and Hidalgo-Capitán 2014; Observatorio de la Juventud en España 2013). However, the registration data shows 22 percent of those registered in 2017 were born in a country other than Spain or the UK. Nevertheless, research has suggested that those who have naturalised as Spanish citizens (and are born abroad) may be more likely to register with the consulate than those born in Spain as Spanish citizens (Arango 2016).

Similarly the PERE data can give some indication of the age profile of Spanish citizens in the UK. Once again this data should be taken with a pinch of salt because it may well be that certain age cohorts (such as 20-29 year olds) are less likely to register than others. However the data in figure 4.5 reveal a large number of children and a predominance of the working age population.

Figure 4.5: Ages of Spanish citizens registered with the Spanish consulate in the UK.

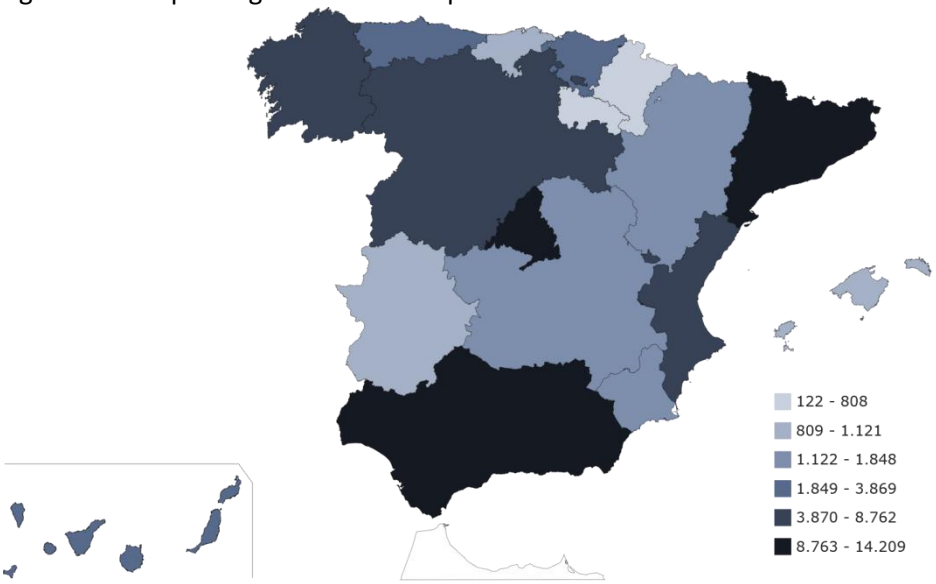


Source: Author graph from data from the *Padrón de Españoles Residentes en el Exterior*, Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2018.

Finally, the PERE data can also give us some indications of which regions those who were born in Spain have come from. Once again there are limitations in terms of what this data actually tell us, but we can see that traditional 'sending' regions of Spain such as Andalusia and Galicia show relatively high numbers. However, the map (figure 4.6) indicates unsurprisingly that some of the

wealthier regions, which are also the ones which have a higher population also have a greater number of residents in the UK.

Figure 4.6: Map of region of birth of Spanish citizens resident in the UK.



Source: *Padrón de Españoles Residentes en el Exterior*, Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2018

Young people and the crisis

The debate around this recent increase in Spanish migration to the UK has mainly been framed in terms of a response to the global economic crisis and has focused on young people (González-Ferrer and Moreno-Fuentes 2017). After the onset of the crisis, unemployment in Spain rose dramatically. Young people were particularly hit by this. In 2013, unemployment of those aged 20-24 hit 51% (Bermudez and Brey 2017) one of the highest rates among the southern European countries alongside Greece (Bartolini, Gropas, and Triandafyllidou 2017; Glynn 2015). Thus the increase in emigration has become tied up with debate about the economic crisis more generally in both the public and academic spheres (Lafleur and Stanek 2017; Domínguez-Mujica and Pérez García 2017). In the public sphere, various actors have sought to 'control' the narrative about Spanish emigration (Cortés, Moncó, and Betrisey 2015).

Politicisation and public debate in Spain

In Spain, the debate about migration has focussed on the numbers of those emigrating and the fear of a 'brain drain,' a loss of a talented generation (González-Ferrer and Moreno-Fuentes 2017). Following the onset of the crisis in 2008, the Spanish government responded with a package of austerity measures in 2011, which hit public sector jobs (Pumares 2017). With growing political opposition in the form of various grassroots social movements to austerity, the debate on emigration of young Spaniards and fears about losing Spain's 'best and brightest' emerged (López-

Sala 2017; Arango 2016; Bermudez and Brey 2017). As the crisis deepened in Spain, the issue has become increasingly politicised (Arango 2016) as Spain shifted from a country of net immigration to net emigration from 2011 (M. Izquierdo, Jimeno, and Lacuesta 2016).[7]

In part, this public debate stemmed from the Spanish government's refusal to engage with the issue. Government responses took three forms: 1) denying there was actually an issue; 2) maintaining that the increase in emigration was actually naturalised Spaniards and thus the result of successful policy (Bermudez and Brey 2017) or 3) suggesting that emigration was actually a good thing because it meant Spaniards were pursuing the opportunities provided by globalisation and free movement (López-Sala 2017; González-Ferrer and Moreno-Fuentes 2017). In particular, in relation to the first response, a number of studies set out to examine the data, including using data from other countries to come up with estimates about the scale and nature of the phenomenon. Ampáro González-Ferrer (2013) came up with the estimate of approximately 700,000 Spanish emigrants in the years between 2008 and 2012 – more than three times the official government figure of 225,000 (Domingo i Valls, Sabater Coll, and Ortega Rivera 2014). A similar study focused on youth emigration also found higher numbers and suggested that the UK has become the main destination for Spanish emigrants (Observatorio de la Juventud en España 2013). In contrast, a researcher from the think tank *Real Instituto Elcano* argued that the numbers in the debate were significantly overblown, and that any changes in numbers could mainly be accounted for by naturalised Spanish immigrants leaving (González Enríquez 2013).

Alongside this academic or more technical debate, there have also been more emotive and politicised public discussions. Those in opposition have presented emigration from Spain as a failure of Spain's social and economic models which have not been able to live up to the promises of the young (Bermudez and Brey 2017; Jendrissek 2016; López-Sala 2017). This debate has been politicised and is represented differently in newspapers on the left and the right (Bermudez and Brey 2017; González-Ferrer and Moreno-Fuentes 2017). A number of cultural outputs reflect this tussle to control the narrative of emigration. An example includes a series of photographs of Spanish nationals in London run by *El País* newspaper in 2013 called *Retratos de una huida* (Portraits of an Escape).[8] Other examples include a documentary about Spanish nationals in Edinburgh entitled *En Tierra Extraña* (In Foreign Lands), and a book of narratives of experiences abroad called *Volvemos* (We return/we will return). Contributing to these debates have been an increasing number of

[7] This appears to have now shifted back, with 2016 was the first year that immigration once again outstripped emigration. See https://politica.elpais.com/politica/2017/06/29/actualidad/1498727829_862072.html
[8] See https://elpais.com/elpais/2013/07/18/album-02/1374149538_106139.html

grassroots social movements, that have taken advantage of online forms of organising to promote the message that emigration is a result of political failure that has 'forced' people to leave against their will. Groups such as *Juventud sin Futuro* (Youth without Future) have campaigned under the slogan *#nonosvamosnosechan* (we're not leaving, they're throwing us out) and while researchers responded to government comments about the urban legend of emigration with an online campaign '*Yo también soy una leyenda urbana' (I too am an urban legend)* (Bermudez and Brey 2017).[9] However, the most substantive social response has come in the form of the social movement called *Marea Granate* (the maroon wave). Associated with the *Indignado* movement,[10] the *Marea Granate* is a transnational social movement which aims to highlight the situation of and campaign for the rights of Spanish emigrants (López-Sala 2017; Bermudez and Brey 2017). Acting as a network of support, those involved in different 'nodes' in various geographic locations provide practical support to new arrivals. They also campaign on maintaining access to Spanish healthcare for Spaniards abroad and on the overseas franchise (López-Sala 2017). One of the key aims has been to give a political voice to Spanish emigrants, but it has been noted that the voices represented have tended to be those of the urban middle classes, not those of poorer, more marginalised emigrants (López-Sala 2017; Bermudez and Brey 2017). All of these narratives have drawn on the idea of migratory grief, that migration entails a sense of loss (Casado, Hong, and Harrington 2010). As Ana López-Sala put it, *Marea Granate* activists "feel that the migration experience is very difficult, even for those who have good jobs, because it involves leaving behind family and friends and this difficulty is even more acute when the economic conditions in Spain limit or impede their return" (López-Sala 2017, 278).

Thus the debate has been fuelled by the mistrust of official Spanish data sources and a deep dissatisfaction with government policy responses. Data has been at the heart of these narratives, and although almost all large scale datasets have limitations, comparing data from overseas sources with Spanish data has revealed a mismatch (González-Ferrer 2013). The main reason for this is linked to the under-registration of Spanish citizens with their consulate in their country of residence (Romero Valiente and Hidalgo-Capitán 2014). It has been argued that registration provides no obvious advantages (beyond voting) but does entail losing access to certain benefits at home (including health care) (Arango 2016; González-Ferrer and Moreno-Fuentes 2017). Researchers have also pointed to the complicated bureaucratic process of registration as another deterrent (González-

[9] See https://www.abc.es/ciencia/20141218/abci-cientificos-espanoles-exilio-leyenda-201412181252.html for an example of the coverage.

[10] The *Indignado* movement, sometimes called the 15-M movement, was a social movement that arose in 2011 to protest against austerity measures in Spain. Part of the response to this movement was the formation of several new political parties in Spain.

Ferrer 2013; Observatorio de la Juventud en España 2013) and the closure of consulate offices in certain countries making registration even more difficult (Romero Valiente and Hidalgo-Capitán 2014). One report based on a survey of those aged 18-30 found that 68% had not registered with the consulate (Observatorio de la Juventud en España 2013). Another study based on a large scale survey with Spanish emigrants suggested that under-registration in consulates was around 50% in the period 2008-2012, but this increased to 75% for those who were living in the UK (Romero Valiente and Hidalgo-Capitán 2014).

In spite of these issues with the data, a closer look does paint a more complex and nuanced picture than some of the media portrayals of youth being driven from their country. Firstly, as has been noted by a number of studies, in many ways Spanish emigration has remained below the rate that one would expect given the unemployment level and the size of the population (Glynn 2015; Domínguez-Mujica and Pérez García 2017). Spanish emigration rates have also not grown in line with the unemployment rate (Bartolini, Gropas, and Triandafyllidou 2017). Secondly, there have been marked flows of Spaniards who were not born in Spain either returning or moving elsewhere (Domingo i Valls, Sabater Coll, and Ortega Rivera 2014; Izquierdo Escribano and Martinez-Bujan 2014; Domínguez-Mujica and Pérez García 2017; González-Ferrer 2013). Between 2008 and 2012, 29% of the officially recorded emigration involved Spanish citizens born outside of Spain; Ecuador, Venezuela and Argentina were in the top five destination countries (alongside the UK and France) suggesting a reasonably high level of return (Domingo i Valls, Sabater Coll, and Ortega Rivera 2014). These flows have also emerged over slightly different time frames. The departures of Spanish citizens born outside of Spain started form 2008, as the construction industry took major hits and immigrants were the first affected (Domingo i Valls, Sabater Coll, and Ortega Rivera 2014), whereas the emigration of native born Spanish citizens picked up more markedly from 2011 with the imposition of austerity measures (Domínguez-Mujica and Pérez García 2017). Finally, the data also reveal that the emigration flows have become increasingly masculinised and older (González-Ferrer 2013). This may also be linked to the emigration of those non-Spanish born Spanish citizens, as analysis of registrations in the UK show a slightly older cohort for those born outside of Spain (Domingo i Valls, Sabater Coll, and Ortega Rivera 2014). Even among those born in Spain, however, for the period 2008-2012, the highest proportion of those coming to the UK were aged 30, with the largest numbers between 25 and 35 (Domingo i Valls, Sabater Coll, and Ortega Rivera 2014). So while this is still a young migration, it is perhaps not as young as has sometimes been characterised.

Situating research on Spaniards in the UK

Much of the work on migration from Southern Europe to Northern Europe has focused on youth migration and the context of the crisis (Trenz and Triandafyllidou 2017) and return of migrants from the European periphery to Northern Europe. In some cases, this narrative takes in Ireland, with scholars referring to the PIIGS (Portugal, Italy, Ireland, Greece and Spain) (Glynn 2015) or the GIIPS (Graeber 2016); in others, the focus has been only on Southern European countries (Lafleur and Stanek 2017; Domínguez-Mujica and Pérez García 2017). A key question has been the extent to which this emigration has constituted a degree of 'brain drain' from these countries.

Drawing on results from an online survey conducted in 2013 with individuals from Spain, Italy, Greece and Portugal, Bartolini, Gropas, and Triandafyllidou (2017) sought to identify factors predicting emigration. They found that age, marital status, education and satisfaction with current employment are factors that predict emigration whereas gender is not. They argue that unemployment alone is not enough to explain emigration (as one would have expected higher rates of emigration based on unemployment figures) and also highlight the differences in profiles between different Southern European countries. In particular, Spain had the lowest emigration rates among the countries studied. The authors point to other career related factors that are important for those emigrating rather than strictly unemployment. They also find that those who are highly skilled are more likely to emigrate (in line with previous research Cairns 2014) and that the highly skilled are more likely to cite other career related factors.

Focusing on the UK context, D'Angelo and Kofman (2017) have documented increasing flows from Italy, Spain, Greece and Portugal to the UK. Starting from a relatively low base in each case, these flows increased in the period 2010 to 2014, although with differences among the groups. Labour Force Survey data reveals that these groups tend to have an activity rate above the UK population, although there are differences in the unemployment rate. Spanish nationals in the UK are represented across different occupational sectors within the labour market and are overrepresented with the higher skill category of professional and intellectual occupations (D'Angelo and Kofman 2017). They have tended to concentrate in London with some sizable numbers in other urban areas (such as Manchester) (D'Angelo and Kofman 2017), following the trends of previous Spanish immigration (Morgan 2004). D'Angelo and Kofman also contend that although this flow has been relatively invisible in UK media and public discourses, the context of the crisis has made it more visible and a new narrative about migration from Southern Europe has emerged (D'Angelo and Kofman 2017). This narrative has tended to focus on young, highly educated Southern Europeans forced to 'escape' unemployment in their home country and arriving in the UK to work in hospitality

jobs as waiters and baristas up and down the country (Jendrissek 2014; Nijhoff and Gordano 2017; D'Angelo and Kofman 2017). In some representations, there is an idea that these young people are prepared to work in lower paid jobs as ultimately they intend to return (to the better lifestyle and more family oriented society of home).

The analysis outlined above suggests two things: 1) that although there are similarities in the profile from southern European countries, there are important differences; and 2) that migration from Spain in the decade since the crisis has been much more diverse than some narratives have suggested. However, relatively little has been written solely on Spaniards in the UK, especially focussing on more recent migration (Jendrissek 2014). Those studies that have emerged have been mostly small scale qualitative studies undertaken in the south of England, that have sought to situate recent Spanish migration within conceptual frameworks of 'liquid' migration that have been developed in response to Central and Eastern European migration to the UK and Western Europe (Jendrissek 2014, 2016; Pumares 2017; Nijhoff and Gordano 2017; Pumares and González-Martín 2016). These studies have generally sought to understand motivations for migration alongside outlooks for the future in order to understand whether various typologies for intra-EU migrants apply to recent Spanish migrants to the UK.

In Pablo Pumares' study with 27 Spaniards in Brighton, he identifies some continuity in the reasons for migration to the UK, including a desire to learn English, a search for improvements in careers, and personal growth (Pumares 2017; Pumares and González-Martín 2016). But although the reasons may be the same, the crisis has given those reasons new meanings. For many young Spaniards, part of the move abroad can facilitate transitions from youth into adulthood. Seeking to apply the categories of 'career-seekers', 'target earners' and 'drifters', the study primarily identified the latter with some career seekers. Unlike in studies with the Polish community, there were no target earners, but instead people seeking to improve their material conditions in the UK (rather than save for return or remittances). Two thirds of the participants had university degrees but many had experienced downward mobility on arrival, particularly while improving their English. Thus Pumares (2017) suggests that they may best fit the description of 'middling transnationals' (Conradson and Latham 2005a). Migration projects were generally open and unpredictable – suggesting a form of liquid migration. As Pumares comments, "although there was a prior plan, the project had a strong component of uncertainty and was subject to change, sometimes unexpected, even for that person" (Pumares 2017, 146). In fact, four interviewees returned to Spain during the course of the fieldwork. Reasons for return were often based on emotional factors. They were associated either with having

fulfilled their migration objective or with having grown tired of the unstable life in the UK and homesick for friends and family in Spain (Pumares and González-Martín 2016).

In a similar vein, Nijhoff and Gordano (2017) compare experiences of Polish migrants to the Hague in the Netherlands with recent Spanish migrants to London. They found similarities but also differences between the two groups suggesting that Spanish migrants best fit the category of 'liquid' migrant, as they had uncertain plans. Once again, they found that reasons for migration were often multifaceted, not solely focused on employment. Most of their Spanish interviewees were working in precarious jobs in hospitality, despite having university qualifications. A lack of English language skills meant that they had been thus far unable to progress in the labour market. They contrasted this with the Polish interviewees who had become more established in the Netherlands. However, a key difference in the comparison between the two groups relate to the length of time each had been in the country, with Spanish interviewees having been in the UK for a maximum of two years compared to the five or more for the Polish interviewees.

Dan Jendrissek (2014, 2016) also compared the experiences of Polish and Spanish migrants but this time, both in the context of the UK. Working with 22 interviews in Southampton, he asked to what extent young Spaniards could be categorised as 'drifters' or 'searchers' (the category identified by Eade et al. 2007 among Polish nationals). He found that Spaniards gave strongly politicised narratives and talked of their time in the UK as an investment in human capital (in terms of learning English). Many of Jendrissek's findings chime with those of the studies above; however, Jendrissek (2016) draws particular attention to the politicised narratives of the young Spaniards in his sample. His findings show that Spaniards reflect that their move to the UK is involuntary, but that emigration presents the best opportunity to invest in personal development (in contrast to further study in Spain). Whilst exacerbated by the crisis, he draws attention to Spain's pre-crisis history of insecure employment for young people, but argues that in spite of this most of the interviewees had an idea of progress, having experienced Spain's boom and social transformation during their formative years. Their politicisation and adoption of politicised narratives of forced emigration reflect the idea that this progress had been forestalled and stagnated (Jendrissek 2014).

Other studies have looked at Spaniards in other destinations. A number of studies have looked at aspects of Spanish migration to more far flung destinations, including Chile, China and Algeria (Cabezón Fernández and Sempere Souvannavong 2017; Sáiz López 2017; Rodríguez-Fariñas, Romero-Valiente, and Hidalgo-Capitán 2015). Turning to other Northern European destinations, Laura Oso

(2017) has explored how young female Spanish migrants moving to Paris have drawn on and re-activated transnational social networks established in the 50s-70s that led Spanish women into specific labour market niches (domestic work, concierges, elderly care). She highlights the continuity in this flow with a growing proportion of Spanish emigrants with lower educational levels mobilising contacts in Paris to take up positions once again in these labour market niches. A further interesting study, involved a case-study of Mariama – a young Spanish woman of black African background whose trajectory showed multiple migrations within Europe as part of gendered, family strategies (Narciso and Carrasco 2017). This study interestingly highlights the diversity within the category of 'Spanish emigration' and migration trajectories - demonstrating how mobility can become the norm. Antía Pérez-Caramés (2017) explored reasons for migration of young Spaniards to Germany, identifying different groups with varying reasons for moving. While some individuals were directly influenced by the collapse of the Spanish property market, others were in mobile occupations, or saw the move to Germany as part of their transition to adulthood. She also highlights the discursive practices through which interviewees seek to position themselves, highlighting the stratification with the community of Spanish emigrants. Bygnes and Erdal (2017) compared the experiences of Spanish and Polish nationals in Norway, and found that in contrast to other studies, Spanish nationals weren't making 'liquid' or 'intentionally unpredictable' migration projects. Instead these individuals were seeking to establish grounded lives in Norway and although some were uncertain about the future, they did not foresee a return to Spain, unlike many interviewees in the UK. They suggest that while the liquid state of intra-European migration might be the context for this migration, many individuals still value the predictability of secure working conditions that balance social and economic factors in order to build secure futures. In a further detailed study with Spaniards in Norway, Bygnes (2017) described how, in contrast to some of the responses above, highly skilled Spaniards in Norway sought to distance their migration from the crisis in order create social boundaries between themselves and other migrants. However, many interviewees express a sense of disillusionment or 'anomie' with Spain and the societal conditions in Spain, which has been modulated by the experiences of the crisis.

The diversity of studies highlighted above demonstrates how within the idea of Spanish emigration a huge variety exists. Differences of class, receiving context, migration entry channel and individual background shape Spanish citizens' migration trajectories. Thus whilst the crisis is a hugely important contextual factor to understanding recent migration from Spain to the UK, we must be wary of drawing simplistic conclusions about the impact it has had, and how it has shaped emigration. It has clearly in some cases acted as a tipping point, a final push, for many people to

leave (Pumares 2017). However, in many cases it is not purely economic reasons for migration, but rather the crisis has led to multifaceted reasons for leaving. As has been noted in some accounts, youth unemployment and precarious flexible employment leading to delayed youth transitions were already established features of Spain's employment landscape pre-crisis (Holdsworth 2005; Golsch 2003). Wider dissatisfaction with career prospects has been noted in other accounts of migration from Southern Europe (Bartolini, Gropas, and Triandafyllidou 2017; Bygnes 2017). However, as the scale increased during the crisis, and as migration became more common place, emigration as a response to this precarity has come to be seen as a more acceptable response, particularly when framed as an investment in language skills (Pumares 2017).This has led some to suggest that network effects may begin to come into play, leading to further emigration (M. Izquierdo, Jimeno, and Lacuesta 2016). It remains to be seen if this is really the case, and whether the UK will continue to be attractive in light of the ongoing process of Brexit.

Migration, citizenship and class between Latin America and Spain

As discussed above, a large number of Spanish citizens emigrating from Spain in the last decade have been former immigrants to the country who have Spanish citizenship (either through naturalisation or through ancestry routes) and who have either returned to their countries of origin or have re-migrated. Among those who have migrated onward, the UK has been a major destination (Domingo i Valls, Sabater Coll, and Ortega Rivera 2014) as people have made use of their EU citizenship rights to free movement (Ramos 2017; Mas Giralt 2017). Thus in order to build a fuller understanding of the diversity among Spanish citizens currently in the UK, it is necessary to review some of the dynamics of migration between Spain and Latin America and its consequences for mobility and citizenship.

Historically migration between Spain and Latin America has overwhelmingly been in the direction of Spain to Latin America. It is estimated that between 1850 and 1950, 3.5 million Spaniards emigrated to Latin America (Martí Romero 2015). This covers the period of large scale migration from many European countries to parts of the new world in the late 19th and early 20th century. It also covers the period of the Spanish civil war in which many people also fled (Moya 2006). In this period, Argentina was a major receiving country. A second important wave of immigration followed in the 1950s and 1960s when widespread poverty once again led to migration to a number of Latin American countries, including Venezuela (Bover and Velilla 1999).

The flow from Spain to Latin America began to reverse in the late 1990s and early 2000s. From the early 2000s, Spain became a major receiving country of immigration, with the immigrant population growing substantially both in absolute numbers and as a share of the population (Arango and

Finotelli 2009; Izquierdo Escribano and Martinez-Bujan 2014). While immigration to Spain increased from a number of places including Eastern Europe and North Africa, between 2001 and 2006 the largest share of those arriving in Spain were from Latin America (Izquierdo Escribano and Martinez-Bujan 2014). Escaping political and economic difficulties at home, Ecuadorians, Colombians and Argentines arrived in the most significant numbers in the first half of the decade, with Bolivians increasing in the second half of the decade (Izquierdo Escribano and Martinez-Bujan 2014).

A demand for labour and limited, reactive policy meant that much of this migration came in irregular form, with many people entering on tourist visas and staying on irregularly (Bermudez and Brey 2017). Entry to Spain was facilitated by the fact that Spain did not require entry visas for many Latin American countries (for instance a visa was not required for those coming from Ecuador until 2003, see Jokisch (2014). In response to a growing population of irregular migrants, Spain's reaction has been to conduct a number of regularisations, the three most recent and most important in 2000, 2001 and 2005 (Arango and Finotelli 2009). About 600,000 people were regularised in the programme of 2005, of which Ecuadorians were the largest single group and Latin Americans together made up a third of the total (Arango and Finotelli 2009). This policy, which granted legal residency to large numbers of Latin Americans, along with Spain's favourable rules on naturalisation for Latin Americans (after only two years of legal residency in contrast with the ten year requirement for all other groups of immigrants) has led to large numbers of Latin Americans becoming naturalised as Spanish citizens (Mateos and Durand 2012). As Izquierdo Escribano and Martinez-Bujan (2014) note, "in only a decade, between 2002 and 2011, a total of 666,000 naturalisations took place, and of these, the majority, eight out of every ten (78.6%), involved Latin American citizens" (2014, 113). Ecuadorians and Colombians made up the largest groups, but there were also significant numbers of Peruvians, Dominicans and Argentines. These naturalised Spaniards make up the majority of those who are captured in emigration statistics of Spanish nationals born abroad.

A growing body of literature has emerged investigating the transnational practices of these Latin Americans living in Spain many of whom now have Spanish citizenship (Oso and Suárez-Grimalt 2018, 2017; Martínez-Buján 2019; Vega Solís and Martínez-Buján 2016; Herrera 2012, 2016; Oso 2016). In particular, research has focused on how strategies of spatial mobility intersect with strategies of social mobility for Latin American families (Oso and Suárez-Grimalt 2018, 2017; Oso 2016). These studies have highlighted how social mobility is considered through a transnational lens. So while migration of a family member may mean a downward step for that individual, it can result in positive upward social mobility for the family in the origin country (Oso and Suárez-Grimalt 2018).

These strategies involve balancing caring commitments with a desire to build economic capital to invest in the family. Remittances are often invested in property, businesses or education in the country of origin. Separation from family members, although coming at an emotional cost, is weighed up against other considerations. These strategies clearly have gendered dimensions – as gendered norms and relations shape decisions (Cortés and Oso 2017; Herrera 2016). These strategies are constantly being adjusted to changes in personal and socio-political circumstances. With the onset of the financial crisis in Spain, families had to adjust their strategies, with many considering return, or sending some individuals back to their country of origin (Bermudez and Oso 2018; Herrera 2012). This can be part of re-organising care responsibilities or seeking to mitigate financial insecurity. Onward migration within the EU also formed part of this response – as will be discussed further below. Once again responses varied and were shaped by gender: while male employment had been more severely hit, women were expected to maintain their caring responsibilities – leading to men having greater flexibility in terms of their ability to move to seek new opportunities (Herrera 2012). Naturalisation as a Spanish citizen, provided one more tool for families in these strategies as they afforded people opportunities to come and go responding to changing circumstances in both countries (Martínez-Buján 2019; Ramos 2017). Longitudinal perspectives reveal complex mobility patterns of different family members that often involve multiple destinations (Bermudez and Oso 2018).

Citizenship and social inequalities in Latin America

Naturalisation has not been the only means by which those born in Latin America may obtain a Spanish passport. Individuals born to Spanish parents who are living abroad are entitled to Spanish citizenship, through the *ius sanguinis* model (Rubio Marín et al. 2015). However, as many Spanish emigrants had lost their citizenship in earlier years, recent changes to the Spanish law has expanded citizenship policy, allowing descendants of Spanish emigrants to reclaim their Spanish citizenship (A. Izquierdo and Chao 2015; Rubio Marín et al. 2015).

The first change allowed those born to a Spanish parent who had lost their Spanish citizenship, to reclaim it by option. Initially time limited and requiring a year of residence in Spain, these provisions have been relaxed over time, allowing anyone whose parent was (or would have been) Spanish by origin (i.e. Spanish at birth) and born in Spain to re-claim Spanish citizenship (Rubio Marín et al. 2015). This provision was expanded substantially under the *Ley de la Memoria Histórica* (law of historic memory) also dubbed the *Ley de Nietos* (the grandchildren's law) (A. Izquierdo and Chao 2015). The law passed in 2007 under the Socialist government and came into force in 2008. Its basic provisions provided for descendants of Spanish emigrants to reclaim their Spanish citizenship up to

the level of grandparents. The aim of the law was particularly targeted at those who had gone into exile as a result of the civil war or under the Franco dictatorship (A. Izquierdo and Chao 2015). The law also allowed those who had previously gained their Spanish citizenship 'by option' to convert this to a 'by origin' status – which has implications, in particular, for the possibility of dual citizenship and the possibility of having citizenship revoked (Rubio Marín et al. 2015). The law allowed a specific time period in which it was possible for individuals to claim this status between the end of December 2008 and December 2011. In this time frame, just over half a million applications were submitted – the vast majority (94.9%) in Latin America, where the top five countries were Cuba, Argentina, Mexico, Brazil and Venezuela (A. Izquierdo and Chao 2015).

While this law has been framed as a way of maintaining links with emigrant communities, the policy inadvertently contributes to recreating social hierarchies within Latin America. Being able to obtain Spanish citizenship can be seen as a form of 'compensatory citizenship', by obtaining a citizenship that is considered higher up the hierarchy of passports, it provides a guarantee against future economic and social disruption (Harpaz 2018). Accessing a Western citizenship and in particular an EU citizenship can be said to endow an individual with 'mobility capital' (Moret 2018) as the ability to move becomes a key stratifying factor in today's globalised world (Baumann 1998). Access to Spanish (and other European) citizenships is thus a stratifying factor which intersects with ethnic and class inequalities in Latin America (McCarthy 2012). As ancestry is the defining feature of these citizenship policies, they have tended to favour those who are 'whiter' in the Latin American context.

Spanish-speaking Latin America is made up of a vast number of countries, each with their own particular social history and experience of migration, in which ideas of 'race' and ethnicity have been defined relationally and transmuted over time. However, what is common is that often those who are considered to be more 'white' or closer to a European ideal are found towards the top of social hierarchies following the logic of Spanish colonialism which produced detailed hierarchical distinctions based on degrees and forms of mixedness (Yelvington 2011; Wade 2010). Alongside indigenous populations and white colonial settlers (and subsequent further migration from Europe), Latin America also received large numbers of African slaves during the 18th century (Yelvington 2011). Although there are wide variations across different countries in terms of inequalities and ethnic distinctions, across Latin America skin tone and ethnic identities can still be shown to be linked to wealth inequality (Painter II, Noy, and Holmes 2019). In popular discourses, words such as *mestizo* and *mulatto* alongside other descriptive terms remain common, notwithstanding a lack of

consensus on what such terms mean and the fact that there may be different meanings in different contexts (Yelvington 2011).

It should also be recognised that while inequalities are re-produced within countries, this inequality is also to some extent inscribed in regional inequalities. The Andean countries of Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador and Colombia have a large share of indigenous population as well as having received a greater share of migration from East Asia (Wade 2010). They have also historically faced greatest restrictions on their mobility. Countries in the Caribbean also received higher numbers of African slaves and so have a larger number of African descendants (Yelvington 2011). In contrast, for instance, Argentina had the highest number of emigrants from Europe which has also resulted in a higher proportion of individuals able to take up Spanish citizenship. Thus citizenship policies have re-produced privilege by allowing those who can prove their ancestry (usually the middle classes and those who are 'whiter') a way of avoiding economic shocks in their country. In Latin America, this is to some extent, inscribed in regional inequalities as well, demonstrating how different forms of inequality intersect to continue to reproduce hierarchies. Thus Spanish citizens born in Latin America who may migrate onwards from Spain fall into two distinct categories: naturalised Spanish citizens (who are Spanish by derivative) and Spanish citizens through ancestry (who are usually, although not always, Spanish by origin).

Latin Americans in the UK

Latin Americans have traditionally been an invisible migrant group in the UK and have not been widely studied (McIlwaine, Cock, and Linneker 2011). However, recently there have been an increasing number of projects looking at experiences of Latin Americans in the UK and drawing attention to the onward migration of Latin Americans from Spain (McIlwaine and Bunge 2016; Ramos 2017; Mas Giralt 2015; Ramos, Lauzardo, and McCarthy 2018; McCarthy 2012). Movement from Southern Europe is now one of the most important routes of Latin American migration to the UK (McIlwaine and Bunge 2016). Latin American-Spanish citizens moving to the UK have also made use of family reunification rules to bring family members who may not yet have EU citizenship to the UK. Rosa Mas Giralt (2015) suggests that, in contrast to other studies of secondary migration, onward migration of Spanish-Latin Americans is unplanned and reactive and that Spanish-Latin Americans will often exhaust all other options before moving (as also found by Izquierdo Escribano and Martinez- Bujan 2014).

Previous work on Latin Americans in the UK had found a burgeoning super-diverse community that was largely invisible in the UK's migration landscape (McIlwaine 2011). Made up of diverse waves of

migration from the 1980s onwards, many Latin Americans had come as political refugees fleeing dictatorship and persecution. In the 1990s and 2000s new arrivals came from Colombia and Ecuador fleeing economic and political upheavals. Family re-unification and students also became part of the flows to the UK. A large portion of the community settled in London, where Latin American commercial spaces acted as focal points for the community (Cock 2011) and cultural events became part of London's cosmopolitan scene. While language barriers remained a feature of the community and downward mobility was a feature of people's migration trajectories, those who had been in the UK for longer had established their own businesses and with a fifth working in managerial or professional occupations (McIlwaine 2011). With campaigning groups seeking to mobilise around a new ethnic identity to gain greater recognition for the group (Granada 2013), the question of how people identified their ethnic group was becoming more relevant with 40% identifying as 'mestizo', followed by 'white' (29%) and Latin American (14%) (McIlwaine 2011).

When the financial crisis hit Spain, it hit the sectors in which immigrants were traditionally employed particularly hard. In 2008, over 35% of Latin American males were concentrated in the construction sector, and this sector was one of the most severely impacted by the financial crisis with 1.5 million jobs lost between 2006 and 2013 (Izquierdo Escribano and Martinez-Bujan 2014). Unemployment in Spain hit the country unevenly. Whilst much has been written about the rate of unemployment among the young, unemployment rates among immigrants also stood well above the general rate of unemployment (Arango 2016; Gil-Alonso and Vidal-Coso 2015; Pajares 2010). Return or re-migration (or often a combination of both) emerged as strategies for coping with unemployment and in many cases large debts in the form of worthless mortgages (Ramos 2017; Mas Giralt 2017). However, many Spanish-Latin Americans have opted to make the most of their EU passport and have moved within Europe, including many coming to the UK (Mas Giralt 2015; McIlwaine and Bunge 2016), making the migration flow from Spain to the UK increasingly internally diverse.

McIlwaine and Bunge (2016) conducted the first survey in the UK looking specifically at the group of onward Latin American migrants from Europe in their report *Towards Visibility*. With 400 survey respondents and 28 qualitative interviews, they found a distinct profile. Whilst not all survey respondents held Spanish passports, the vast majority (80%) did. The vast majority had arrived since 2008 and more than half since 2011. Colombians, Ecuadorians and Brazilians were among the largest groups (although Brazilians were less likely to hold Spanish passports). This group is slightly less educated than other Latin Americans in the UK and than other Spanish nationals in the UK. Slightly over half (54%) had some form of tertiary education (including technical education) and half said

they spoke little or no English. This group also experiences a different labour market trajectory. 70% reported leaving the EU country for economic reasons. Half work in contract cleaning in the UK and three quarters are paid less than the London living wage. Experiences of overcrowded and shared accommodation are common and there is a high level of indebtedness, with half having a debt from their previous country of residence. Much of this is linked to the Spanish housing crisis that left many with debts despite repossessions. Whilst this survey was limited to looking at those in London, research has emphasised the concentration of Latin Americans in London compared to other parts of the UK (McIlwaine, Cock, and Linneker 2011; McIlwaine and Bunge 2016).

McIlwaine and Bunge (2018) argue that these experiences of precarity in the UK, can best be conceptualised through a transnational lens as 'onward precarity'. The move from Latin America to Spain entailed a downward mobility for these Latin American migrants. Spain's segmented labour market, alongside discrimination, meant that Latin American migrants were stuck in ethnic niches in Spain: construction, agriculture, domestic work and elderly care. Once the crisis hit, this group was disproportionally impacted by a range of structural and economic factors, "while exploitative labour relations continue to be central, onward precarity is further reinforced by economic recession, deskilling, racial discrimination and the housing crisis" (McIlwaine and Bunge 2018, 12). Despite arriving with the security of an EU passport, once in the UK this group experiences yet further downward mobility due to their limited language skills, a lack of recognition of previous qualifications and a network of co-ethnics who all have jobs in the same sector (McIlwaine and Bunge 2018; Berg 2019). The employment conditions characterising the sector, coupled with poor quality expensive accommodation, result in poor living conditions with constraints on the ability to move out of the sector. A lack of English and understanding about the system also results in many difficulties accessing basic services such as schooling for children and healthcare (Berg 2019). As McIlwaine and Bunge note, "onward precarity in London was therefore somewhat paradoxical. Despite the privileges of citizenship rights and extensive exercise of agentic tactics, albeit within constrained circumstances, OLAs [onward Latin Americans] experienced their most precarious working and living conditions" (McIlwaine and Bunge 2018, 15).

Whilst an overall broad picture of Latin American-Spanish migration is painted by the *Towards Visibility* report, in Cristina Ramos' (2017) study of Ecuadorians and Colombians who had moved onward from Spain she argues for a typology of three groups based on life junctures. Drawing distinctions between mature migrants, career advancement migrants and young, independence-seeking migrant, she argues that life juncture affects the ability and outlook of onward migrants to

capitalise on the opportunities presented by life in London. Whilst Latin American-Spaniards arrive with the rights that come with EU citizenship, differences relating to human and social capital may impact on their ability to effectively access their rights and entitlements. In addition, Latin American-Spaniards tend to join an existing Latin American community in the UK which is seeking further recognition along the lines of ethnicity (Granada 2013). This campaign has been built out of an idea of a shared common heritage but also out of campaigning that has highlighted shared poor living conditions and marginalisation from services that affects lower paid Latin Americans living in precarity (Granada 2013). Nevertheless, these Spanish-Latin Americans are not always welcomed whole-heartedly into the UK's Latin American community with tension and resentment on both sides (Ramos, Lauzardo, and McCarthy 2018). Those who have come directly from Latin America to the UK often feel that Spanish Latin Americans have it easy, arriving in the UK as EU citizens, in comparison with their own trajectories of irregularity or asylum. However, Spanish-Latin Americans also seek to recreate symbolic boundaries through emphasising their pride in their Spanish passport (Ramos, Lauzardo, and McCarthy 2018). While their post-migration experiences of the labour market and exclusion might be similar for both groups of Latin Americans and they may make use of the same social spaces and community organisations, a certain boundary is created and reinforced with Spanish-Latin Americans setting up their own information sharing networks (Ramos, Lauzardo, and McCarthy 2018). In spite of these tensions within the Latin American community, the Spanish-Latin Americans may also not identify with Spaniards who are born in Spain. This may, in part, be to do with different post-migration experiences but is also reinforced in the creation of symbolic boundaries between the two groups for instance in virtual spaces such as social media forums (Ramos, Lauzardo, and McCarthy 2018). This has been characterised as an "in-betweenness" within the Latin American community: not always perceived as Spanish but also not fully perceived as Latin Americans by others in the community" (Ramos, Lauzardo, and McCarthy 2018, 75).

Conclusion

Research has shown that there has been immigration from Spain to the UK for many decades (Morgan 2004). However, in the aftermath of the financial crisis, migration flows increased substantially (Bermudez and Brey 2017; M. Izquierdo, Jimeno, and Lacuesta 2016). While this uptick has received relatively little attention from scholars based in the UK, academics based in other parts of Europe have looked at this phenomenon in terms of young people's response to the crisis comparing across a number of southern European countries. The narrative in Spain has been of a 'brain drain' of highly skilled young people (Arango 2016; López-Sala 2017), and although this may help us account for some of what is happening, the reality is flows that are more diverse, with individuals with a range of motivations. While the crisis may have acted as a tipping factor for many

people, it is not as simple as pointing to unemployment figures and drawing a direct line to migration rates. Nevertheless, the data does suggest that overall these are younger people, many of whom have university education. As with other studies of young EU free movers, studies on Spanish movers to the UK suggest a level of unpredictability around plans for the future (Pumares 2017; Nijhoff and Gordano 2017; Jendrissek 2016). Despite many of these movers having a university education and being 'middling transnationals' (Pumares 2017) lack of language skills can lead to people getting stuck in precarious jobs (Nijhoff and Gordano 2017).

However, as noted above, there is significant diversity to be found within this group of Spanish citizens. It is estimated that between 15 and 20% were born in other countries (PERE 2017; Office for National Statistics 2017). A large proportion of this group is likely to be individuals originally from Latin America who have either obtained Spanish citizenship through ancestry or as result of naturalising (McCarthy 2012; A. Izquierdo and Chao 2015). There is a long history of migration between Spain and Latin America which has implications for current Spanish citizenship policy, meaning that in many respects Latin Americans have privileged access to citizenship in comparison to other immigrant groups (Mateos and Durand 2012). Nevertheless, even for Latin Americans, routes to citizenship are stratified and intertwined with other forms of ethnic and wealth inequalities (McCarthy 2012). Recently a greater light has been shone on the onward migration of these Latin American-Spaniards with a number of projects highlighting their trajectories. Overall these studies have highlighted the precarity that these individuals face on arrival in the UK, as they often arrive with debts built up in Spain (Ramos 2017; Mas Giralt 2017; McIlwaine and Bunge 2018). Due to often quite different circumstances on arrival, these Latin American-Spaniards tend to occupy a slightly different social space than Spaniards born in Spain, while simultaneously not fully joining the existing Latin American community in the UK (Ramos, Lauzardo, and McCarthy 2018). Thus they may find themselves as dual citizens occupying something of an in-between space. As this brief review has highlighted, we must be wary of talking in generalised terms about any one citizenship group, as there are numerous axes of diversity to consider (ethnicity, national origin, age, gender, class to name a few). In the following chapter, I will describe how in designing the study I sought to capture some of this diversity in order to build a full picture of Spanish citizens' integration experiences in the UK.

Chapter 5: Methodology

As outlined in chapter three, integration is a broad ranging concept that covers multiple different areas of life as well as different scales. This can make it difficult to investigate fully. Many studies have singled out one element of these processes to focus on. While this allows a level of detailed investigation and provides important insights, it can be problematic to make claims about wider 'integration' from looking at a single domain (Spencer and Charsley 2016). Nevertheless, it is undoubtedly hugely challenging to build a complete picture of all integration processes. Thus in designing research on this topic, studies need to make decisions about scope and focus. The aim of this study was to look at integration experiences of Spanish citizens in the UK testing how newer conceptualisations helped to account for their experiences. This overall aim was broken down into three research questions: 1) what are the integration trajectories of Spanish citizens in three domains (labour market, social connections, language)? 2) What do differences in experiences of diverse Spanish citizens reveal about integration and the factors that affect it? 3) How do Spanish citizens feel about their integration trajectories? As a result, the study needed to be broad enough – i.e. not focused on a single domain - to be able to talk about integration processes more widely, but also detailed enough to be able consider the complexity of different personal characteristics and people's emotional reactions to their experiences. This chapter sets out the methods I chose to try to accomplish this aim and explains the rationale for those decisions. The study adopted a mixed-methods approach, encompassing both an online survey and in-depth qualitative interviews. I will go on to discuss in detail the design of both the survey and the conduct of interviews as well as the analysis of the material. In the final section, I will discuss the ethical considerations raised by the research including issues of positionality and how this may have impacted on the research findings.

Why use mixed methods?

Mixed methods research has increasingly been recognised within sociology as a distinct form of research and has been gaining popularity (Pearce 2012; Morgan 2007). Mixed methods refers to a research design which uses a combination of different methods, usually but not always, a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches, in a single project (Creswell 2014). A number of benefits have been attributed to a mixed methods approach including: improving accuracy of findings, bringing different approaches and constructions of phenomenon into dialogue, and reflecting complexity of phenomenon, particularly those that may have multi-dimensional ontology (Moran-Ellis et al. 2006). I was attracted to a mixed methods design early on, as I felt that a multi-dimensional concept such as integration was best explored using a variety of methodological approaches. Reflecting my own research background in anthropology, this decision was what

Jennifer Mason (2006) has termed 'qualitatively driven', starting from a position that the social world and social experiences are multi-dimensional, and that seeking to understand them through a range of different methods thus adds to the complexity. As Mason has noted, "the way we see shapes what we can see, and what we think we can ask," (Mason 2006, 13), thus it is important to acknowledge one's own methodological background, in order to recognise how this may shape the formulation of research questions. However, as the project developed I sought to move beyond my own qualitative thinking and develop 'multi-nodal' and 'dialogic' explanations (Mason 2006, 20).

Despite increasing numbers of studies that employ mixed methods, discussions about how best to classify mixed methods research continues (Creswell and Tashakkori 2007). Scholars have noted that methods can be combined in a number of different ways and for a number of different rationales with each bringing different opportunities and challenges (Mason 2006; Bryman 2006; Moran-Ellis et al. 2006). On a theoretical level, the key question remains whether mixed methods constitute a new methodological approach with a different epistemological paradigm, or whether it simply reflects the bringing together of two different paradigms which have different epistemological and ontological foundations (Mason 2006). Some have argued that the distinction between quantitative and qualitative methods has always been presented as too rigid, and that in fact these methods lie on a continuum and as such mixing methods does not require such a large epistemological shift (Creswell and Tashakkori 2007). In contrast, Morgan (2007) argues convincingly that the growth of mixed methods research signals the shift to a new approach, and a move away from the old metaphysical and positivist paradigms. This new approach is based on the philosophy of pragmatism and openly acknowledges the dialectic process of moving between data and theory that characterises much mixed methods research (Pearce 2012).

An approach based on pragmatism has three key characteristics: abduction – the dialectic moving between deduction and induction; intersubjectivity - which focuses on establishing shared understandings; and transferability – which focuses on considering to what extent and under which circumstances findings can be more widely generalised (Pearce 2012). In this view, a pragmatic approach recognises that, often "research of all types makes several moves back and forth between theory (re)construction and data analysis" (Pearce 2012, 832) and acknowledges that in other paradigms, theory building rarely falls neatly into a binary inductive or deductive approach. Linked to the theoretical debate is the question of how one practically brings the two datasets together (Bryman 2006). Some approaches have seen the datasets 'triangulated', that is, used to corroborate one another or test the validity of another one (Moran-Ellis et al. 2006). Other approaches have

talked of 'integrating' or 'combining' data for different purposes, such as in order to further explore datasets or to help provide explanation for different results (Bryman 2006). It has been noted that terms are often used interchangeably (Moran-Ellis et al. 2006) and that in many cases, typologies of mixed-methods research have been developed without regard to how the studies are actually being conducted (Bryman 2006). Nevertheless, there are a few key questions to understanding how methods have been used together: 1) are multiple methods brought together during the formulation of questions or only at the stage of data collection and analysis? 2) Do findings from one dataset influence the design of another? And linked to this, are they carried out sequentially or in parallel? And 3) is data from each method treated equally? With these questions in mind, in the following section I will discuss how a mixed-method approach is particularly useful in studying integration process.

Bringing multiple methods together to investigate integration

Within studies of integration, it is common to find that certain domains are studied using certain methods, while other domains tend to be studied with other methods. For example, integration processes in structural domains, such as employment, are often looked at using quantitative data (see for example Clark et al. 2018; Ruiz and Vargas-Silva 2018), whereas social integration is often looked at using qualitative research methods (see for example Cheung and Phillimore 2013; Phillimore, Humphris, and Khan 2017; Ryan 2015a; Ryan and Mulholland 2014). Rarely do studies combine approaches. Broadly speaking, quantitative studies in integration have allowed scholars to look at broad trends or the degree to which migrants differ from a 'mainstream' group and from one another. Longitudinal quantitative studies may also give some indication of changes over time. They can also be used to investigate the degree to which certain factors, such as gender, age, ethnicity impact on outcomes such as employment by using statistical modelling. However, a key difficulty of quantitative studies in integration has been designing appropriate indicators and deciding which indicators to use. Thus while quantitative studies can provide many insights about integration – particularly in the structural domain – they are unable to provide any insights into *how* these processes of integration occur over time. They also cannot give us any insight into subjective understandings of these processes, which may be particularly relevant for certain aspects of integration. In contrast, in-depth interviews allow a much more detailed exploration of processes and how they feel for the individuals involved. They also open up a space for unexpected themes to emerge.

As such, I felt that these two methods would produce different types of data that would complement one another and help provide a fuller account of the process of integration. My

rationale for choosing mixed methods was thus one of complementarity, following Greene, Caracelli and Graham's (1989) influential typology in which the researcher "seeks elaboration, enhancement, illustration, clarification of the results from one method with the results from another" (1989, 259). My aim in using multiple datasets was not to triangulate in the form of using one dataset to test the validity of the other, instead it was to integrate and complement. The study used the different methods sequentially, which has often been associated with the emphasis of one of the methods over the other (i.e. using one method to inform the other, more valued tool) (Creswell and Tashakkori 2007). However, this study sought to treat both methods and datasets as equal. While the use of the sequential approach allowed one tool to influence the design of the other, this did not follow a strict explanatory sequential model, as full analysis of each data set was not conducted before the next stage of the research (Creswell 2014). Instead methods were designed and conducted separately, but data was integrated during the analysis stage, in what Moran-Ellis et al. (2006) have called a 'separate methods, integrated analysis' model.

As a result both the survey and the interview schedule were based around four main areas of integration: labour market, social realm, English language, plans and feelings (see table 4.3 in the next section). In addition, the survey also included a number of questions about demographic characteristics. While the survey produced quantitative, categorical data; the interviews produced much more detailed, complex and sometimes contradictory information. Thus analysis of survey data helped to answer a range of 'what' and 'how many' questions. For instance, questions such as what positions do Spanish citizens occupy in the UK labour market? How many British friends do they report having? In contrast, the interview data produced information about *how* some of these things happened. On the whole, analysis of each dataset was conducted independently (more details of each provided in the following sections). However, at certain points during the analysis of one dataset, questions emerged that spurred new lines of analysis in the other dataset. Similarly, as my reading on the topic progressed, articles and insights from the literature occasionally spurred new pursuits in the analysis. In this way the process was abductive: moving back and forth between the literature and the two sources of data. Thus the two datasets were analysed side by side and findings from each are presented together throughout the thesis. In the following sections, I will outline the design of the survey and details of the interviews and the analysis of both.

Survey design

One of the rationales of conducting a survey was to seek to gather some larger scale, more detailed data about the Spanish citizens living in the UK. Beyond the large scale official data such as the Census (which was last conducted in 2011 and considerably out of date by 2017), the last survey

aimed solely at Spanish citizens was conducted in 2004 (Morgan 2004). The aim of the survey was to reach those who had arrived in the UK in the last ten years and capture a range of demographic profiles. As one of the core groups being targeted was those with Spanish citizenship born outside of Spain, questions also had to make sense to this group and be able to capture important details of individuals' situations and migration trajectories. This meant, for example, using specific language in questions that referred to country of origin and not using Spain as a short hand for country of origin.

The survey was designed on the software platform Qualtrics, a subscription to which is provided by the university. The survey was divided into five main sections: demographic details; employment; social life; use of English; civic issues and plans for the future. In total, the survey contained approximately 60 questions, however, display logics meant that not all questions were displayed to all participants (see Appendix B for survey questions). Those who were born in a country other than Spain were shown a greater number of questions. The survey was conducted in Spanish. Occupational lists were devised following the UK Standard Occupational Classification 2010. Spanish definitions of occupations from the ISCO-08 were mapped onto the UK's standard occupational classification using guidance from the Office for National Statistics in order to facilitate comparisons with other UK data sets. In order to speed up response times, questions mainly took the form of multiple choice or matrix questions. A final open-ended question allowed participants to add further comments on any aspect of the survey or their experiences in the UK.

The survey was piloted with ten individuals prior to being launched in the period between December and January 2017. Although questions had been checked with native speakers prior to piloting, pilot responses revealed further language corrections to be made. Piloting also revealed issues with the specific questions which caused confusion (e.g. for respondents born in countries other than Spain) and raised concerns about the length of the survey. As a result, a few questions were dropped, other questions were simplified and the decision was taken not to make questions compulsory (with the hope of avoiding survey fatigue).

Responses were collected between February and early April 2017, with the bulk of the responses collected before the end of March (which is when Article 50, the formal notification of the United Kingdom's intention to leave the EU was triggered). This is raised because the ongoing Brexit process continued throughout the period of data collection and the topic became more or less salient. At the point of conducting the survey, the topic was high profile in the media, which may have helped drive responses to the survey. However, throughout the survey data collection and the interview

data collection, nothing substantive had yet been officially said about the future status of EU citizens in the UK.

Responses were mainly collected through social media channels – Facebook primarily. The survey was also circulated through my personal networks and on Twitter. A link to the survey was posted in 30 different Facebook groups. These groups were predominantly aimed at Spanish or Latin American nationals resident in different parts of the country in the UK. Of these Facebook groups, 17 were aimed primarily at Latin Americans. Latin American groups consisted of a range of groups aimed broadly at Latin Americans and groups aimed at specific nationalities (Colombians, Peruvians etc.). I sought to target a range of nationality groupings which are known to be numerous in the UK (and likely to hold Spanish citizenship) (McIlwaine and Bunge 2016). A full list of groups, with approximate numbers of members and date posted is provided in appendix 1. Posts in all Spanish groups followed the same format, they included an introduction to myself, a short description of the project and a reference to the fact that the last detailed study of the Spanish community in the UK had been conducted more than a decade ago and that in the context of Brexit it was important to understand the characteristics of the community. Posts for Latin American groups were adapted to refer to the national group in question, and included a sentence mentioning the fact that many of the national group in question held dual citizenship.

It was notable that on the whole Facebook groups aimed at Spaniards tended to be more active than those aimed at Latin Americans. Those aimed at Latin Americans tended to include more commercial posts, whereas those aimed at Spaniards seemed to contain more posts from individuals asking about advice or recommendations on a variety of topics (employment, housing, learning English, tax etc.). Perhaps as a result of the different levels of engagement, responses from Latin Americans were lower than hoped for. In order to combat this, respondents from this group were also approached through a Latin American community organisation based in London. Students of the organisation's English classes were invited to participate in the survey at the end of the classes on computers provided by the organisation. I was on hand to clarify issues for participants. This did mean that this provided a slightly different response environment for these respondents. In order to minimise this difference, I did not give detailed explanations of any questions and overall there were few questions from respondents. In total the survey received 479 responses.

Sample

Sampling remains one of the key challenges facing online, self-administered surveys. As respondents to online surveys are self-selecting, there are limits to any claims to representativeness that can be

made. Clearly, those who do not have access to the internet are unable to complete online surveys – this particularly affects older groups, but may also be relevant to those who face financial hardship or have limited education or digital skills. In addition, the fact that my survey was mainly accessed through Facebook precludes involvement of those who do not have Facebook profiles. While some may argue that posting through social media represents a significant limitation, the coverage of Facebook means that arguably you have a wider sample of diverse backgrounds than simply posting on an organisation's website (as was previously common). Nevertheless, the posting of the survey in groups, did mean that people had to be active enough on Facebook to have joined groups in the first place (and groups which specifically referenced their nationality).

The survey used a sample of convenience but was aiming to reach two specific groups, those with Spanish nationality who were born in Spain, and those with Spanish nationality who were born in Latin America.[11] Response rates from Spanish-Latin Americans were lower despite the survey being posted in 17 groups aimed specifically at Latin Americans. As discussed above, the nature of the online engagement with these groups may play a part in the lower response rate or reflect differences in the engagement within the online environment. Within these Facebook groups there were also likely to be lower numbers of individuals who fit the requirements of the survey. However, previous research has found that migrant groups may be harder to reach through survey methods (McLafferty 2016) and that there are differences between migrant groups in response rates (Deding, Fridberg, and Jakobsen 2008). Recruiting some respondents directly through a community organisation, while successful in securing greater numbers of respondents and including a more diverse profile, inherently introduces a bias as only those actively accessing the services of the organisation were targeted. As can be seen in table 5.1, 14% of respondents were born in Latin America, which is in line with the proportion that is recorded in official figures as outlined in chapter four.

[11] Throughout the thesis, I refer interchangeably to Spanish Latin Americans and Latin American-Spaniards as a short-hand to refer to my participants who were born in Latin America and who also held Spanish citizenship. In most cases, these individuals held dual citizenship. In using these phrases, I am not making any claims about their identifications with either citizenship which varied considerably between individuals.

Table 5.1: Demographic profile of survey respondents

Demographics	
Country of birth (n=478)	
Spain	85%
Latin America	14%
Other	1%
Age (n=380)	
18-29	43%
30-39	39%
45-49	5%
50-59	2%
Gender (n=476)	
Female	73%
Civil status (n=473)	
Single	66%
Married	19%
Long term partner	12%
Other (separated, divorced, widowed)	3%
Children (n=471)	
Yes	22%
Region in UK (n=465)	
London	33%

The survey received a disproportionate number of responses from females, with a total of 73% of respondents identifying as female (table 5.1). This clearly limits the possibility to make generalisations from the survey results. Previous research has suggested that in traditional survey methods, women, those who are better educated and more affluent, younger people and those who are white are all more likely to respond to surveys (Curtin, Presser, and Singer 2000). While it is not a given that these response differences will translate to online surveys, research has suggested that women are more likely to respond to online surveys as well (Smith 2008). Some have suggested that this may in part be attributable to differences in women's behaviour on the internet, where women are more likely to engage in activities of information exchange rather than information seeking (Smith 2008). While little research has been done that considers the researcher's positionality in collection of quantitative data (Ryan and Golden 2006), it is possible that my gender (identifiable through my name on Facebook) also contributed to the increased response rate from women. This skew in the sample is important because it affected my two main groups differently: among Spanish-born Spanish citizens, there were a disproportionate number of females, while among Latin American-born Spanish citizens the gender balance was more equal, which may in part be due to the face-to-face recruitment I did at the community organisation (see table 5.2). The implications of this

will be explored more fully in subsequent chapters when I discuss gender differences that emerge in the data.

Table 5.2: Gender by place of birth among survey respondents (n=468)

	Male	Female	Total
Born in Spain	99	306	405
	24%	76%	100%
Born in Latin America	28	35	63
	44%	56%	100%
Total	127	341	468
	27%	73%	100%

Younger people were also over-represented in respondents. Those under 40 years old made up 82% of respondents. While this is in line with what has been found in traditional survey methods (Curtin, Presser, and Singer 2000), it is compounded through recruitment on Facebook. Facebook users have been shown to be younger on average than the general population (Mellon and Prosser 2017; McAndrew and Jeong 2012). Similarly Facebook users are also better educated than the general population (Mellon and Prosser 2017) which may go some way to accounting for another feature of the sample. That is that overall respondents were very well educated with 77% of the total sample having university or postgraduate education. Rates of higher education were slightly lower among those born in countries other than Spain, although 53% still have university or postgraduate education. As discussed in chapter four, this is a higher level of education than the average in Spain.

The survey did not explicitly target people who had arrived since the financial crisis, but as discussed in chapter four, it was in the wake of that event that there was an uptick in arrivals from Spain to the UK. Respondents to the survey had also mainly arrived in the UK recently, as can be seen in table 5.3. A quarter had arrived in the last year and the majority (84%) had arrived since 2010. There were no major differences between those who had been born in Spain and those born in Latin America.

Table 5.3: Year of arrival by place of birth (n=405)

	Pre 2000	2000-2008	2009-2010	2011-2012	2013-2014	2015-2016	Total
Born in Spain	21	31	16	37	103	145	353
	6%	9%	4%	11%	29%	41%	100%
Born in Latin America	2	2	5	7	10	26	52
	4%	4%	10%	13%	19%	50%	100%
Total	23	33	21	44	113	171	405
	6%	8%	5%	11%	28%	42%	100%

All of the issues identified above including the over-representation of women, the likely exclusion of the most marginalised and financially deprived, and issues reaching individuals born in Latin America, mean that it is difficult to generalise beyond the results of the survey to the Spanish population resident in the UK more widely. Nevertheless, the survey can still illuminate certain relationships between different dimensions of integration experiences in the UK.

After cleaning the data, the findings were initially explored in Excel. Following this, the main analysis was conducted using SPSS. Single and multivariate tabulations were used to look at key demographics and explore the most relevant variables in each of the three domains. The survey produced a large amount of data, and one of the first challenges was to hone into the dependent variables that were of most interest (see table 5.4).

Table 5.4: Key variables for the different domains of integration

Labour market variables	Social connections variables	English language variables	Feelings and plans variables
• Occupation • Full/part-time • Contract type • Mobility (current occupation compared to first occupation)	• Previous contacts in the UK • Self reported numbers of British friends • Self reported numbers of Spanish friends • Difficulty of making friends with British people	• Self –reported current level of English • Self-reported former level of English • Improvement of English level	• Feelings of being at home in the UK • Planned future time in the UK • Perceptions of Brexit

The first stage was to look at demographic effects on these variables (ages, gender, place of birth, education level, father's education level) on these variables. The second stage involved considering how these variables might interact with one another. As most of the variables were categorical in nature, the depth of statistical analysis possible was limited (Sapsford 2007). Analysis was exploratory rather than testing specific hypotheses. Nevertheless, I sought to explore patterns and the natures of relationships through Chi squared tests for independence. Comparisons were also made visually, using graphs to illustrate particular relationships.

In addition to this analysis, I also looked more closely at the make-up of families. This data included the number of children people had, their ages and the locations of those children. While quite a bit of this data was incomplete, it did allow me to explore the constitutions of some of the families of those who responded to the survey.

Interviews

As outlined above, semi-structured qualitative interviews formed a key part of the methods. In-depth interviewing allows for a richer understanding of key themes and gives participants the opportunity to express things in their own words and to pursue tangential but relevant themes (Sánchez-Ayala 2012). It was thus useful to explore how processes of change occurred as well as people's subjective feelings and rationalisations of such processes.

In May 2016, prior to the launch of the survey, pilot interviews were conducted with four Spanish nationals (three born in Spain and one born in Latin America) drawn from my personal networks. The aim of the interviews was to test the range of questions which sought to elaborate experiences and trajectories in three different domains of integration (employment, social relationships, language learning). Interviews proved quite long, particularly questions on social relationships which led to a certain amount of repetition. As a result, some of these questions were amended prior to conducting the full interviews. Responses to these pilot interviews impacted on the design of the questions for the domains included in the survey. However, crucially, these pilot interviews took place before the referendum result was announced in June 2016. As a result, the final interview schedule included questions on this topic.

In August and September of 2017, once the survey was completed, the main qualitative interviews took place. In total 27 in-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 17 individuals born in Spain and ten individuals born in Latin America. Interviews were primarily spread across two geographic locations, London and Manchester (although one survey respondent had subsequently

moved from Manchester). Interviewees were mainly recruited from the survey respondents who had indicated, through leaving an email address, that they would be willing to take part in follow up interviews. Interviewees were purposively sampled, to ensure that a range of opinions were captured. Naturally, those who were interviewed were a self-selecting group of those who had decided to participate, although this is the feature of most qualitative research. Unsurprisingly, given the nature of the sample of survey respondents, men and Latin American-Spaniards proved harder to recruit than female Spanish nationals born in Spain. As a result, I also pursued a snowballing method with respondents and reached out to individuals in my personal networks. As there had been fewer survey respondents who had left email addresses in Manchester, and I was to be there for a limited amount of time for interviews, interviewees in Manchester were also recruited through the Facebook group – *Españoles en Manchester*. One post was put online to which five people replied of whom four were interviewed. This approach to recruitment necessarily means that sampling was not completely purposive, but overall interviewees did reflect fairly diverse profiles. Interviewees who were recruited outside of the survey were asked to complete a short questionnaire to capture basic demographic information.

Interviews were mainly conducted in public places, such as cafes and libraries. Two interviews were conducted by Skype. Interviews followed a semi-structured format and were conducted in Spanish (see Appendix C for interview topic guide). There were broadly five sections of the interview protocol covering: background and migration history; employment in the UK; English learning; social relationships; plans for the future and Brexit. Questions were not necessarily presented linearly, however, and where questions had clearly been answered in previous sections, they were not repeated. This allowed interviewees to follow their own narrative logic and to bring up issues when appropriate. My aim was to build rapport with my respondents and to create an environment in which they felt able to reflect on elements of their lives in the UK. Where it seemed relevant or helpful, I would occasionally engage in some disclosure about my own personal experiences with the aim of facilitating participants' disclosure (Song and Parker 1995). In some cases, and particularly in relation to Brexit, participants actively solicited my views after I had asked them about their views. As the situation on Brexit was the subject of much speculation at the time of the interview, I viewed these exchanges as a mutual construction of knowledge (Davies 1999). However, I attempted to elicit their views first and provide limited or somewhat open answers regarding my own views. Interviews generally lasted between an hour and an hour and a half, with the shortest being forty minutes and the longest being over two hours.

Broadly speaking interviewees fell into one of three groups: Spaniards born in Spain living in London, Spaniards born in Latin America living in London, Spaniards born in Spain living outside London (primarily in Manchester). The decision to interview in these two locations was based on a desire to move beyond a London-centric focus but also was based on pragmatism. I was living in London during the research, and it is also where a large number of Spanish citizens are concentrated (Morgan 2004). Nevertheless, research has been criticised for being conducted in global cities without acknowledging the specificity of these locations (Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2009). Time and constraints made it difficult to conduct interviews in multiple locations. Instead I sought another location sufficiently different from London but still with a large enough Spanish community. Edinburgh was one option, but was rejected due to the different national context (evidenced also in the survey in responses people gave in particular to questions about Brexit). Instead Manchester seemed to be a good choice – geographically and in terms of size and diversity of population, it is quite distinct to London (Manchester City Council n.d.). Due to smaller numbers of Latin Americans living outside of London (McIlwaine and Bunge 2016), it was decided that interviewees with Latin Americans would be concentrated in London. Latin American respondents represented seven different countries in Latin America: Argentina, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela. Basic profiles of interviewees are provided in figure 5.1 with detailed tables (5.5 and 5.6) provided on subsequent pages.

Figure 5.1: Interviewee profiles based on three groupings *one interview conducted outside London **exact ages were not asked for instead participants indicated their age range based on 5 year ranges

Spaniards born in Spain living in London	Spaniards born in Latin America living in London*	Spaniards born in Spain living outside London
•12 interviews: 6 women and 6 men •Ages between 25 and 44** • Range of occupations from managers to elementary occupations •5 married, 2 long term relationship and 3 with children	• 10 interviews: 5 women and 5 men •Ages between 30 and 54 • Primarily working in either professional or elementary occupations • 4 married and 4 with children • 7 Latin American countries represented	•5 interviews: 3 women and 2 men •Ages between 18-39 •Primarily professional occupations •All single without children

The interviews were fully transcribed in Spanish and transcripts kept in the original language throughout the analysis. The rationale for this was not to add unnecessary, additional translation stages. Translation always requires a certain amount of re-interpretation as the translator selects the

correct words (Temple and Koterba 2009). Conducting the analysis in Spanish kept those words as originally spoken for as long as possible, and thus reduced the likelihood of distortions of meaning (Temple 2002). Transcripts included brief contextual notes, such as when there were significant pauses, laughter, interruptions etc. Throughout the thesis, direct quotes are presented to illustrate various points. Where necessary, small additions to aid clarity have been given in square brackets. In some cases, quotes have been shortened, with certain phrases omitted for brevity and this ellipsis is indicated in the conventional fashion. Throughout basic details of the interviewee (age bracket, place of birth, time in the UK) is also presented to provide context for the reader.

The interviews were analysed used NVivo 11 software. The interviews were coded thematically following the main areas of the interview schedule. Thus initially the coding followed a deductive approach with themes drawn from the literature. However, as coding developed, a few codes emerged from the interviews, mainly related to subjective responses. These were then incorporated in the overall coding frame and transcripts were re-examined for these codes. This is an example of the abductive process of analysis, which involved a move between inductive and deductive processes (Morgan 2007). Once coding was completed, I made use of a number of the tools available in the software to explore the data. Matrix frameworks covering each broad area (social connections, language learning, and labour market experiences) allowed me to get a broad overview of the data and see how themes were approached by participants with different characteristics. Investigating word frequency and word collocations also helped to consider any key concepts and how they were being used in individual narratives. As discussed above, this analysis occasionally led me to return to the quantitative data to see how specific variables might interact and whether particular issues identified in the interviews could also be located in or explained by further analysis of the survey data.

Spanish interviewees born in Spain

Table 5.5: Full details of interviewees born in Spain

Code	Name	Age	Civil status	Children	Level of Education	Year of arrival	Job in the UK	Location of interview
1ESF080817	Silvia	30-34	Single	N	University	2011	Customer services	London
2ESM100817	Ignazio	35-39	Married	N	University	2014	Engineer	London
3ESF220817	Isabel	30-34	Single	N	University	2014	Legal adviser	London
4ESF240817	Valentina	40-44	Single	N	University	2014	Audio visual manager	London
5ESM260817	Federico	35-39	Married	Y	University	2011	Engineer	London
6ESF310817	Núria	30-35	Married	N	Postgraduate	2012	Secondary school teacher	London
7ESM310817	Hernán	35-39	Long term partner	N	Postgraduate	2011	Software developer	London
8ESF040917	Marta	30-34	Single	N	University	2013	Customer services (technical support)	South east England (Skype)
9ESM090917	Juan	18-24	Single	N	Postgraduate	2016	Doctoral researcher	Manchester area
10ESF090917	Clara	35-39	Single	N	Postgraduate	2014	Customer services	Manchester area
11ESF110917	Alicia	25-29	Single	N	Postgraduate	2014	Ophthalmologist	Manchester area
12ESM130917	Omar	25-29	Single	N	Secondary	2017	Lifeguard	London
13ESF140917	Sara	35-39	Married	Y	Technical education	1998	Kitchen assistant	London
14ESM160917	Jorge	35-39	single	N	Incomplete university	2013	Gardener	Manchester area (Skype)
15ESF240917	Alba	25-29	Married	N	Postgraduate	2013	Nurse	London
16ESM280817	Martín	40-44	Long term partner	Y	Postgraduate	2007	Financial services	London
17ESM300917	Ernesto	35-39	Single	N	University	2014	Artistic agent	London

Spanish interviewees born in Latin America

Table 5.6: Full details of interviewees born in Latin America

Code	Name	Age	Country of birth	Civil status	Children	Level of Education	Year of arrival	Job in the UK	Location of interview
1LA-ESM060817	Facundo	35-39	Argentina	Single	N	Secondary	2013	Newspaper distribution	London
2LA-ESM080817	Matías	35-39	Uruguay	Separated	N	Postgraduate	2009	Legal adviser	London
3LA-ESF140817	Claudia	30-34	Venezuela	Single	N	University	2011	Nurse	London
4LA-ESF180817	Sofía	35-39	Argentina	Single	N	Postgraduate	2008	Research fellow	London
5LA-ESF090917	Alejandra	35-39	Colombia	Married	N	Postgraduate	2015	Doctor	Manchester area
6LA-ESF150917	Mariela	40-44	Ecuador	Married	Y	Secondary	2011	Cleaner	London
7LA-ESM190917	Gilberto	45-49	Dominican Republic	Married	Y	University	2014	Cleaner	London
8LA-ESM210917	Carlos	50-54	Colombia	Married	Y	University	2012	Cleaner	London
9LA-ESF220917	Maritza	40-44	Peru	Single	Y	Secondary	2012	Office refill	London
10LA-ESM250917	Franklin	35-39	Colombia	Single	N	Technical education	2017	Kitchen porter	London

Ethical considerations

Research of any kind is an inherently social process, which involves certain power dynamics and in which the positionality of the researcher is a fundamental element (Davies 1999; Ryan 2015c; Song and Parker 1995). Research on migration often raises multiple ethical considerations, as migrants are often in disadvantaged positions within society and there may be an important power differential between the researcher and their participants (Sánchez-Ayala 2012). My aim throughout the project has been to conduct this research in line with the British Sociological Association's ethical guidelines (British Sociological Association 2017) and to adopt a reflexive practice which consists of reflections on one's own positionalities and assumptions throughout the research process. In this section, I will outline the steps taken to ensure participants were fully informed and their anonymity maintained. I will also reflect on my positionality during the research process and how this may have affected the findings.

Spanish citizens have the right of residence in the UK, yet individuals may be in positions of vulnerability as a result of socio-economic status, being victims of discrimination or a as a result of other personal attributes unrelated to their migration status (such as being LGBTQ or having a disability). Thus research needed to be conducted in a way that was sensitive to these possibilities. The project was approved by Middlesex University's School of Law Ethics Committee in March 2016. Informed consent was obtained for both the survey and the interviews. For the survey, the introductory text explained the topics of the questions and that the information would be used in my doctoral research as well as potentially in academic publications. The introductory text also provided information about how to withdraw and how to contact me for further information. Clicking through and continuing with the survey indicated consent. At the start of interviews, participants were briefed and given a two page information sheet in Spanish which covered details of the study and how the data would be stored. Interviewees were also told that they could withdraw at any point. Participants were given information sheets for their retention. After reading the information sheet and clarifying any questions, written consent was obtained by means of a short consent form. Interviews conducted on Skype were sent the information sheet and consent form by email in advance of the interview. Before beginning the recording, further oral briefing was given to check the sheet had been read and understood and to emphasise that there was no obligation to answer questions.

The information provided before the surveys and interviews explained that the information would be stored anonymously. In the interview briefing, it was explained that this meant that identifiable information, such as names and place-names, would not be revealed but that it was possible that

direct quotes from the interview would be used. Participants all seemed to understand this and none objected to the interview being recorded. For survey participants, IP tracking was disabled in the Qualtrics software to maintain anonymity. In line with data protection requirements, data from the study was stored on a password-protected computer. Interview audio files and transcripts were all saved using a code that included the date of interview, a number, and a code for gender. These codes were used throughout analysis. During the process of transcribing, details of identifying features, such as names of partners, children, places were removed. At the point of writing, pseudonyms were assigned to each individual code. Generic Spanish names that matched gender were chosen. The only exception to this was one individual whose name reflected his migratory background, and thus likely affected how his social identity was perceived in the world, thus his pseudonym was chosen to reflect this.

Postionality

Sociology has moved a long way since the days in which scholars attempted to present their research as objective truth and scholars are increasingly required to reflect on and be transparent about their research positionality. As feminist scholars have pointed out, traditional positivist representations of objectivity presumed a male view and frequently excluded views of women or other marginalised groups (Fawcett and Hearn 2004). An inherently unequal power dynamic exists between the researcher and the researched, as the researcher is the one who shapes the narrative of the lives of the researched and has in the past controlled the public representations (Fawcett and Hearn 2004). Yet increasingly, research respondents are able to 'talk back' which means representations can become more contested (Davies 1999). Greater attention to research as a social process and the importance of considering our positions in terms of our relative power within larger social dynamics is critical if we are to act with integrity in our research processes.

Early discussions of positionality made much of distinctions between 'outsiders' and 'insiders' (Sánchez-Ayala 2012). However, increasingly scholars have argued that it is time to move beyond this binary distinction and instead discuss multiple shifting positionalities which may result from age or life stage, class, gender, religion, education, ethnicity or nationality or combinations of the above (Song and Parker 1995; Ryan and Golden 2006) which are negotiated through the research encounter. Too often it has been assumed that one is an insider simply if one shares the same ethnicity or nationality as those being researched, when in fact, multiple other boundaries along many different lines may be perceived or constructed by participants. The constant negotiation of these boundaries can help to build rapport and trust within the encounter or can introduce elements of mistrust. Song and Parker (1995) noted that both constructions of difference and constructions of

commonality can be revealing in terms of understanding participants' views on issues. It is not always possible to ascertain in advance how these perceptions of difference or commonality will play out, nor do they necessarily follow the same pattern with different interviewees (Song and Parker 1995). As has been noted, these processes of identity co-construction are not always elective and identities assigned to the researcher do not always sit comfortably (Song and Parker 1995; Ryan and Golden 2006).

In most interview encounters, I was perceived as a white British female researcher. A couple of interviewees seemed somewhat surprised at my status, saying that they had assumed I was Spanish following our written interaction. This surprised me, because I had assumed that at the very least my name would have given me away, if not also errors in my written Spanish. It is possible, however, that those who were recruited through Facebook (where my surname is not visible) were less able to immediately identify me as British. In some instances this construction of being British came up in discussions about friendship-making, where I became a representative of British people in general, with interviewees referring to 'you, English'/ 'you British'. In some instances, I drew on my own experiences of living in other countries in Europe to try to probe questions around the issue of making friends. On other occasions, and where relevant, I mentioned my own migratory background. In these cases, my approach was to consider this a part of the mutual construction of knowledge (Davies 1999) and that divulging information was part of a process of developing a shared understanding. The aim was always to conduct the research in such a way that recognised my participants as active contributors to the research process. My voluntary charity work with the Latin American community also came up in some interviews, and those interviewees who were recruited directly through the community organisation knew of my involvement there. I had been an active volunteer in the community organisation in a variety of roles for around five years prior to seeking to recruit participants there.

On the topic of Brexit, which was the topic that perhaps elicited the most questions from participants to me, I sought to present a more reserved picture of my views. While not misleading any participants, I usually sought to respond neutrally initially and elicit their views in more detail. I occasionally then responded to their response. In the context of the interview schedule, Brexit was the topic in which I was most aware of the necessity of not pre-judging emotional responses. Finally, there were a handful of interviewees recruited directly from my personal network, a couple of whom know me well in a personal capacity. Although in these cases we clearly had trust and rapport already developed, I was concerned that there was a risk of assumptions being made based on

previous knowledge. As a result, before starting these interviews, I asked people to try to give full answers, rather than simply referring to something we might have discussed in the past. Sometimes, as a result of this, these interviews tended to take on a slightly more formal air, although this usually dissipated once the interview was underway. It is clearly impossible to know for certain, how participants have responded to you and how those responses have shaped their answers to you. However, there were no major moments during interviews when it felt to me that things had gone awry, beyond occasionally having to seek further clarification or explanations of the meaning of words (of which more below). Where there were shifts or slight inflections that I perceived and that could be relevant to the interpretation of responses, I have tried to highlight them throughout the text.

Language issues

Linguistic competence and accents are important facets of our social identities but ones which often are not adequately discussed in methodology sections in many academic studies (Santos, Black, and Sandelowski 2015). Although much has been written about conducting qualitative research with interpreters, translators or bilingual research assistants (Temple 2002), relatively little has been written about actually conducting the research in another language that is not your first language. In anthropological studies, learning the language was often considered part of the process of fieldwork, but still reflections on achieving a fluency that was not complete were few and far between (Tremlett 2009). Instead, anthropology has rested on the assumption that at the point of conducting research, language competence is at a level that does not impede the research process, but perhaps can add to it (Tremlett 2009).

On the one hand, it could certainly be argued that not having full fluency of a language limits the research to some extent. However, as with the idea of rejecting insider/outsider binary above, not having full fluency draws attention to the language as the medium of communication and the shifting roles within the research encounter (F. M. Smith 2016). It is patently *not* the case that a first language speaker conducting an interview with another first language speaker would *never* face challenges of understanding (Temple and Koterba 2009). Indeed misunderstandings and miscommunications happen to all of us across a range of social situations. Instead, having one participant as a non-first language speaker, opens up greater space within the research encounter to ask for clarifications and probe more deeply for alternative explanations or phrases to describe a phenomenon. Moreover, the fact of having the researcher as the non-first language speaker upends the perceived power dynamic in which the researcher is the more knowledgeable individual (Sánchez-Ayala 2012).

My decision to conduct the research interviews wholly in Spanish was in some cases a pragmatic decision. Some of my interviewees had very limited English language skills and would have been unable to answer questions in English. Nevertheless, it was clear that many of my interviewees spoke English very well and a couple explicitly offered to do the interview in English. I, however, usually suggested that for consistency across interviewees it was better to conduct it in Spanish (although occasionally some words or phrases in English were used by participants). Drawing on the idea of different languages being associated with different emotional repertoires (Pavlenko 2006) and different forms of story-telling and narrative construction (Blommaert 2001), I felt that it was more important for the research participant to be expressing themselves in their first language. This allows one to capture turns of phrase and words as expressed in the first language of the participant. In perhaps one or two cases, there may be a question mark as to whether it was the individual's 'first' language (as some participants spoke regional languages such as Catalan or Galician). Nevertheless, even in these cases, Castilian Spanish was certainly a language in which they had a high degree of proficiency.

Having previously conducted research interviews in Spanish as part of my Master's degree, I felt confident in my ability to understand the nuance of the conversation. In fact, it was in the design of the survey and the wording of the questions that I felt the language issues to be more salient. The construction of the survey questions in Spanish proved much more time-consuming and challenging than anticipated. For example, commonly used Likert scales in English did not always have clear and simple translations. What became clear to me through the fieldwork process was that actually in interviews your communication and understanding is mediated by much more than simply the language being spoken, therefore any difficulties can usually be compensated by other factors (such as body language, gesture etc.). However, in an online self-administered survey, having clear unambiguous questions is fundamental as there are no contextual factors to facilitate the communication. While I sought examples from a variety of Spanish language surveys that were available online, as well asking first language speakers of both Latin American and Spanish background to check questions, it was also clear that there were some differences between varieties. This process of checking and changing was iterative and further modifications were also made post-piloting. While most participants in the pilot agreed that the questions were clear, it is impossible to know whether badly phrased questions had an impact on the survey results. Once again, this is a likely inevitable part of the research process – that the findings are affected by the design, including wording, order and visual layout of questions. There are multiple factors to take

into account, but what is striking is how rarely these considerations are commented on, with reflexivity often only focused on in qualitative studies (Ryan and Golden 2006).

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the research design and methods used in this study as well as highlighting issues of positionality that may have affected the research process. As integration is best conceptualised as a multidimensional phenomenon, consisting of a series of processes taking place across a number of different domains, a mixed methods approach which sought to approach the topic from two angles seemed to be the best way to capture the complexity of this phenomenon. In order to build a picture of sufficient breadth and depth, I chose to conduct an online survey in addition to in-depth, semi-structured interviews. An online self-administered survey provided a snapshot of experiences and allowed me to explore experiences across a range of different areas, investigate the relationships between these domains and consider the effects of various demographic factors on these experiences. In-depth, semi-structured qualitative interviews, on the other hand, allowed more detailed exploration of the processes, and subjective understandings of those processes. Sequencing these methods was both a consequence of practical considerations but also allowed the design of the methods to influence one another.

Despite collecting over 400 responses, the survey suffered from a number of limitations. In particular, the overrepresentation of women and the difficulty recruiting Latin American participants limit the possibilities of generalising from the survey. Interviewees were primarily identified from the survey, but in this case purposive sampling was adopted in an effort to ensure a greater balance of backgrounds. As similar issues identified in the survey came up in recruiting interviewees additional measures were taken to recruit individuals from particular backgrounds (mainly men).

Conducting all the research in Spanish, a language in which I am proficient but not completely fluent, raised some additional challenges. While in interviews issues of comprehension did not seem to arise frequently, survey design in another language proved a greater challenge than expected. Extensive checking by native speakers, along with piloting, were strategies adopted to mitigate this challenge. My position as a white British female was occasionally raised in interviews, and my opinion was also occasionally explicitly sought. Moments of commonality and difference emerge in different ways throughout interviews and my goal is to seek to reflect on these moments throughout the analysis in order to shed light on how my positionality shaped the information provided. Although intuitively it appears to be harder to adopt a reflexive approach in analysing survey results,

I hope that reflections shared here have highlighted that issues of positionality can also be relevant to discussions of research design in quantitative approaches.

Chapter 6: Integration trajectories of Spanish citizens in the UK

Having outlined what we currently know about Spanish citizens in the UK and explored new conceptualisations of integration in previous chapters, I will now turn to my main empirical findings. In seeking to respond to the main question of this thesis, which is to what extent new conceptualisations on integration account for the experiences of Spanish citizens, we first have to examine the nature of those experiences. Thus the focus of this chapter is answering the question what are the integration trajectories of Spanish citizens in the UK? I have chosen to use the word trajectory to imply the dynamic nature of the integration experience. Trajectories is also an appropriate choice of word in that it does not necessarily imply a linear direction, but rather trajectories may take a number of different directions.

Recognising that integration is a multifaceted series of processes requires paying attention to multiple areas of life (L. Ryan 2017; Spencer and Charsley 2016; Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas 2016), and research that focuses on specific areas but talks of integration in general should recognise its specificity (Spencer and Charsley 2016). I recognise that point, and acknowledge that in this chapter it has been impossible to cover all aspects of people's integration experiences. However, in the chapter I will aim to draw together findings from three key areas: English language, the labour market and the social domain. As noted, these domains by no means cover the entirety of integration processes, but they do offer a reasonably broad snapshot as they cover several very different, but also very important areas of everyday life. Employment is often studied, in part due to ease, but also in part due to its centrality to many migration projects and the state's policies on integration. Sociality, and social relations, have also received a fair amount of attention and could be said to touch many different areas of life. Finally, language mediates these and other domains and processes of integration. I begin this chapter by outlining people's experiences in each of these areas separately. In the second half of the chapter, I will seek to build a more holistic picture, discussing the interactions between the different areas, highlighting how the different areas impact on one another.

English language learning

Language has often been described as fundamental to integration processes, but in truth the nature of this relationship is rarely interrogated in detail. Knowing the language(s) of the 'receiving' country has been shown to be extremely beneficial across a number of areas (see for instance Oliver, 2016; Spencer & Cooper, 2006), but scholars rarely ask the question, what level of language is actually necessary to function in a new society? In a similar way, in studies of settlement, progress in language learning is often assumed once someone is in the country but the process by which this

occurs often does not receive much attention apart from in detailed socio-linguistic studies. The assumption that language is learnt much faster simply by being in a country is shared by members of the public and politicians, and while clearly exposure helps, we should be wary of assuming that migrants all have the same level of exposure. Exposure can also take different forms in different settings. In fact, a few interviewees echoed Alicia who said "*my advice for everyone is to study English before coming, because just by living here you don't learn it*." Thus arriving with a base level in English was seen as crucial by almost all interviewees. Nevertheless, in spite of these caveats, Spanish citizens in the UK were speaking plenty of English in daily life and were learning and improving as I will discuss further below. Just over two-thirds of survey respondents reported speaking a lot of English in their everyday lives. Less than 1% said they spoke no English and only 7% reported speaking only a little English on a daily basis. Overall, women were more likely (72%) to report speaking a lot of English every day than men (57%).

Motivation

As English is a global language and the most commonly spoken second language in the world, it can play an important role in migration projects to English speaking countries (Gilmartin and Migge 2015). Learning English can be an important additional factor that draws intra-EU migrants to the UK rather than going somewhere else in the EU, and this was certainly the case for my Spanish respondents. As noted by Jendrissek (2016) and Pumares (2017), as the financial crisis became more acute in Spain and people struggled to find work, many young Spaniards saw coming to the UK as a way to invest in themselves through language learning, even if this meant taking jobs that were below their skill level or not what they ultimately wanted to do. While Germany featured as a potential option in some interviewees' narratives (González-Ferrer and Moreno-Fuentes 2017; Pérez-Caramés 2017), the global status of English as well as some prior familiarity with the language, led people to opt for the UK. As Clara explained:

> *"I thought what the majority of Spanish who are here think. To work as a waiter or making beds in a hotel, if I go at least I'll be learning a bit and I can practise the language a bit. I'll make the most of the fact that I'm not going to get anything else, because these are survival jobs with minimum wage, both here [Spain] and there [UK], but at least if I do it there, I have the option to practise and learn the language" Clara (35-39, Spain, 2014)*

Several interviewees said that learning English was their main motivation for coming to the UK. Language classes were often initially financed by savings from Spain, but soon getting a job on the side to support living costs became important. The UK is thus a practical option: it is close to Spain, English-speaking, with a plenty of jobs, and has a cultural cache that makes it attractive for young

people (King et al. 2014). This highlights that migration projects are often transnational: thus a short-term move to the UK to invest in the cultural capital of language can be valuable, even if it entails poor employment prospects in the short term (Pumares and González-Martín 2016). Thus plans to learn language were usually short term, but they evolved over time. Isabel who had close family in London described how over time her stay had extended, in part because she liked being able to spend time with her young nieces. However, she describes how this desire to spend time with her family combined with her ongoing language learning project and enjoyment of the city:

> *"My plan was to stay one year, I thought that in a year I was going to learn perfect English, deluded as I was (…) But I also liked the city, I liked the rhythm, I wanted... In the end, one year is not enough time to learn English" Isabel (30-34, Spain, 2014)*

Her comment reveals another common issue that interviewees encountered, that they either set themselves overly ambitious targets in regards to language learning, or were over-optimistic about the time needed to achieve them.

Studying English did not appear in the survey as a separate category within reasons for migration. With hindsight, and particularly after conducting the interviews, this was an omission, but surprisingly, not one that emerged through the piloting of the survey. As such it is difficult to extrapolate from the survey responses the numbers who felt that English was one of their key motivations. Some people chose to select 'other' and used the comment section to specify that they had moved to learn or improve their English. This was the case in three percent of cases. However it is also likely that among those who gave the response of 'study' as their motivation for moving to the UK, a reasonably high number were thinking of studying English rather than some other form of further or higher education. A quarter of people reported study as one of their reasons for coming to the UK. We cannot know exactly how many of those were thinking of English, but what was clear from the interviews that learning English was often a secondary motivation, or one among a number of motivations to move to the UK. Nevertheless, despite English being an important motivation, as we will see below many people arrived with good levels of English.

Levels of English

As has been described in chapter four, research has revealed that many of the Spaniards are arriving in the UK with a high level of education. This does suggest a positive selection, since in the survey, just shy of 70% of my survey respondents had a university or higher level of education. This is a higher proportion than the overall rate of university level of education (42%) in Spain (Eurostat 2019). Unsurprisingly, there is a significant relationship between educational level and the level of

English people had on arrival. Those who did not have university level education were more likely to say their level of English was bad or very bad on arrival, while those with higher levels of education more likely to report having a good or very good level of English. Women were also more likely to report good or very good English on arrival.

Table 6.1: Self reported English level on arrival by highest education level [$X^2(4, 421) = 26.34$, $p<0.001$, Cramer's V=0.25]

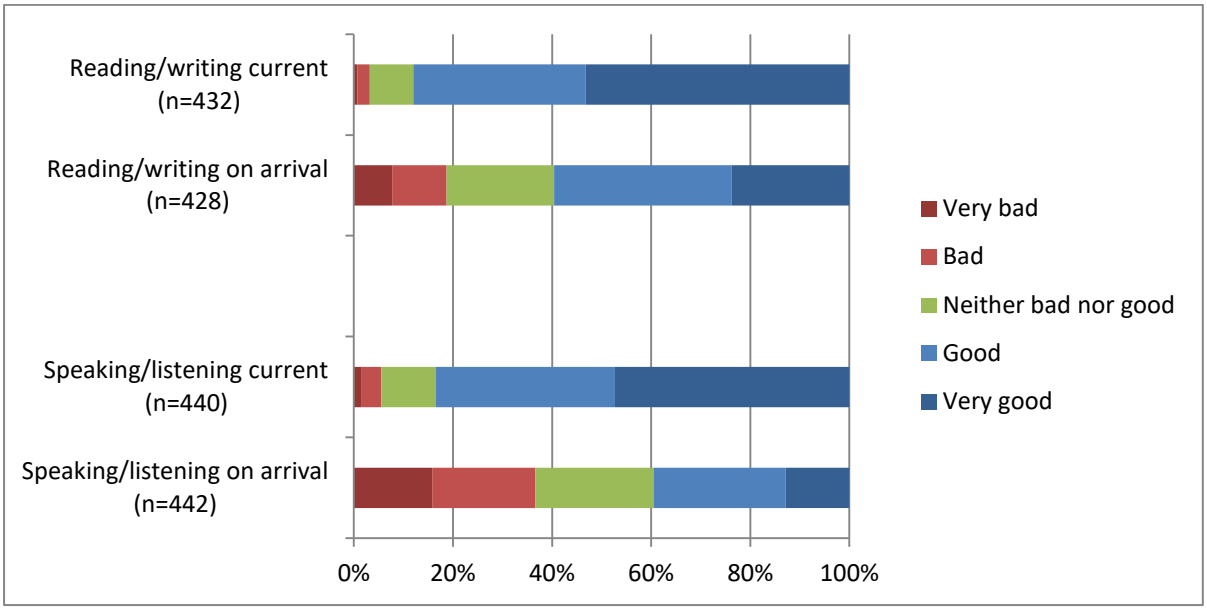
		Self reported English (speaking/listening) level on arrival					
		Very bad	Bad	Not bad nor good	Good	Very good	Total
Education level	No university	34 25%	36 27%	29 22%	24 18%	11 8%	134 100%
	University or higher	32 11%	48 17%	75 26%	91 32%	41 14%	287 100%
	Total	66 16%	84 20%	104 25%	115 27%	52 12%	421 100%

Interviewees had mainly learnt English at school or sometimes in the university but clearly the level varied substantially. Ernesto described having a great English teacher, while others complained that all their English teachers were Spanish and so it wasn't the same as having a first language speaker. In Spain, interviewees reported starting to learn English aged nine, while this seemed to vary more among those who had done most of their education in Latin America. However, in addition to compulsory English in schools, several interviewees had also attended private extra-curricular English classes, sometimes from as young as six years old. Private language schools aimed at adults and children are common in Spain, as Valentina described, "*I was in the language school for many years, in Spain you know we have language schools, it's a big thing*." As these classes are private, they require a level of financial investment that is not possible for everyone, especially if sustained over several years as in Valentina's case. There were other ways that people had invested in language learning however. Núria, for instance, had spent three weeks in the UK as a teenager studying English as part of a language and cultural exchange organised by her local council. These different forms of exposure to English pre-migration are highly relevant in accounting for the variations in English language people report arriving with, as well as their improvement once they arrive in the UK (Akresh, Massey, and Frank 2014).

In the survey people were asked to self report their level of English on arrival across two dimensions: - speaking and listening, and reading and writing - at the time of their arrival and at the time of taking the survey. The decision to split the language into two skills was taken in order to balance the

desire to distinguish between clearly different domains of skills, whilst not overburdening respondents with questions (i.e. not splitting between the four main skill domains as is common in language teaching). The difference between the two domains does seem to be important, as while four in ten (39%) report good or very good English in speaking and listening on arrival, a higher proportion (56%) report good or very good English in writing and reading as can be seen in figure 6.1 below. In the graph, we can also see how the people have improved over time, with greater change seen in scores on speaking and listening.

Figure 6.1: Self-reported levels of English on arrival and currently (at the time of survey) across two dimensions



The difference between the two domains reflects that often people may have learnt English in a classroom context to a high level but might struggle to actually communicate as they would like to on arrival. This can, in part be due to difficulties with pronunciation, but also to do with people's ability to understand English varieties and accents that they may not have encountered in the classroom. This idea was mentioned by a number of people in the interviews, for instance Sara said:

> *"But at the beginning it's very difficult if you don't know English. It's not the same what they teach you in Spain. I found it very hard." Sara (35-39, Spain, 1998)*

Even for those who have learnt English for many years prior to their arrival, there can still be a lot to learn. Núria, discussed above, described the difference in the theoretical knowledge of the language and the practical which can come as a shock on arrival despite her previous exposure in the UK:

"What I always say is in Spain I had a good level, but then you get here and it's not at all the same. In Spain I got good marks, but then you get here and you struggle to understand, you struggle to speak, you get embarrassed." Núria (30-34, Spain, 2012)

As described by Núria, this difference can affect people's confidence and lead to them feeling frustrated or embarrassed about their level. Not only does this potentially immediately hinder communication, it can also affect people's self-perception, which as I discuss further below, can impact on other areas, particularly getting a job.

Routes to improvement

Thus people arrive with relatively high levels of English, but as can be seen they often still feel the need to improve their English, particularly their listening and speaking. It is evident from the graph above, that many people felt they had improved in the time with just under three quarters (72.9%) reporting an improved level in speaking and listening, and with over half (56.5%) reporting an improvement in their reading and writing. There were no differences between men and women in terms of the amount of improvement. Clearly there is a relationship with the amount of time people had been in the UK and their improvement. Those who had been in the UK for the shortest amount out of time (since 2015 or 2016) were least likely to have improved, however, still over half (59%) had improved their speaking and listening in that time period. This ties with many studies that have found that migrants' language use and proficiency develops over time (Fernández Reino 2019; Akresh, Massey, and Frank 2014).

In contrast to some common perceptions, improving your language skills often requires taking active steps, indeed one interviewee had even factored in language learning when deciding where to live in the UK. The vast majority of respondents (85%) reported having undertaken some steps to improve their English since being in the UK. The most common step was taking an English class which just over half of survey respondents had done (56%), with 14% reporting that they were currently undertaking a class. The second most common form was self-study which 52% had done at some stage since being in the UK. This was followed by 30% who had done a language exchange and 25% who had taken a private class. Self-study remained the most common thing that people reported that they were currently doing with almost a third (32%) of respondents. This shows a clear desire that many people had to actively work towards improving their linguistic integration. All of these steps involve a certain level of investment of time, but some require more money than others. Self-study is the perhaps the easiest form of learning to say that you are engaged with, as people's definition of what this involves could vary significantly.

A factor that may be significant in people's ability to progress is the level to which they are motivated. Studies have shown that those who are projecting longer stays in the destination country and are consequently more motivated show greater progress in language learning (van Tubergen and Wierenga 2011). Intrinsic interest in the language could also help account for different rates of learning. This may also account for some of the differences that can be seen both in people's initial levels and their improvement over time. As Alicia put it,

> *"The thing is I always liked it [learning English]. So I always listened to music in English and sometimes looked at the lyrics to understand. I don't know, I was interested. I watched movies, the TV in Spanish I would put it in English, you can turn off the dubbing and put it in English... I always tried to practise a bit because I liked it*." *Alicia (25-29, Spain, 2014)*

While it was beyond the scope of this study to look in detail at this, several of those who described investing a significant amount of time in private classes in Spain, were also people like Alicia who described a high level of interest and motivation in learning. This is likely to also transfer to the UK context, with these people perhaps more likely to make progress due to their level of interest.

In spite of this improvement, a large majority (88%) of survey respondents still wanted to improve their level of English. People were asked to list their top three reasons for wanting to improve their English, with a desire to improve their employment opportunities being most commonly cited, with half (51%) the respondents selecting this reason. This was followed by a desire to learn the language of the country in which they lived (42%) and the others saying they liked learning languages (30%).

Part of the reason people may still want to continue improving their English is a sense that many of them may not have improved as much as they expected. Matías said having worked in what he called 'rubbish jobs' for a year and a half actually meant his level deteriorated. Jorge also described this feeling:

> *"I haven't improved excessively. My English is good, but on the basis of having been here for 4 years... Hmmm... maybe it doesn't seem that good. But I don't think it's that good. It's average." Jorge (35-39, Spain, 2013)*

Jorge had attended some free English classes to try to improve, but had found the level to be fairly low. And so he felt, despite working in an English speaking environment, that he hadn't improved as much as he had hoped to.

In summary, English remains an important motivation (among others) for Spanish citizens to come to the UK. As has been described in chapter three, many young Spaniards saw the UK as a good option, in order to learn English while the financial crisis played out at home. Overall, many Spanish citizens arrive with fairly high levels of English, particularly those with higher levels of education or who have been able to attend private English classes in their youth. This shows how those with economic capital are able to invest to convert it to cultural capital, which as will be discussed below can be mobilised in different areas of life post migration. However, there is still a disjuncture between the classroom and an English-speaking environment where people are confronted with different vernaculars and accents. Once in the UK, Spanish citizens continue to invest in active measures to improve their English, by taking classes or engaging in self-study. A large proportion of respondents did report an improvement in their language over time in line with expectations (van Tubergen and Wierenga 2011; Akresh, Massey, and Frank 2014; Fernández Reino 2019), despite some people still being disappointed with their level.

Employment

While a desire to learn English may have featured in many narratives about a motivation to come to the UK, employment was cited as the main reason by a large number of people. As long as the UK remains a member of the European Union, Spanish citizens have no legal restrictions on their right to work in the UK and are able to move without having a job lined up (Collett 2013). This was the case as my fieldwork was being conducted. Among my Spanish survey respondents, 70.5% cited work as one of the reasons they had moved to the UK. However, this figure hides an important difference between men and women. A higher proportion of men (78%) cited 'work' as a reason for their migration to the UK than women (68%). This is perhaps unsurprising given what we know about the way men and women circulate differently within global migration systems (Kofman and Raghuram 2005; Kofman 2004). Taking a global perspective, research has shown that female highly skilled migrants may enter through a range of other channels such as through family re-unification, being a student, or seeking refuge (Kofman and Raghuram 2005). Entry routes matter, as research has shown that those who come through labour migration routes tend to have better labour market outcomes than those who arrive for different reasons (e.g. family re-unification or seeking asylum) (Ruiz and Vargas-Silva 2018; Campbell 2014) – a factor that is not currently relevant to EU citizens but one that may become so post Brexit.

However, 'work' as a reason for migration may actually encapsulate a number of different aspirations. For those who are unemployed in the country of origin, it may be simply about moving to find employment. But for those who are employed, moving country for 'work' can be driven by a

desire for a better work-life balance; a desire for better pay or opportunities; a new challenge or promotion, among others (Bygnes 2017). As described above, despite the sample being overall one that was reasonably young and well educated, with no legal restrictions on their ability to get work, important differences in profile did emerge, particularly tied to education level and the amount of previous work experience. Based on the interview and survey data, there appeared to be three discernible groups: one group was what I'll call internationally-recognised, highly qualified (IRHQ) people. These were people who had university or higher level education and work experience in a field that was more easily recognised across borders: engineering, IT, healthcare, academia. Then there was a group of 'middling transnationals' (Conradson and Latham 2005a; Parutis 2014), these were all individuals with university education usually in fields such as social science or humanities who often experienced some downward mobility in the UK. Finally, there were precarious workers. These were individuals either without university education or who had experienced 'onward precarity' (McIlwaine and Bunge 2018). In what follows, I will discuss to what extent Spanish citizens in the UK were able to access and progress within the UK labour market and how these different profiles experienced different trajectories in terms of their labour market integration.

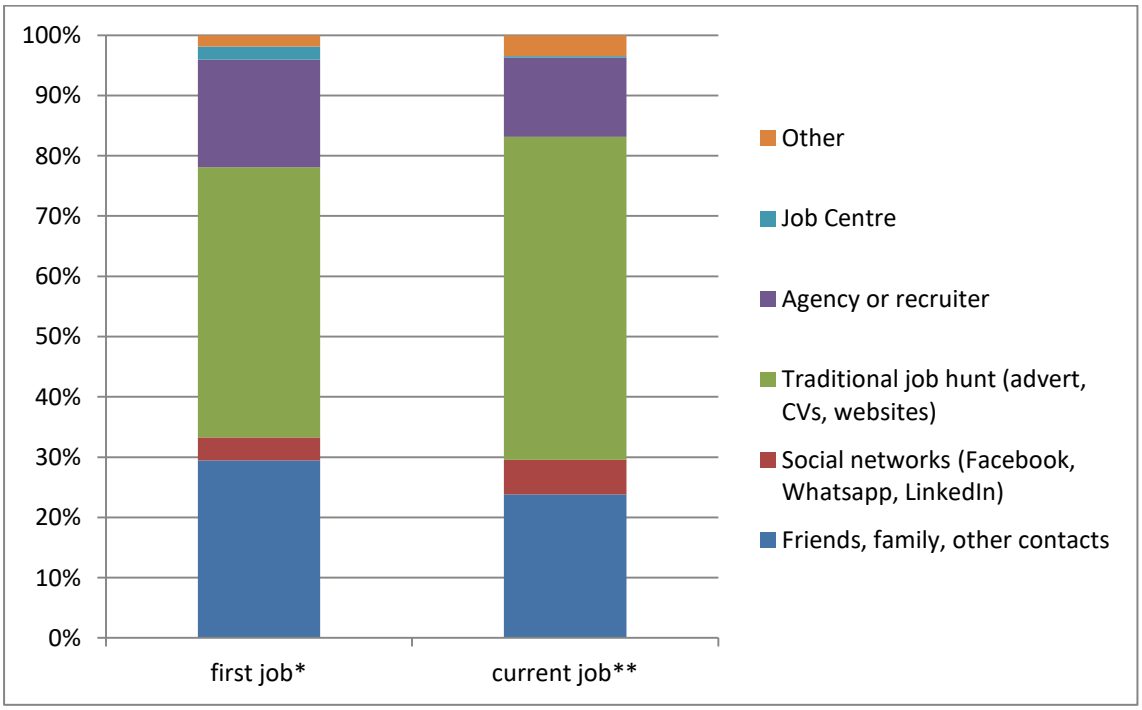
Accessing employment

The first stage of the process of integrating into the labour market involves accessing it and getting the first job. In line with the reason why people wanted to move, the vast majority (90%) of survey respondents were working at the time of the survey. This compares to 76% of the total resident UK population in 2019 (Office for National Statistics 2019). Once again the high level figure hides a small difference in the numbers of men and women working, with men (93%) marginally more likely to be working than women (89%). Of those who were not working, 39% were looking for work (just under 4% of total survey sample); 36% reporting they were studying (3% of total sample) with the remainder giving different reasons for being out of work (caring responsibilities/illness etc). Among the small sample of people not working, there are also divergences in terms of gender: with women being more likely than men to report caring responsibilities, and men more likely to report illness. None of my interviewees were unemployed at the time of the interview, although some had experienced periods of unemployment during their time in the UK.

The ease with which people are able to get their first job is one of the factors that structures their experiences of the labour market (Ruiz and Vargas-Silva 2018). There are a variety of ways one might seek the first job, from more formalised methods (recruitment agencies, responding to job adverts, government job agencies) to less formalised means (through contacts and referrals). Although both forms of job search exist in most labour markets, certain job search methods may be more common

among certain occupational sectors or in certain segments of the labour market. Highly skilled occupations tend to follow more formalised job search methods whereas low skilled occupations may be more often filled through informal search methods (Cangiano 2008). While referral based job-searches through social means have been associated with positive labour market outcomes, this is only the case where the person's network is quite wide and where they have already established host language skills (Lancee 2016). Among Spanish citizens that responded to the survey, just over half of those who were in work (53.6%) had got their current role through what might described as a 'traditional' job hunting method such as responding to an advert (online or in the press), which has been found to be the preferred job hunting method of migrants from the EU15 (Cangiano 2008); or through a recruiter or agency or through the Job Centre. This form of job hunting becomes more relevant the longer people are in the UK. Thus, figure 6.2 shows the shift in access to the labour market over time, as it compares how people accessed their first job compared with how they accessed their current role. An increase in access through 'formal' means reflects an increasing understanding of how the UK labour market works and an ability to compete on the same basis as all other applicants. A corresponding decline in those accessing jobs through friends or family members or through agencies or recruiters also reflects this. The low numbers of responses that report the Job Centre reflects the overall low level of engagement with the UK's official form of job-hunting support. It also reflects the way Job Centres in the UK are seen to only support those at the lower end of the labour market who are engaged with the welfare system (Cangiano 2008).

Figure 6.2: Percentage of Spanish citizens who got the first and current job through different job search methods (* n=370; ** n=403)



As with all forced choice data, these categories of type of job-hunt only offer a limited view of reality (Ryan and Golden 2006). From the interviews, it became clear that these categories actually intersect or overlap: for instance a friend can recommend you for a job but you can still do a formal application by responding to an advert. However, your application may sit at the top of the pile thanks to the referral, making it hard to assess which element played the most significant role. It also became clear from the interviews that job-hunt methods are aligned with occupational status, particularly in a segmented labour market. Interviewees in professional roles were much more likely to have come to the UK with a job already lined up and to have gone through more formal recruitment channels. These people were what I've termed 'internationally recognised, highly qualified'. Not only did they have a high level of education, but they worked in sectors where these qualifications were transferable, such as engineering, IT or the finance sector. They often had more work experience in Spain as well. Thus a number of these individuals came for positions in academia (such as doctoral positions), while others had either been transferred by their company (two interviewees), or secured a job in their sector from Spain (sometimes with the support of an agency or recruiter or else through responding independently to adverts).

For those who had started in lower positions in the labour market, such as in hospitality or in cleaning, the most common form of job hunting as reported by interviewees was going door to door with CVs or social referrals. These included both 'middling transnationals' and 'precarious workers'. WhatsApp groups and word of mouth were particularly common in cleaning, which was how many Latin American-Spaniards had started. Agency recruitment for low paid work did not seem to be common among this group despite it happening in other EU countries.[12] It may be that agencies in the UK specialising in low paid work do not target Spanish citizens but rather Eastern Europeans. Sara was the only interviewee who had come in this way with a job lined up in a fast-food chain. However, this was in 1998, considerably earlier than most other participants' arrival.

Although the survey did not capture any information on how long it took people to secure their first job, most people in the interviews reported little difficulty accessing work. This was particularly true if they were prepared to do any type of job and if they had at least a basic level English. These kind of jobs have sometimes been termed 'transition' jobs in research looking at other groups of EU citizens (Nowicka 2014). Most interviewees reported that there were plenty of job opportunities in the UK, and the flexibility and dynamism of the UK labour market put these opportunities within reach. Claudia in explaining why she had decided to come back to the UK after a period in Australia

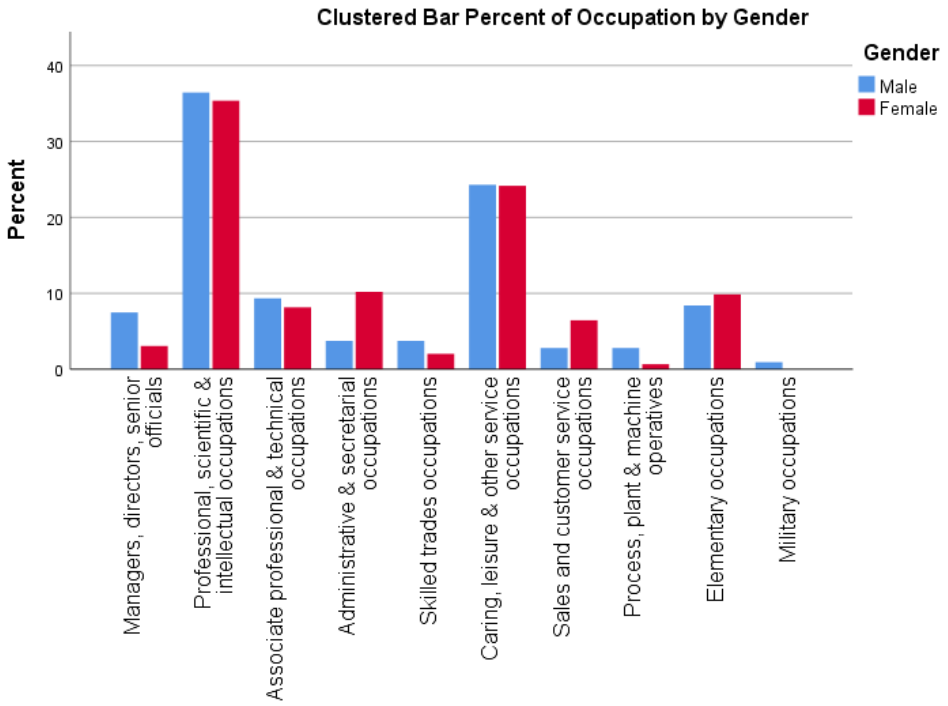
[12] One interviewee had been recruited by an agency directly in Spain for warehouse work in the Netherlands. From there he had come on to the UK. It is unclear how common this is.

rather than returning to Spain said, "*I knew I would get work, it wasn't difficult at all*. *I could arrive and get work straight away*." Particularly in lower skilled hospitality or cleaning roles, jobs often started immediately, the following day or sometimes even the same day. The longest period any interviewee had spent looking for work was two to three months, which could still be considered a fairly short period, but had caused considerable hardship in one particular case. As most interviews were conducted in London, this ability to access jobs quickly may reflect its particularly large and dynamic labour market. Of course, getting *any* job is one thing, but getting something that matches an individual's skills and qualifications is a different matter. This is where being able to demonstrate, communicate and negotiate your skills becomes more important.

Occupations and skills recognition

Media narratives have characterised southern European migration as young people coming to work in hospitality (D'Angelo and Kofman 2017). In reality, however, Spanish nationals are working in many different sectors and with a considerable range of skill levels and are particularly overrepresented in professional occupations compared to the UK born population (D'Angelo and Kofman 2017). This is also borne out in the survey results. In absolute terms, the highest numbers were to be found in the professional, scientific and intellectual occupations followed by the caring, leisure and service occupations. Figure 6.3 shows the distribution of survey respondents across the Office for National Statistics' nine broad occupational categories as well as comparing the relative proportions of men and women in each occupational sector. So while overall there were more women who responded to the survey this graph allows us to see how men and women's distribution across the labour market varied. Men and women were evenly represented in the two most common occupational sectors but at the extreme ends, men were overrepresented in the first occupational category (managers, director and senior officials) and women were overrepresented in some of the lower occupational categories (administrative, sales and service occupations and elementary occupations).

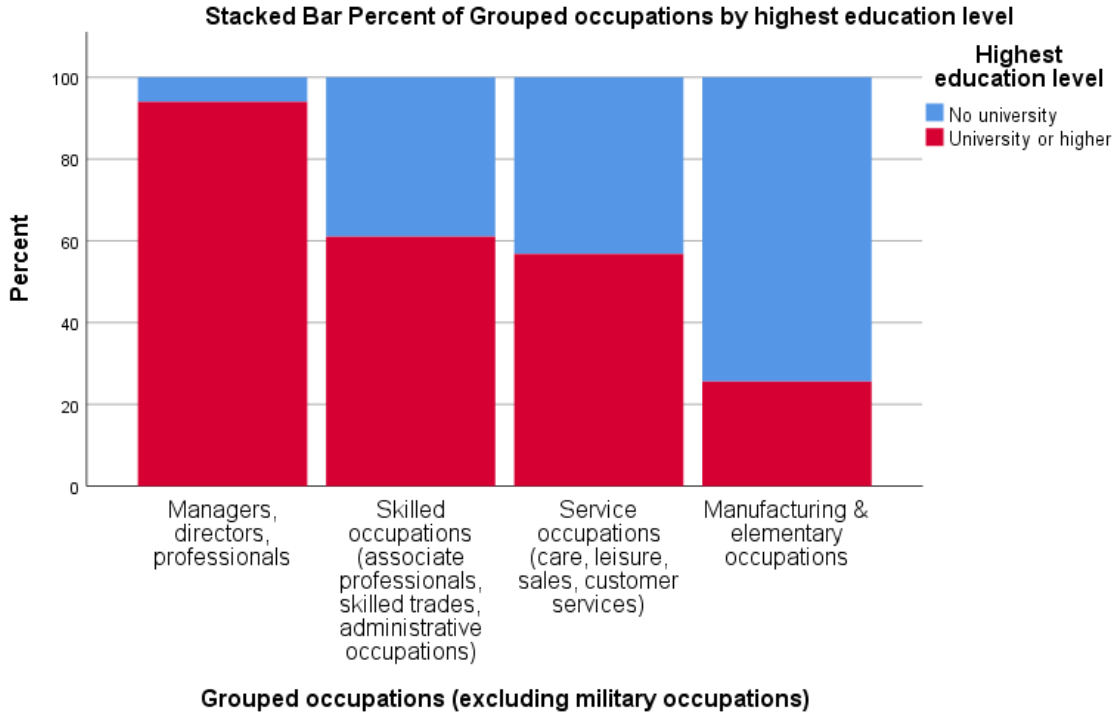
Figure 6.3: Percentages of male and female respondents in different occupations (n=401)



In theory, qualifications and education levels are harmonised and recognised across EU member states, and thus EU migrants arriving in the UK are in a privileged position in terms of entering the UK labour market compared to migrants from other parts of the world (Marangozov 2014). In practice, however, there remain a number of barriers to recognition and employers remain wary of foreign credentials (Csedő 2008; Marangozov 2014). As discussed previously, Spanish emigrants are considered highly educated, and 77% of the total survey respondents had a university or postgraduate education. Educational level is strongly associated with occupational level among Spanish citizens in the UK. For this analysis of the survey, the standard occupational categories used by the Office for National Statistics have been grouped to give a more even distribution and larger sub-groups for making comparisons. The first broad group contains categories 1 and 2 (40% of the survey respondents), the second broad grouping contains categories 3, 4, 5 (19% of the sample); the third grouping contains categories 6 and 7 (30%); while the last contains categories 8 and 9 (11%). Military occupations were excluded from most subsequent analysis. While this does not produce a perfectly balanced spread across the survey it maintains some coherence with regards to the types of jobs captured in the different categories. As illustrated in figure 6.4, of those who are in the top occupational category, managers, directors and professionals, 94% had university education or higher. In contrast in the lowest occupational categories, manufacturing and elementary occupations, 26% had university education or higher. This echoes figures for the wider population which show that those without degrees are much more likely to be working in elementary and

service occupations than those with degrees who are more likely to work in professional and associate professional occupations (Office for National Statistics 2018b).

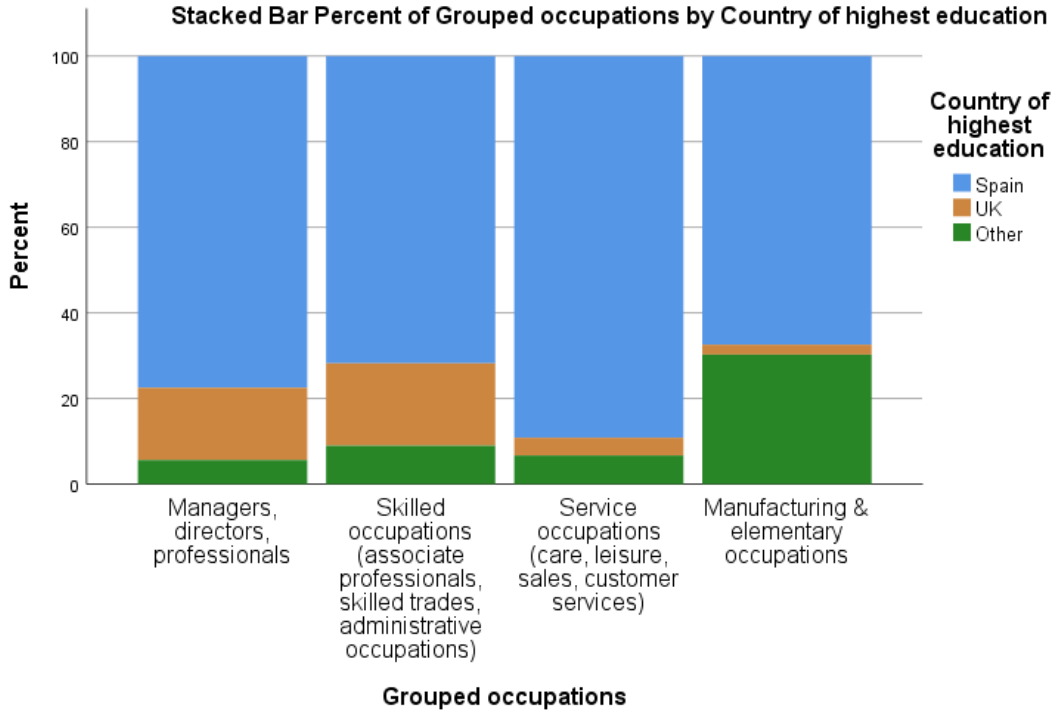
Figure 6.4: Educational level by broad occupational categories [$X^2(3, 381) = 91.4, p<0.001$]



However, this overall picture may mask differences reflecting where people received their highest qualification. The process of having skills and work experience recognised is one that is rooted in the social context and also one that has gendered effects (Csedő 2008; Kofman and Raghuram 2005; Erel 2010; Nowicka 2014). Research has shown that employers distrust foreign qualifications and may not fully recognise overseas experience (Csedő 2008). This distrust of foreign credentials seems to be clearly evident in the association between occupational level and the country in which people's highest educational qualification was received. There is a significant association as illustrated in figure 6.5, with those who had received their highest education in the UK more likely to be in the top two occupational brackets. The graph also clearly shows how those who had received their highest educational qualification in a country other than Spain or the UK – in the most part in this survey Latin American countries - were much more highly concentrated in manufacturing and elementary occupations. While this shows a relationship exists, it is hard to say anything definitive about the direction of this relationship. It could be that some professionals arrive with high level qualifications but are unable to get an appropriate job and as a result seek further study in the UK which both gives them nationally recognised qualifications but also helps develop language skills and thus enables them secure the occupation they want. Undertaking postgraduate study has been shown to

be an effective way of stepping into the labour market (Csedő 2008) and one that some of my interviewees had also used. Several interviewees had moved to the UK to do masters or doctorate degrees and then had stayed on in the UK. Alternatively, but perhaps less likely, this difference could reflect that those in these occupations are earning at a higher level and are thus subsequently able to invest in further education in the UK.

Figure 6.5: Percentage of those in different occupational categories by country of highest education [X^2(6, n=399)=42.74, p<0.001, Cramer's V=0.23]



Securing a job in the field related to their studies was most interviewees' aim and was seen as a key mark of success, but many found that it took some time. For those 'middling transnationals' who had high levels of education but did not necessarily have a specific profession, this often meant getting something that was tangential to but related to their field of studies. However, in contrast to some other EU migrant groups, many young Spaniards arrive in the UK with relatively little work experience, particularly in their area of study (Nowicka 2014). Once in the UK, they may work for some time in lower skilled jobs in hospitality or as au-pairs before seeking to try to move into areas more related to their studies. These jobs were thus seen as transition jobs as Spaniards sought to move from 'any job' to a 'better job' to the 'dream job' – a trajectory that has been shown for other EU migrants (Parutis 2014). A theme that emerged clearly in the interviews was that this step to the dream job required overcoming a certain amount of fear and trepidation. When people were asked what advice they would give to others in a similar position to themselves, there was often a clear message: don't be afraid. Matías for example said, *"the first thing is don't be scared, because fear*

paralyses you". Others said that they had held back from applying for jobs in their area because of fear, highlighting the importance of confidence and other 'soft' skills in the ability to negotiate and sell their skills to employers, which has been highlighted by other research (EAVES 2015).

Many of those who do arrive with work experience, especially those with professional experience, also find that although they are able to access jobs in their sector, they have to overcome the hurdle of the first job in the UK, in order to have the rest of their experience recognised. Hernán was an IT professional who moved to the UK with a company transfer and thus had avoided this problem. But he reflected on what he had seen among other colleagues:

> *"I think if I had come without a job, I would've had to have started with a salary much lower than the market and wait two or three years to get to the right level. That's what happens to people I know, other immigrants, who normally start a bit lower at the beginning. It's a bit like, I would say when you come here, they don't count the experience you had before. It's like you're a junior starting from zero and you have to go through two years working in an English company, and then suddenly they say 'yes now we count your experience in England and also that what you had before'. At the beginning it's a bit more complicated" Hernán (35-39, Spain, 2011)*

This had also been the case for Martín, who worked in financial services and described how his first job in the UK was slightly below the level of his previous role in Spain. This chimes with other research on highly skilled professionals such as doctors that has found that non-UK experience or non-UK references are often not trusted until after the first job (Raghuram, Henry, and Bornat 2010; Jayaweera and McCarthy 2015). While this is clearly the case in healthcare, it seems that the finding may transfer to other occupations that require technical ability such as IT or engineering (Nowicka 2014). Nevertheless, among my interviewees these steps back were usually quite brief and were always within the sectors that the individual had previously worked in – a key factor differentiating the 'internationally-recognised, highly qualifieds' from the 'middling transnationals'.

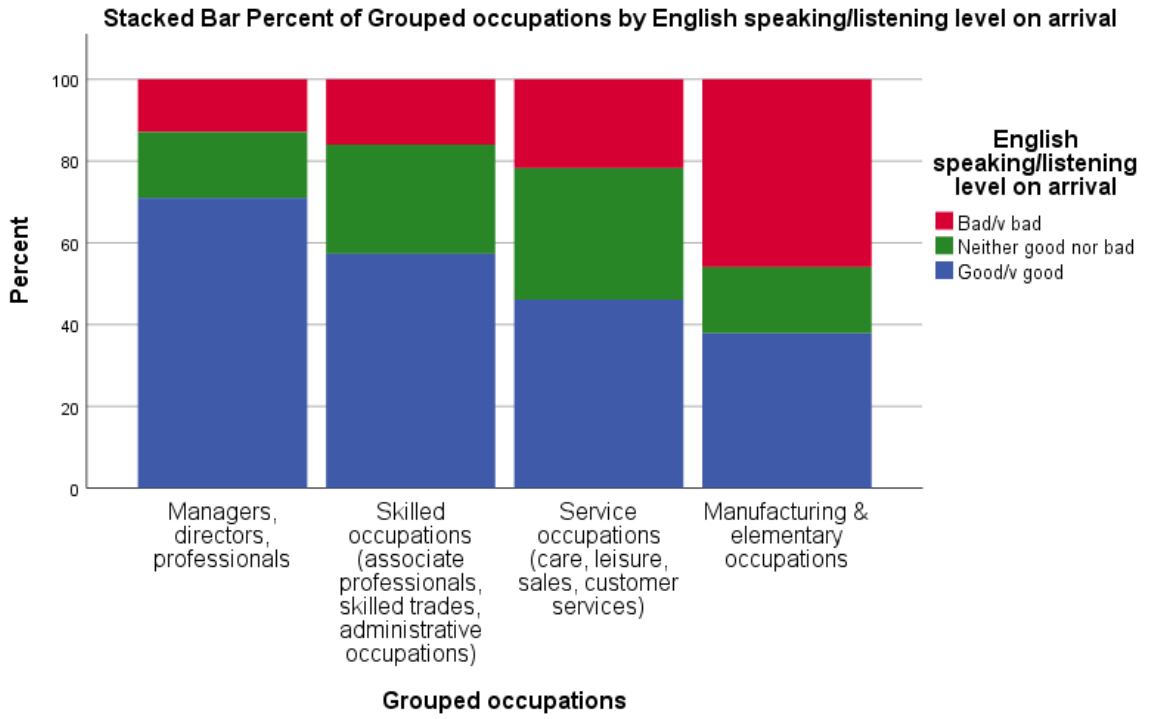
Skills recognition is also closely intertwined with English language skills. Having higher level of English proficiency is associated with better employment outcomes and higher earnings (Dustmann and Fabbri 2003). But as was noted in the previous section, many Spanish citizens reported good levels of English on arrival. However, as described, the reality of speaking English in the UK is quite different to the reality of speaking English in Spain in a classroom context (Blommaert, Collins, and Slembrouck 2005). This is in part linked to communicative aspects such as accents or pronunciation, but also is linked to the fact that the way language is used is culturally specific, and language learning

is linked to inhabiting a new social identity (Allan 2013). It is this element of language's function that has led it to be considered a form of embodied cultural capital, something that allows people to project values and behavioural schema that can assist migrants getting jobs in the new labour market (Föbker and Imani 2017; Cederberg 2012; Allan 2013). As a result, linguistic ability has a huge bearing on intangible qualities, such as confidence, that can play a large role in the process of getting a job. Thus language skills are linked to your ability to demonstrate your skills and education both in purely communicative terms and also in terms of social identity you inhabit (Schrover, van der Leun, and Quispel 2007). As a result, the ability to invest in formal learning to build language skills before arrival can have a significant bearing on ease of access to the labour market. One example is given by Alicia, who on hearing she had secured a Skype interview for doctoral position, rushed out to a private language school to get a series of private English classes to help her prepare for the interview. This example clearly shows how capital can be converted and leveraged, in this case Alicia was able to pay for extra English classes to boost her language skills (and confidence) to help her secure the position that she wanted.

This cultural capital can also be institutionalised in the form of qualifications and certificates. For some roles, particularly where entry to a profession is regulated by a professional body, such as for healthcare, an English qualification is required. Applying for academic posts, such as doctoral positions, also often requires a formal exam. The most commonly requested is the International English Language Testing System (IELTS) certification, which is one exam but that allows different bodies to request different marks (or combination of marks in different domains).[13] Taking this standardised test requires a certain amount of investment of both time and money. Alejandra, who was a doctor, described spending several months studying for the IELTS. Juan also had to take the test several times (paying in each instance) before he achieved the level required by his university. Unsurprisingly then, English language level is linked to the types of occupations people are able to access. There is a significant association between the level of English people arrived with and their occupational level, as can be seen in figure 6.6 below. Those who reported good or very good level English on arrival were more likely to be in the higher occupational categories.

[13] For instance to register with the Nursing and Midwifery Council applicants are currently required to achieve an average score of 7 (out of 10), with at least a 7 in speaking, listening and reading, and 6.5 in writing. For the General Medical Council participants are asked for an average 7.5 with at least a 7 in all areas.

Figure 6.6: Percentage of reported initial English levels in different occupational categories [X^2(6, 382) = 36.13, p<0.001, Cramer's V=0.217]



Overall, Spanish citizens seem to have few difficulties simply accessing the labour market in the UK. However, finding jobs that match up to skill and qualification levels is more difficult. Employers are notoriously distrustful of foreign qualifications and sometimes appear to discount people's previous work experience as well (Csedő 2008; Raghuram, Henry, and Bornat 2010). This can mean that migrants can experience a 'migrant penalty' in terms of wages when first entering the job market (Heath and Li 2014). Their ability to mitigate this is linked to their ability to negotiate their skills and communicate those skills, which is intimately connected to the level of English they arrive with. Although many Spanish citizens have had extensive English classes at school, and sometimes also additional private classes, their theoretical knowledge can be quite different to the reality of speaking the language in an English-speaking country. Having a higher level of English language also helps people feel more confident, a 'soft' attribute that is clearly important in demonstrating value to employers in a new job market. The ability to access the appropriate job is fundamental, as it can have wide implications on other elements of labour market experience as I will discuss in the next section.

Employment conditions and progression within the labour market

The way you are able to access employment and the ability to get a job commensurate with your qualification level affects a number of other conditions of employment. Employment conditions are important because, beyond pay, they are fundamental in determining people's quality of life through job-security, work hours and overall job satisfaction. Overall two thirds of survey

respondents reported that they were satisfied or very satisfied with their job. However, there is growing concern with 'low quality jobs' that are characterised by unstable work contracts, such as zero-hour contracts, and anti-social working hours (Benton and Patuzzi 2018). Among survey respondents, two thirds had permanent contracts and three quarters were working full time. In addition, 12% have multiple jobs, suggesting multiple part time jobs.

Once again, however, and perhaps unsurprisingly, these figures conceal some gender differences. Men (70%) were more likely to report having a permanent contract than women (66%). Women were also more likely to be working part-time (27%) compared to men (18%). This is unsurprising as it reflects wider gendered relations of the labour market and the fact that women are often expected to undertake more of the reproductive work, such as caring responsibilities (Kofman and Raghuram 2005; Kofman 2008). While working part-time can be a choice based on lifestyle or a desire for flexibility, for some it can be involuntary, with people preferring to work full-time. This is likely to be particularly the case for those who are working multiple jobs, as this implies that people are not earning enough to get by. Equal numbers of men and women reported having multiple jobs. Those who do have multiple jobs are likely to be working a number of lower paid part-time or varying hours jobs, conditions that exacerbate precarity at the lower end of the labour market. Involuntary part-time work may also become more problematic for individuals in the context of Brexit in which being able to prove a certain level of work (under free movement rules) could be necessary (D'Angelo and Kofman 2018) and thus it is likely that Brexit will have a gendered effect (Sumption and Kone 2018; Kilkey 2017).

Thus far, the analysis has primarily considered labour market insertion. However, as integration is best conceptualised as an ongoing process, it is important to consider how labour market positions may develop over time. Changing jobs can be a way of improving pay or conditions and the ability to progress within the labour market could be seen as an indicator of developing integration processes. Clearly labour market mobility is linked to time: the longer an individual is in a certain workplace and role, the more likely s/he is to have been able to build skills and be ready for a move. However, changing jobs is not necessarily always positive, as it can happen under voluntary and involuntary circumstances (Brenzel and Reichelt 2018).

As the online survey asked about first occupation, it is possible to ascertain whether mobility within the labour market is occurring. Whilst 13% of respondents were still in their first job since arriving in the UK, the relative proportions of those in different sectors shows improvements in labour market

positions. Of those who had had more than one job in the UK, just over two fifths had had three jobs or fewer since being in the UK. Over a quarter (27%) reported having had between three and five jobs. Given the relatively recent arrival of the respondents, this reflects a fairly mobile jobs market. It is also likely that some types of occupations and sectors have higher turnover. However, moving jobs does not necessarily mean improvements in occupation level or pay and conditions. It is hard to say for certain that changes in occupational categories are definitively linked to positive changes, especially given that these are broad categories capturing a large number of occupations. Nevertheless, 38% of the total sample was in a different occupational category in their current role compared to their first job in the UK. There was a clear relationship between the occupational category of the first job and the number of people who had experienced mobility, with those who got their first job in higher occupational categories less likely to have experienced mobility (see table 6.2).

Table 6.2: Percentage of respondents that experienced occupational mobility based on their first occupational category (n=395)

First occupational group	No mobility	Occupational mobility
Managers, directors, professionals	97%	3%
Skilled occupations (associate professionals, skilled trades, administrative occupations)	62%	38%
Service occupations (care, leisure, sales, customer services)	50%	50%
Manufacturing & elementary occupations	27%	73%

Those who had started in manufacturing and elementary occupations were the most likely to have experienced occupational mobility into one of the other categories. Interestingly, in this case we see that women (40%) were more likely than men (30%) to have experienced occupational mobility. This echoes research conducted among onward Latin Americans in London (McIlwaine and Bunge 2018). It is unclear why this would be the case. It may be that initially women take jobs lower than their qualification level. Or it may be to linked to the gendered positions within the labour market, with young women perhaps more likely to take roles such as working as an au-pair as a stepping stone role before seeking something related to their education.

Many interviewees commented on the difference between the Spanish and UK labour markets in terms of the culture of progression. When talking about the Spanish labour market, several people used the word ‘stagnate’ and mentioned a lack of aspiration on the part of employees and employers. In contrast, two main ideas about the UK came out in the interviews. The first was the idea that the UK was meritocratic, particularly in comparison with Spain. As Juan who was working in

academia described it, "*I think that in the UK when you arrive and work hard, people value that very quickly*." Similarly Franklin originally from Colombia who was working as a kitchen porter said, "*You work hard but you can see the result. In Spain you work hard but you only get the same. So I like it [here] a lot*." A desire to work in societies considered to be more meritocratic has been found in other research on Spanish emigrants (González Enríquez and Martínez Romera 2014) and a perception that the UK is meritocratic is shared by other immigrant groups (Nowicka 2014).

The second feature that people described was the culture of training and continuous development in the UK. This ability to access professional training was reflected in the survey, where 39% reported it was easy or very easy to access. Once again this ability to progress through training was contrasted with Spain. Hernán talking about Spain said "*There's no career progression, there's no training. They don't promote professional development for people*." Claudia who was a nurse also described how hospitals valued continuing professional development, and also paid for all courses including paying for training time, which was very different to Spain. She had previously worked both as a waitress and in retail and felt that in both places this was also true:

> *"Including in the shop, when I worked in the make-up shop, and the waitress job, there's always the idea that if they don't give you something, like courses or training, you'll go somewhere else and get a better job. You know? And people do that a lot, a few years here and then they go somewhere else because it's a better role. So that progression, that movement, in Spain it's not like that. In Spain it's very stagnated. Normally people stay in one job for life and they never get a pay rise." Claudia (30-34, Venezuela, 2011)*

Claudia draws attention to the culture of looking to maximise opportunities in terms of pay, conditions and training, even in relatively low skilled roles. She contrasts this with the greater immobility that people experience in the Spanish labour market, where people stay in one job for life and don't expect or receive any progression.

Her experience of some progression in both lower and higher skilled roles seemed to be borne out by stories of progression from the interviews at both ends of the labour market. At the lower end, progression was mainly associated with improvements to work hours, hourly pay rate and (sometimes) responsibility. For instance, Gilberto, who had been in the UK for three years at the time of the interview, was still working in cleaning as he had done at the beginning. However, his current cleaning role was in a hospital, which meant full-time hours that were during the day and not at anti-social times, and a pay rate that although it did not meet Living Wage standards was substantially above the minimum. Gilberto took some pride in the fact that this role required a

higher degree of responsibility, as he had received specialised training on infectious disease control. Marta, who had worked in hospitality and retail, told a similar story of slow improvements in her employment conditions, primarily linked to work hours, over four years, before having moved into working for a pharmaceutical helpline, a job related to her biology undergraduate degree. Alba who had moved for her first job as a nurse in the UK four years earlier, had also undergone specialist training and had just received a promotion. Other stories of progression involved those who had worked as au-pairs going into teaching or legal advice, fields related to their studies, the trajectory of 'any job' to a 'better job' to the 'dream job' (Parutis 2014). As noted above, this progression is often linked to increasing confidence with English, as people improve their language skills during the first jobs before being able to get something more aligned with their qualifications.

While the majority felt positive about their progression in the UK, there were a few people who had had less positive trajectories or who were less positive about the future. It is also worth noting that this positivity is likely to reflect a positivity bias, in which people want to present their decisions in a positive light. Several of the stories in which people finally ended in jobs linked to their academic qualifications involved jobs that took advantage of their Spanish skills –a cultural capital which they could outcompete other candidates (Nowicka 2014; Erel 2010). Marta, Silvia, Isabel, Núria, Matías all had roles that required speaking Spanish. The value of this skill also reflects the fact that Spanish is a global language which has a value in the UK context, making it more easy to leverage than certain other immigrant languages. It is also likely that it was only those with a certain type of background, seeking jobs in particular sectors, who could leverage this skill.

Núria was one person who had experienced considerable mobility from working as au-pair, to being a teaching assistant, to finally becoming a teacher, but who felt that the progress had been difficult to achieve:

> *"It was very hard, advancing, for me it was very difficult to transition from being a teaching assistant to work as a teacher. It was difficult to find someone willing to give me the opportunity, very difficult. It was like 80 something applications." Núria (30-34, Spain, 2012)*

She had also hoped to become an art teacher (having done a degree in fine arts), but had ended up teaching Spanish instead because she said it was too difficult to get a job as an art teacher. Obviously in this role, speaking Spanish as a first language gave her an advantage over other candidates. Clara was also somewhat ambivalent about her ability to progress. She had worked in various lower skilled jobs on arrival, cleaning and factory work while she had completed a Master's part time. Now she

was in an administrative job which had better pay and conditions, but her work was unrelated with her studies or her previous experience. She was ambivalent about whether she would be able to really progress due to her level of English. Her previous career in Spain had been in journalism and she felt it would be difficult to compete in the UK market. Similarly Jorge felt that his level of English might be holding him back. While he was working in an area associated with his (unfinished) university education, and despite having worked as a supervisor in his previous UK role, he felt that the previous experience was not recognised in his current role. When asked whether his situation had improved, he reflected:

> *"Well it's improved, but let's say, I'm not really someone who's had great success. I've gone from having a minimum wage job to … now with a certain level of experience so they pay me a little bit more." Jorge (35-39, Spain, 2013)*

While many interviewees reported progression within the UK labour market, this is clearly constrained by factors such as English language skills. It is also the case that people may not start in a labour market position that is commensurate with their qualifications and experience. Nevertheless, the UK's labour market is fairly dynamic, in particular in comparison with Spain, and it appears that Spanish citizens are able to progress within it, even if this takes some years to achieve. As we have seen, Spanish citizens have a variety of experiences in the UK labour market. Those who are highly qualified in internationally recognised professions may experience a small period of downward mobility but are generally able to get jobs at the levels that match their skill level. The way they access these jobs is also distinct, having usually lined up jobs in advance or moved to the UK with company transfers. Others who arrive with degrees in social sciences or humanities or less work experience, may experience downward mobility over several years working in 'transition jobs' in hospitality or retail as they develop their language skills. Often they are then able to progress to jobs which are linked to their studies. Finally, those with lower levels of education, especially those with lower level of English may spend longer in lower paid precarious jobs. However, they are often able to take advantage of a dynamic labour market by changing jobs to get better work hours or slightly better pay even if they are in the same occupations. The labour market is, however, just one element of people's lives, and in the subsequent section I'll turn to look at the experiences of integration in the social domain, before moving to examine the interactions and intersections of the various domains.

Friendships and sociability

Social life, including connections with friends, families and neighbours, is a core part of people's lives in any context. Migration, it has been argued, involves an uprooting and disruption of people's social

networks (Phillimore, Humphris, and Khan 2017). Although scholars increasingly draw attention to transnational relationships, moving country requires establishing new relationships in the new country of residence. In the following section I will explore the process of making new friends and thus of integrating in the social domain in a new country. In the first part I will discuss some of the specificities of the process of making friends after migration. Which situations facilitate this and what does making friends require? I will then discuss the difficulties that people have in making friends specifically with British people.

Making friends in a migration context

Once people have arrived and established themselves, they begin the process of making new friends and establishing new social relationships. Friendship making is seen as fundamental to the creation of social networks and the acquisition of social capital, but often the specifics of it are only superficially interrogated. This is in part because - beyond in depth ethnographic work - it can be difficult as researchers to really get a sense of how this occurs. But friendships matter, as they are relationships which are very clearly chosen, based on some form of shared interest or mutual regard. Friends are important sources of emotional support, daily interactions and information-sharing and support. In this way and in the modern era, friendships are part of an individual's self-fashioning and can be intimately bound up with migration projects (Conradson and Latham 2005a). Particularly for those whose migration projects are linked to self-development projects (Jendrissek 2016), friendships can be an important part of this process. While the maintenance of all social relationships requires effort, friendship making has been described as part of the emotional labour of mobility (Ryan 2015b). This is the case for any form of mobility, although in contexts of international migration, issues such as language competence and cultural forms of sociability may also come into play (Gilmartin and Migge 2015). Friendships also evolve over time and thus reflect the processual, dynamic nature of integration. Those contacts that are particularly important to migrants at the beginning of their stay may not prove to be as crucial after five years (Bolíbar, Martí, and Verd 2015). In the following, I'll seek to explore some of these dynamics.

Situations in which to make friends

Both through the survey and through the interviews I was interested in understanding the situations in which people actually found they were able to make friends following migration. In the survey, respondents were asked to pick the top three situations in which they had made friends. I have broadly classified these in to two categories: more functional situations or scenarios versus social situations, i.e. through other social contacts. From table 6.3 below it is clear that work stands out as a key site of making friends, followed by through other friends and through hobbies and sport.

Table 6.3: Situations in which Spanish citizens make friends in the UK

Ways to make friends		N	%
Functional	Work	314	32.5%
	Hobbies/sport	112	11.6%
	Study	86	8.9%
	Volunteering	46	4.8%
	At my child's school	32	3.3%
	Religious Community	11	1.1%
	Subtotal	**601**	**62.2%**
	Friends	228	23.6%
	Neighbours	41	4.2%
Social	Family	33	3.4%
	Community Space	30	3.1%
	Websites/social media	16	1.7%
	Subtotal	**348**	**36%**
Other	Other	16	1.7%
Total		**965**	**100.0%**

Scholars have suggested that there are three essential elements of forming friendships: frequency of interaction, time and affection (Krackhardt 1992) and thus it is not surprising that the workplace, where one is frequently in contact with the same people emerges as one of the key sites for making friends. Workplaces may also foster senses of shared purpose where team work is required to solve problems (Rumens 2016). In certain workplaces this may be accompanied by a common sense of shared professional identity (e.g. teacher, doctor, nurse) which helps to reinforce a bond (Ryan 2015b). In the interviews, workplaces varied to the extent they were mentioned as an important site for friendship making. On the whole, more interviewees talked of making friends through other friends, which in the survey was the second most reported way. Once again, meeting people through friends can facilitate more regular contact but also may indicate common interests or values and can be the basis for establishing a more meaningful dyadic relationship. This also demonstrates how having friends can help build more social capital.

Other important spaces were identified in which friends could be made. Perhaps unsurprisingly, hobbies and sports emerge as important sites where common interests and shared experiences can be easily established. Regularity is also likely to play a role here, in that you often will repeat hobbies at specific intervals. Sometimes, these different contexts may in fact overlap. This was the case for Claudia who described how she had met one of her very close friends who was Australian. This girl

was a colleague of hers in the hospital where Claudia worked, but they had only become good friends through discovering their shared interest in going climbing. Study was the next most cited place and this was mentioned by several interviewees, particularly those who had attended English classes on arrival. Many people said they had made their initial group of friends in a language class and then from there had met new people. Those who had come for different forms of studying such as to complete Master's degrees or doctoral degrees also found these spaces conducive to making friends. The fact that you meet people in that context as equals, as peers, is a useful pre-condition for building a friendship. Proximity and regularity also help to account for why several of my interviews described their flatmates (either current or previous) as being or becoming important friends in their lives. London is somewhat particular in this respect, in that single individuals on average salaries cannot afford to live on their own and shared accommodation is the norm. At the lower end of the income scale this includes homes in multiple occupation[14] and adults sharing rooms. Interestingly despite this coming out in the interviews, it did not come out explicitly in the survey. This in part could be an issue with survey design, but even in the 'other' options, flat/house mates was not a common response. This may instead reflect the differing samples for the survey and the interviewees, as interviewees were much more heavily concentrated in London compared to survey respondents.

As was clear in the survey, community spaces are not an important site for Spanish citizens to make friends, in contrast to some other migrant groups to the UK for whom community spaces and organisations play an important role (D'Angelo 2015). This is in part because the Spanish community is not a group with a clearly defined community space in London (or I would argue the wider UK), although it has been loosely associated with south west London (Morgan 2004). It is also not a community that has clearly visible community organisations. This is in contrast to the Latin American community which has become more visible in the last few years and which will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter (McIlwaine, Cock, and Linneker 2011; McIlwaine and Bunge 2016). In spite of there being few clear physical sites for the Spanish community, it struck me that in some ways social media filled this role. Whilst a detailed study of the use of social media was not within the scope of this research, Facebook groups aimed at the Spanish community (through which the survey was distributed, see appendix 1 for full details) appeared to be very active and were referenced by a

[14] Homes in multiple occupation is the phrase used to describe a large number of dwellings in which multiple unrelated adults or multiple households live together. Homes with more than five adults or two households are supposed to have specific licenses. Often several families will share one house, including one kitchen and one bathroom, with each family sleeping together in one bedroom. Alternatively bedrooms are shared by multiple adults. This form of housing is one of the few affordable options available for those on low pay living in London, but this part of the private rental market is poorly regulated, with poor conditions and overcrowding common (see Shelter n.d.).

number of my interviewees. These groups were not the specific topic of any questions, instead they simply came up during the interview and several participants expressed quite ambivalent feelings about them. In some ways these groups seemed to act as virtual community centres with people posting things for sale, job opportunities, recommendations on language schools or simply posting with the aim of meeting people and making friends. It may well be that similar to physical community centres, they are more important at the beginning of someone's stay and become less so over time. One person described them as sort of self-support groups, and thus may follow to some extent the model of the *Marea Granate*. As discussed in chapter 3, the *Marea Granate* has organised online 'hubs' that offer support to new arrivals and organise specific events around their political campaigning (López-Sala 2017). This phenomenon, that has been written about previously in the UK context (Jendrissek 2014), did not feature much in interviews, except in Manchester where two interviewees spoke about it. However, the existence of such groups may reflect a greater propensity for this particular demographic of young Spaniards to use online platforms as virtual community spaces, to exchange information and to make new friends. It is to the process of making friends that I will now turn.

Investing in friendships

Whilst making friends requires opportunities and situations in which to meet new people, these activities usually require resources, in particular time but also often money (Bourdieu 1986; Ryan, Erel, and D'Angelo 2015). In large cities, making friends involves engaging in activities which you have to pay for, and travelling across the city to spend time socialising with people. Thus making friends can be seen as something that requires an investment, it has to be something that is seen as having value in the longer term to justify the time and resources in the short term. This is undoubtedly more difficult if you are working a low paid, precarious job juggling changing work patterns, an aspect I'll return to in more detail in the next chapter.

As has already been mentioned, as many of the interviews were conducted in London (21 out of 27), the city itself emerged as an important structuring factor in the process of making friends. It has been noted the importance, in migration research, of acknowledging the specificity of the locality in which the research was conducted, as has been noted studies are often conducted in urban localities and generalised to a whole country with little attention paid to the structuring features of that locality (Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2009). This is also particularly important in thinking about processes of integration. As integration is a multi-scalar series of processes, some are more importantly structured by local specificities than by national conditions. Integrating in the social realm, making friends and establishing new relationships in person is particularly shaped by local conditions, as it

depends on the degree to which you are able to meet up and spend time together. This means the specificity of the locality matters.

London, as a multi-cultural city in which over thirty percent of the residents were born in another country (Office for National Statistics 2018c), can probably be counted as one of the most diverse among the global cities (Vertovec 2007). It is a city that is marked by stark wealth inequalities and a high cost of living, but it is also a city that has cultural cache and that is alluring for people coming from abroad (King et al. 2014; Conradson and Latham 2005a). This meant that in practical terms it was easy to meet people who were also new to the city and who were also looking to make new friends. As Núria put it, it was easy to find people who were:

> *"In the same situation, yes. It's very easy because everyone wants to discover the city. Everyone wants to get to know new people from different cultures, make new friends." Núria (30-34, Spain, 2012)*

This came as something of a surprise, since large cities have sometimes been described as quite alienating and anonymous. Nevertheless, although quite a few interviewees said it was easy to meet people, some commented that it was difficult to actually establish long-term friendships due to some of the constraining factors mentioned above.

> *"And as well here in London, it's true that there's the issue of the distance that makes a big difference, because yes I have very, very good friends, but day to day, it's the distance and the time." Isabel (30-34, Spain, 2014)*

London provided opportunities in terms of lots of people in similar situations who were also looking to make friends, but also challenges, in terms of distance, time and money. However, beyond these factors, many interviewees also felt London presented an additional challenge in terms of the transience and churn of its population. London was described by many as a city where people came and went, which required a constant re-investment and considerable emotional labour (Ryan 2015b; Phillimore, Humphris, and Khan 2014).

The emotional toll invoked by the high turnover of friends has been noted as a feature of other young Spaniards' narratives about their lives in the UK (Pumares 2017). London, described as a city '*de pasos*' – a temporary, transient city, where people were just passing through - exacerbated the emotional effort required. As a result, interviewees found their friends leaving, and felt a constant pressure to make new friends. Silvia described how she felt about this emotional labour:

> *"I love meeting people but this need that you feel to constantly be meeting new people because if not you'll end up alone, it wears me down, honestly it wears me down. Silvia (30-34, Spain, 2011)*

Nevertheless, despite highlighting the specificity of the situation of London, interviewees in Manchester often mentioned the same factors when discussing making friends. They stressed that it was easy because it was an open and multicultural city with plenty of migrants but difficult because of the transience of some of those people. Marta who had been living in Manchester, also discussed the issue of friends' departures and how this affected wellbeing and impacted on how people felt about remaining in the UK (Pumares 2017).

> *"Many of your friends, who you live your life with and who are like your family here, leave. So it's always very unstable, sometimes you're up, other times you're down and it's difficult." Marta (30-34, Spain, 2013)*

The similarities between Manchester and London suggest that in the case of the UK, a more salient factor may be whether people are living in larger urban areas or smaller more rural places. At the time of the interview, Marta had recently moved from Manchester to a small village further south. Although she had only been there a short time and thus it was hard to compare, she described a completely different environment in which she didn't have so many opportunities to meet people and knew very few people apart from her flatmate who she had moved with. She described the village as being mainly older people, but she had connected with a few Spanish people online, who had quickly become a very important element of her social life.

Although it could be easier to initially make friends with other Spaniards or other migrants who were in the same situation as them, this brought with it a certain amount of risk. On the whole, they faced a higher chance of their friends leaving (although of course it is not only migrants who leave, as Isabel told me about her good British friend who had left London). Thus over time some interviewees had adjusted their 'investment strategy'. Claudia was clear that she was now only trying to make an effort with those people who she felt were definitely planning to stay in the UK for the longer term. For her, people who had bought houses or had children were more likely to be staying in the UK and most of the people she knew fell into that category:

> *"The majority of the people I know are people who are rooted here. It's one of the bad things about London that people come and go (…) because I want to stay. So you invest all this time*

in a friendship that possibly you end up not maintaining because it's much harder to maintain it long distance." Claudia (30-34, Venezuela, 2011)

As has been noted by other researchers, the labour involved in investing in relationships is often highly gendered (Ryan and Mulholland 2014c). It was striking how female interviewees in general spoke much more extensively about their friendships and their social lives and the importance of those for their wider lives in the UK. Male interviewees, with some exceptions, talked about their friendships in more functional terms, although this does not mean that they were not emotionally significant. However, in a couple of cases it was clear that men relied on female partners to facilitate their friendship-making and their social lives more widely. Although gender differences were not significant in the survey results, the way men narrate their social lives is clearly different. Ignazio who had moved to the UK with his wife provided an example of this:

"I'm quite independent, quite solitary… My wife is much more social, much more… I don't need - in quote marks - people around me." Ignazio (35-39, Spain, 2014)

In this comment Ignazio reveals some self awareness, suggesting that in truth he does need people, and is able to benefit from his wife's sociability, despite not 'needing' people around him. While this was not a substantive topic of the interview, Facundo who seemed quite lonely during the interview also reflected that indirectly that it was perhaps something to do with the gendered socialisation. He said:

"Because I'm also not very open. I'm more similar to, they raised me in Argentina to be a man, and you have to behave a certain way." Facundo (35-30, Argentina, 2013)

Throughout the interview Facundo talked repeatedly about how his parents had raised him and that he had not been 'prepared' for the move to London. The comment above was one of the few times he pinned down one of the ways in which he hadn't been prepared. His inability to be 'open' to connect with people around him had led to difficulties making friends, especially in one of his workplaces.

These examples both highlight how a range of factors, including gender and family composition combine to influence people's ability, desire and necessity to make friends. Facundo who moved to the UK on his own found his inability to relate a barrier to his friendship-making which was not compensated by other emotional support from family. Ignazio, on the other hand, had moved with his partner, and so had the foundation of having his wife as key component of his social and emotional support, but also was able to benefit from her more sociable nature. Age is also a factor

here that structured experiences, particularly linked to particular forms of socialising. As Valentina said she felt too old to go out drinking in the evening and she perceived that this was a way that many people made friends:

> *"Maybe we're too old to see everything, because we're over 40. And obviously we don't want to do that anymore, we want to go out to the countryside, or visit a museum, or have a coffee or go out to eat, but here everything is focused on alcohol, and it's... It's a big difference." Valentina (40-44, Spain, 2014)*

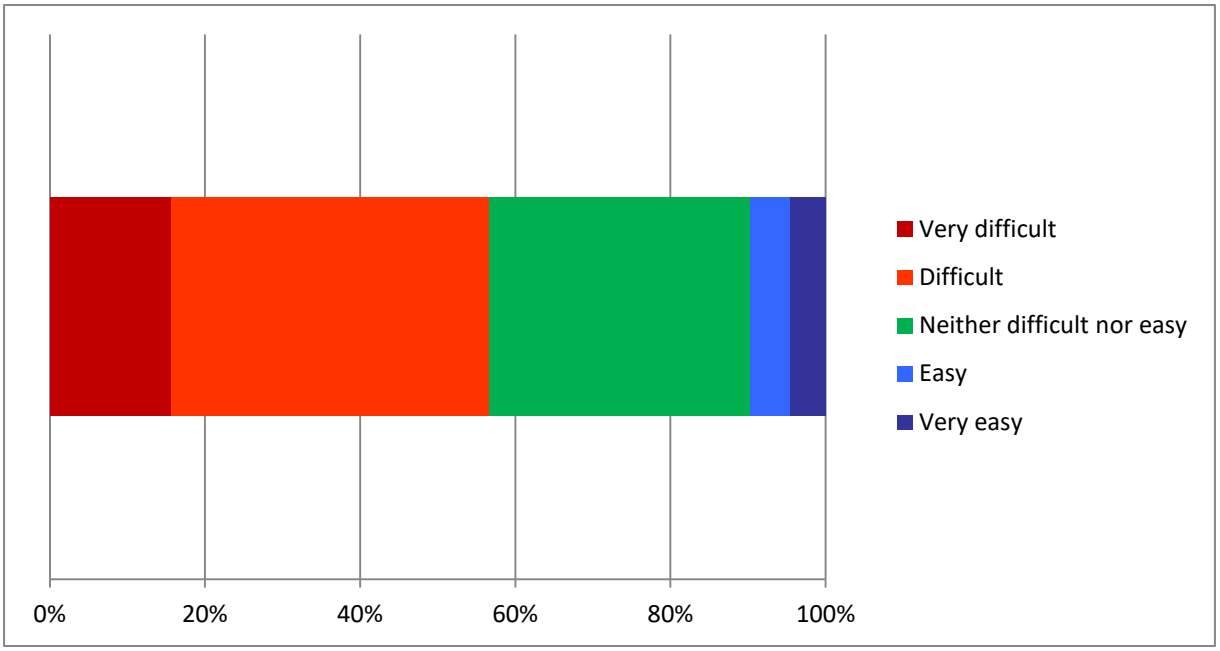
Some people have, explicitly or implicitly, decided to prioritise other things in their lives in the UK rather than investing time, money and emotional energy in making friends. This was the case for instance, for Omar, who was working in precarious employment, and who talked about many of his UK based friendships in quite functional terms. He was clearly prioritising learning English and improving his employment situation over making friends. This often seemed to be the case while people were simply trying to get by or where people feel they had a clear goal in being in the UK, or else evident for those who don't expect to be in the UK for a long period. While this may be a normal response for people at the beginning, often over time, people report that friends or social connections become more and more important (Gilmartin and Migge 2015; Rouvoet, Eijberts, and Ghorashi 2017), particularly for those who also find that over time their stay in the UK has been extended and extended (Ryan 2015a). Numerous factors, such as place, gender, age and family composition, intersect to structure the way people are able to make friends and how they experience that process. But the ability to connect with people in a similar situation clearly eased the process and was facilitated in larger urban areas with large numbers of other migrants.

Difficulties of making friends with British people

Until now the focus has simply been on making friends in general but in this section I will explicitly discuss how people feel about making friends with British people. Often in integration literature the focus on integrating in the social domain is on making friends with the 'local people' and has been characterised as creating 'bridging' ties as opposed to 'bonding' ties. Bridging ties are connections which are made between people who are different in some fundamental way, whereas bonding ties are with people who are similar to oneself (Putnam 2000). Bridging ties are thought to confer benefits such as access to information and other resources (Putnam 2000). Analysis by migration scholars has tended to focus on ethnicity as the key social characteristic on which to judge whether relationships are bonding or bridging but this has been increasingly criticised (Anthias 2007; Eve 2010; Raghuram, Henry, and Bornat 2010). The question of how to define ethnicity is also not straightforward (Moroşanu 2013). Nevertheless it is interesting to look at the extent people make

friends with British people (loosely defined) as it may be through these contacts that people can gain more information and insights that can facilitate social mobility or integration. I asked people in the survey how easy they found it to make friends with British people and the most common response was that it was difficult to make friends with British people, although a substantial number also said it was neither difficult nor easy (see figure 6.7). In line with some of the gendered roles discussed above, women were slightly more likely than men to report that it was easy to make friends with British people but this was only a small difference.

Figure 6.7: Perceptions of ease of making friends with British people by survey respondents (n=434)



Previous research has found that some migrants report British to be 'reserved' and difficult to make friends with (Ryan 2010; Ryan and Mulholland 2014a; Phillimore, Humphris, and Khan 2014) something repeated by interviewees. For instance Silvia said:

> *"English people, I think they're a bit reluctant to have a foreigner in their group of friends. Silvia (30-34, Spain, 2011)*

This was echoed by Ernesto who wasn't sure what the explanation was, but was clear that he didn't have any British friends:

> *"It's difficult to establish connections with people (…) And I don't know if it's the human condition or a question of this city or that the people here are closed or what. I don't understand it. It's difficult above all with the British, more difficult than with anyone else. Ehh... Because the truth is I don't have a single British friend." Ernesto (35-39, Spain, 2014)*

Interviewees sought to account for these difficulties in different ways. But for those who only spoke limited English, language is a major barrier. This isn't surprising as language is key to communicating and establishing a connection. However, this barrier isn't only about communication, but also about the feelings that it induces of being unable to express yourself, which can feel like being mute. Often, as Maritza describes below, people often associate a lack of language skills with a lack of intelligence:

> *"The thing that has done me a lot of harm, in that my personality here, not being able to speak the language all this time... I consider myself an intelligent person... But very stupid at the same time... In the sense that, you feel stupid when you don't speak the language and other people think you're stupid. You'd like to talk about things, but you can't because it's not your language." Maritza (40-44, Peru, 2012)*

Even for those who speak a high level of English, some still feel that they struggle to express their true personalities in another language. As discussed above, learning a language is about more than simply being able to communicate, it often involves inhabiting a new social identity (Föbker and Imani 2017). Several interviewees mentioned humour in this respect. Humour is culturally specific and often requires quite an advanced level of linguistic ability (Kuipers 2008). But this feeling of not being able to fully express yourself is not only about humour. And this feels particularly acute in social situations because establishing close relationships is often about a certain amount of self revelation.

> *"It's what I told you it's like you're never able to express how you really are in another language. So I think that's what's happening to me now. I've got the level to communicate about everything... but maybe not to show my personality as it is. I don't know, it's different." Alicia (25-29, Spain, 2014)*

However, it is not only in the UK that migrants report finding it difficult to make friends, in fact the same phenomenon has been reported in Sweden (Cederberg 2012) and Ireland (Gilmartin and Migge 2015). One of the issues is undoubtedly structural, migrants have to some extent left behind their networks and are aiming to join new networks that are already established in the destination country. British people, who have not migrated, have their established groups of friends already and are therefore less likely to be 'looking' to make new friends. This was how several people explained it.

> *"But it's always the same, the English they've got their lives. They've got their group, and it's not that they don't want you to join their group, it's just because they've got their lives;*

they've got their friends from school to meet up with, or they want to visit their parents in the village. They've got another life." Federico (35-39, Spain, 2011)

Migrants, it was suggested, had a greater 'need' to make new friends, while those who had lived their whole lives in one place already had their friends in place. This necessity drives the creation of new friendships.

"Then of course, this happens everywhere. You [indicating interviewer] have your friends from your whole life, you don't have any need to meet new people. But me, or an Italian girl, or French guy or an Indian guy, or South American, South African or from wherever, all those people came here, and we need to have a social life. So we end up hanging out together." Núria (30-35, Spain, 2012)

In the above exchange, Núria positioned me as a British person who had the established network from childhood and contrasted that with those who had 'come here'. In a similar vein, Isabel suggested that actually it was the experience of migration or travel that made British people more open to opening up their networks. She had made one very good British friend and said:

"I think it's a characteristic of the British who hang out with or who are interested in hanging out with foreigners, immigrants, it's because they're people who've travelled a lot or who want to travel, who have a much more open mentality." Isabel (30-34, Spain, 2014)

It is interesting to consider whether this difficulty is primarily structural, and thus something that would also affect British people who move internally and leave behind their networks, or whether this structural factor is actually complemented by a number of other factors including cultural understandings. It can be difficult to unpick the two. Thus, a few people mentioned perceived differences between English people and Scottish people, who were considered more open, whether due to Scottish people being to some extent similarly 'displaced' or actual differences in forms of sociability is unclear. Cederberg (2012) analyses her own participants' difficulty with making friends with Swedish people through the idea of embodied cultural capital. She argues that social capital and embodied cultural capital are closely inter-connected and are central to how boundaries and inequalities are recreated, thus her participants found it difficult to make friends with Swedish people unless they 'acted Swedish' learning to take on cultural forms of behaviour.

The idea that there are different 'codes' of sociability, which have to be learnt by the migrant in order to establish British friendships, was reflected in my interviews. This seemed to be particularly

true in workplaces where people talked about the difficulty of translating sympathetic feelings with a colleague in work to a more long-lasting relationship outside the workplace.

> *"But it's true that… my work colleague who is English, sometimes I feel a little bit of a barrier, I don't know. Like I'm not as natural as when, when I'm with a Spanish friend, I feel more natural, I don't know why." Alba (25-29, Spain, 2013)*

Certainly there are differences in communication styles among work colleagues in terms of directness that was commented on by Valentina:

> *"They're not very direct. And I'm very direct. Ehh... For me it's a passive aggressive behaviour that I don't know how to handle very well." Valentina (40-44, Spain, 2014)*

Several people suggested that it was easier to make friends with those from Southern Europe or with those from other Latin American countries due to cultural similarities. Marta suggested it was the way people behaved with their friends that was different, describing how she treated friends like family, spending a lot of time in their houses something she thought was less common among British people.

> *"For us it's very common to be at each other's house, to go out often, to do things together, more, a friendship that's maybe more like a family relationship than... maybe a friendship." Marta (30-34, Spain, 2013)*

Two interviewees described encounters with their British flatmates that exemplified this. One described how her British flatmate never shared her double bed with the flatmate's good friend, but instead made the visiting friend sleep on the sofa, which Alicia found strange. The other described how even when she was sick her long-term British flatmate did not ask her if she needed anything.

Finally, one or two interviewees suggested that perhaps having more money made people more open to you. When trying to explain why he didn't know many British people, Matías said:

> *"There could be many, many reasons. It could be the condition of the island of Great Britain, the island mentality. It could be a place like London, where having money is very important." Matías (35-39, Uruguay, 2009)*

Sara was the most explicit about this aspect. As she was married to a British-Pakistani man, her comment likely reflects the undercurrent of discrimination that acted as a barrier to them making friends with their British neighbours when they moved to their largely white neighbourhood. But it

highlights the intersections of ethnicity and class and how they play out in daily interactions. She reflected:

> *"Before they [the neighbours] never greeted him [her husband], no hello, nothing. When he bought that car [a large expensive car], because it's a good car, they started saying 'hello, good evening sir, good morning sir' that's when they treated him differently. Here the people treat you differently depending on what you have." Sara (35-39, Spain, 1998)*

Once again these comments reflect how the different forms of capital complement and reinforce one another. Embodied cultural capital, including knowing how to behave in certain situations and language skills, can help people get access to some networks. Having real economic capital, not only affords individuals with the time and resources to invest in social relationships but also can perhaps compensate other areas. Symbols of wealth, like a large expensive car, may garner respect and open up opportunities for socialising and building social networks.

Relationships between domains

As discussed in the introduction of the chapter, scholars have repeatedly pointed out the multi-dimensionality of processes of integration (Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas 2016; Spencer and Charsley 2016; Ager and Strang 2008). These dimensions have been divided up in different ways and been given different names but scholars have recognised the importance of identifying different areas since trajectories can vary independently of one another in different areas (Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas 2016; Spencer and Charsley 2016; Ager and Strang 2008). A classic example is the link between English language and employment. Although work is often a means by which people improve their language skills, in some cases people work in non-English speaking environments, thus not getting exposure and improving over time. That being said, scholars have also recognised the interactions and impacts that changes in one area can have on another (Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas 2016; Spencer and Charsley 2016). In the preceding sections, we have already seen some examples of these: for instance, that those who spoke little English might struggle to connect and make friends with British people. Attending to these interactions can help us explore and account for some of the complexity of different trajectories. Alongside variations in individual factors that may make an important difference in how people experience their integration trajectories (and which will be explored in more detail in the next chapter), the different ways different domains of people's lives interact can also make a big difference to these experiences.

Research has indicated that various functional factors such as having a job and speaking English can be important for social integration (Kearns and Whitley 2015) but it is also clear that social

relationships can be significant in enabling integration in other areas of life. While it can be challenging to account for all of the multiple interactions and interplay between different areas, in the following I will discuss in more detail the interplay between the social domain and the structural, as well as the interplay of the social with language. Finally, I will also discuss the role that social connections play in developing feelings of belonging.

Social life and the structural domain

In the section above, the focus was on making friends following migration and in particular making friends with British people. The interest in doing so rests on two assumptions: 1) that having friends is beneficial in some way (and also beneficial for integration) and 2) that the fact of migration means that people arrive without any existing friends in the UK. This section seeks to explore the basis of the first assumption, but the second assumption does not actually hold. In fact it is often the connections that people have in the country they are migrating to that are critical in shaping the decisions for particular destinations and crucial in providing initial support on arrival. These social relationships can greatly facilitate the initial transition to a new country for a recently arrived migrant. In fact, they can even be mobilised before arrival, with contacts in the country perhaps providing important information such as about job opportunities.

Looking at Spanish citizens arriving in the UK, almost half (45%) of those who responded to the survey, reported that they knew someone in the UK before they came. This is a high proportion but it is unsurprising given the level of recent migration from Spain to the UK. However, it is important to try to understand both *who* has access to these networks, in terms of social location of the individual, and what kind of support, if any, networks actually provide in these circumstances. Some of these questions can be answered by the survey while others require consideration of the interview data. Survey respondents were asked whether they knew anyone in the UK before they arrived and if so what type of social contact they had (friend, relative, social acquaintance) with respondents able to select multiple categories. Overall, of the 268 contacts people reported, more than half (52%) were friends with the remainder divided relatively equally between relatives (25%) and acquaintances (23%). The type of contact is relevant in that it may shape the amount of support the person in question receives from the contact (Granovetter 1983).

One of the most obvious ways having contacts in the UK can provide support to recently arrived migrants is by helping people to get a job after arriving. This is a clear example of the interplay between the structural and social domain. This occurs both at the high end of the labour market, where professional networking opportunities can provide contacts that can then be leveraged, as

well as at the lower end of the market where having a friend or relative working in a company can ensure relatively quick entry. This usually happens as individuals get access to information about job opportunities before they are more widely circulated. This was confirmed by the survey, with those who had previous contacts in the UK significantly more likely to have got their first job in the UK through social means.

Table 6.4: Cross tabulation of knowing someone before arriving and whether first job got through social means [X^2 (1, n=354)=17.65, p<0.001, Phi=-0.23]

	First job got through social means	First job through formal means	Total
Knew someone on arrival	82	105	187
	44%	56%	100%
Didn't know anyone on arrival	37	130	167
	22%	78%	100%
Total	119	235	354
	34%	66%	100%

This was the case for both Mariela, Ecuadorian-Spanish, who was working at the lower end of the labour market and for Martín who worked in the upper end of the labour market. Their different experiences demonstrate the constraints around mobilising social capital from positions of strength and from positions of weakness within the labour market (Anthias 2007). Mariela had moved to the UK in a fairly precarious situation. Her husband had moved to the UK first, after being made redundant in Spain, he found somewhere to live and got a job in cleaning. When Mariela arrived with their son, her husband quickly was able to get her a job where he worked, but she was only able to start with two hours of cleaning work a day. In contrast, Martín had moved to the UK with considerable savings, having left a good job in Spain. He spent the first year living off his savings and studying for further professional qualifications, before getting his first job in the financial sector through a friend he had made in one of the study groups. Although Martín experienced a small amount of downward mobility in his first role, through the resources he was able to invest in creating local social connections in his first year, as well as investing in cultural capital in the form of a new qualification, he was able to move upwards to a new role in which his previous education and experience was validated (Raghuram, Henry, and Bornat 2010).

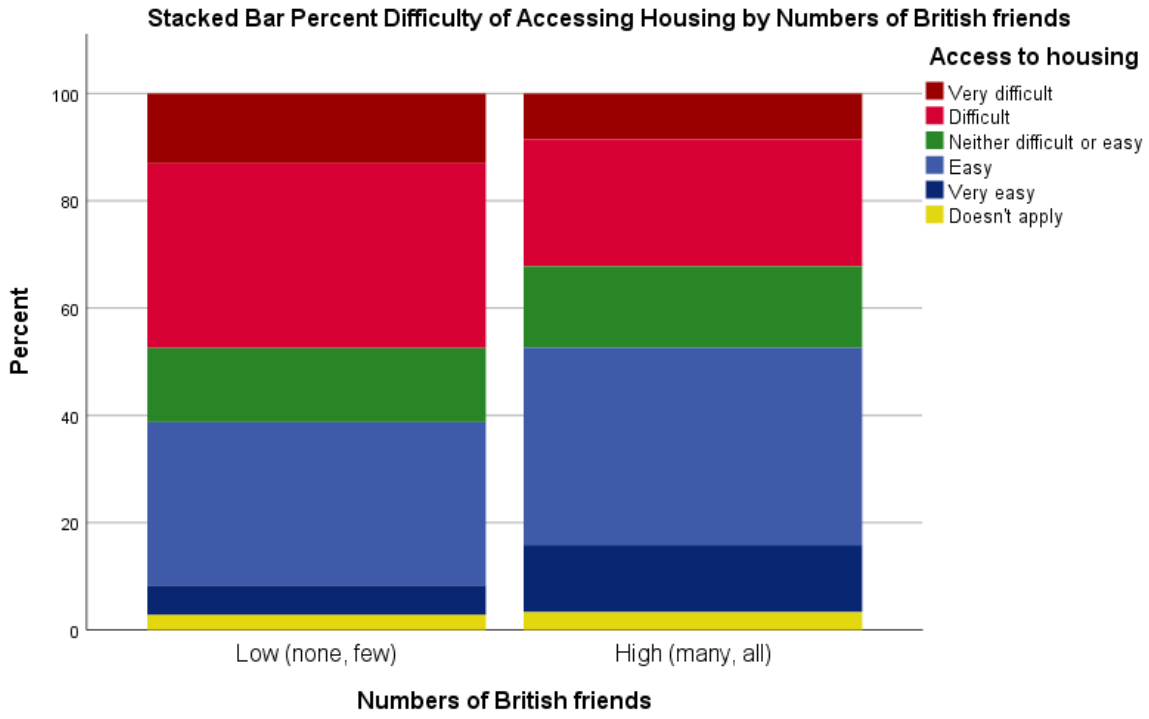
Thus having a contact on arrival is useful in terms of securing the first job. This has been explained in terms of access to information that these contacts may provide (Granovetter 1973). However, what we don't know is whether there is a difference between having contacts with other Spaniards or other migrants and having contacts with British people. Some research has shown that those with

access to only limited ethnic/migrant networks may find themselves only able to access particular niches in the labour market (Cangiano 2008). Unfortunately based on the survey data, it is not possible to say whether these contacts were primarily Spanish or other nationalities or English. Among interviewees, however, the majority of those who had contacts prior to arrival, had Spanish contacts (or sometimes other migrants) but not British contacts.

One way to try to establish whether there is a difference here between 'bridging' contacts (i.e. in this case contacts with British people) or 'bonding' contacts (i.e. contacts with Spaniards or other migrants) is to look at the numbers of each type of friendship people had at the time of the survey and see if there was a relationship with the way people got their first job. This analysis revealed no significant relationship between those who had high numbers of Spanish friends and the way they got their first job. Those with higher numbers of British friends (at the time of the survey) were *less* likely to have got their first job through a social means, although this was also not statistically significant. It likely indicates that those who had subsequently made more British friends were those able to compete alongside others in formal means of recruitment. As a result these people were less dependent on their social networks to secure jobs.

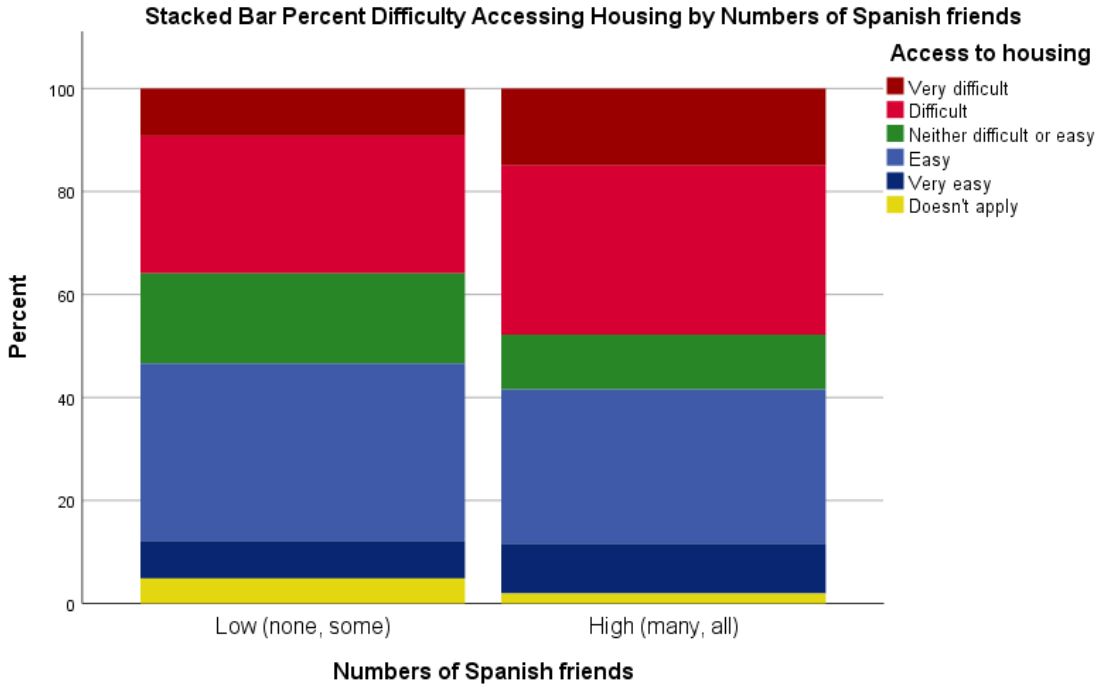
Contacts on arrival can also prove useful in other areas that fall into the structural domain, such as access to housing. In some cases initial contacts can actually provide practical support in the form of a place to stay for an initial period. Alternatively contacts may provide useful information in terms of how the housing market works, where to search, or areas to live in. Looking at survey respondents responses to their perception of the ease of accessing housing, it is clear that in this aspect, where access to information is the main benefit conferred through the relationship, both high numbers of Spanish as well as high numbers of British friends, showed a positive significant relationship. Those with a higher number of British contacts were significantly more likely to report it was easy or very easy to access housing see figure 6.8.

Figure 6.8: Percentage reporting ease of access to housing by numbers of British friends [X^2 (5,n=405)= 12.31, p=0.031, Cramer's V = 0.174]



However, those with higher numbers of Spanish friends were also significantly more likely to report that it was easy or very easy to access housing, although the effect is less pronounced (see figure 6.9). This suggests that overall it has having a high number of friends, regardless of nationality, that makes the difference to the ease with which people are able to access housing. This could be linked to access to information or simply due to the fact that having a bigger network leads to greater exposure to available accommodation offers.

Figure 6.9: Percentage reporting ease of access to housing by numbers of Spanish friends [X^2 (5,n=413)= 11.526, p=0.042, Cramer's V = 0.167]



Thus having social connections both before arrival and building larger networks with a broad range of people after arrival can steer trajectories in other areas of the structural domain. As the findings above indicate, arriving in a new country with some social connections already in that country can facilitate access to the first job. However, this does tend towards getting a job through social means which may be particularly linked to specific sectors or ethnic niches in the labour market. Connections on arrival can facilitate other aspects of life as well, such as by providing short term accommodation or information that is relevant to accessing housing. These connections can be considered to be social capital when they are able to be converted into other resources, for instance a job opportunity or a place to stay. The extent to which this happens depends on different factors, including both the strength of the tie, but also importantly the social location of the individual in question, as will be discussed in a bit more detail in the next chapter. However, the importance of whether these ties are so-called 'bonding' or 'bridging' may be less relevant. Instead in many instances it may simply be a question of having extensive networks that brings benefits.

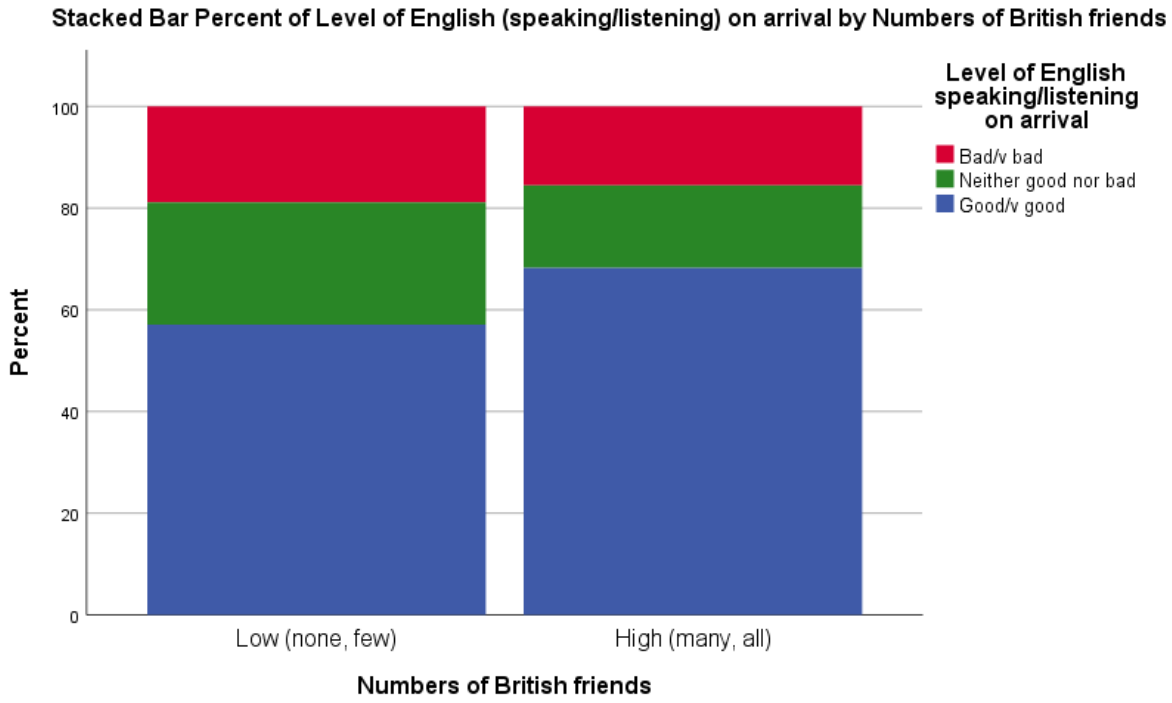
Social life and language learning

Turning now to look at the interactions between friendships and language learning, this is an area where one might expect the types of friendships would make a difference. Many interviewees expressed to me the idea that: you shouldn't make friends with Spaniards if you want to improve your English. For instance Alba, when asked what her advice was to people moving from Spain said:

"Try to force yourself to speak with English people to improve. If you spend all the time talking with Spaniards that won't help, you won't improve your English very fast. You need to try to socialise with English people. That helps a lot" Alba (25-29, Spain, 2013)

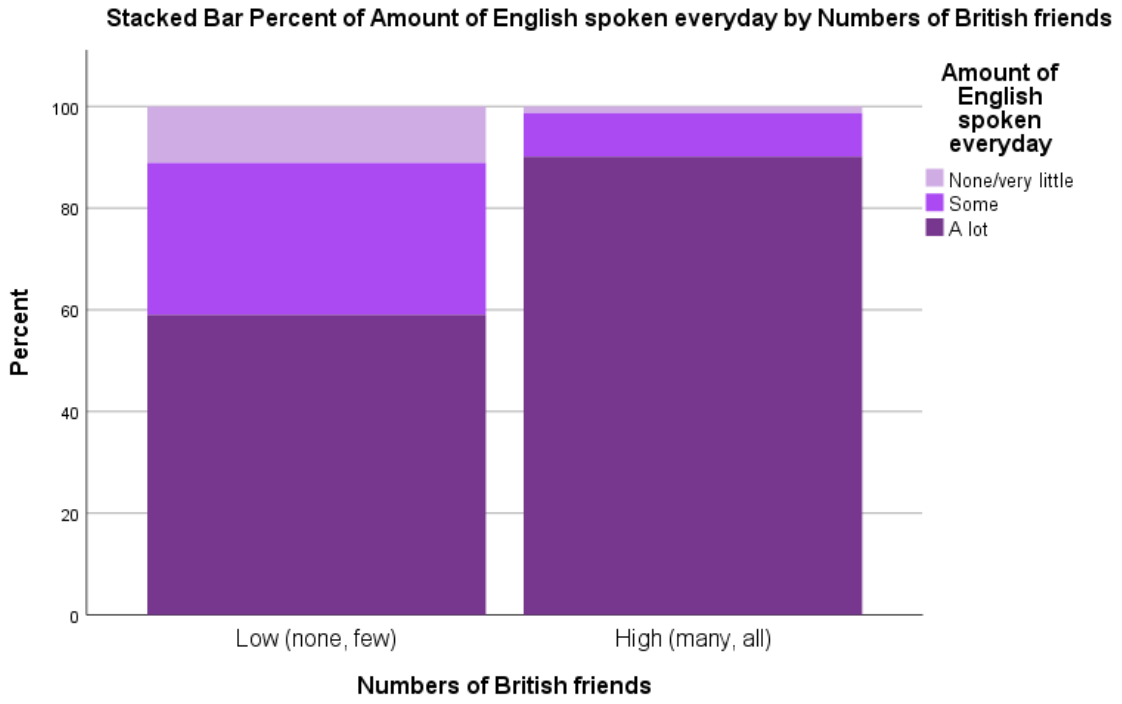
Clearly this is a relationship that one would expect to operate in both directions. It is easier to establish friendships with British people if you have a high level of English on arrival. But it is also to be expected that having British friends should facilitate developing English language skills. The survey certainly revealed that the first part of this relationship was true. Those who reported higher numbers of British friends at the time of the survey were significantly more likely to say they had good or very good spoken and oral comprehension of English on arrival (see figure 6.10). The inverse was also true, that those who reported higher numbers of Spanish friends were more likely to report bad or very bad English skills on arrival (graph not shown).

Figure 6.10: Level of English spoken on arrival by number of British friends [X^2 (4, n=402)= 10.07, p=0.039, Cramer's V= 0.158]



This in turn has a direct bearing on how much English people spoke in their daily lives. Those with higher numbers of British friends were significantly more likely to report speaking a lot English every day (figure 6.11), while those with a high number of Spanish friends were significantly more likely to report speaking less English daily (graph not shown).

Figure 6.11: level of English spoken everyday by number of British friends[X^2 (2, n=413)=45.33, p<0.001, Cramer's V=0.331]



However, somewhat counter-intuitively the survey showed no statistical association between having higher numbers of British friends and whether people reported having improved their English. There was also no relationship between having a higher number of Spanish friends and having improved English. This may reflect that improvement is linked to exposure in a whole range of areas of life and not just to do with socialising. It may also reflect that having lower numbers of British friends does not necessarily translate into fewer English-speaking friends as Spanish migrants may speak English with other migrant friends. In fact, one of the features of making friends in a migration context as discussed above, was the ease with which migrants connected with other migrants from a range of countries, due to all being in a similar situation. The same dynamic to some extent plays out with language and can be another reason that facilitates these relationships forming. As Jorge described:

> *"I started establishing friendships with some Italians and Polish, because when you speak an English, ehh... when you're learning [English], it's easier than when you speak directly with a native English speaker, because our English is more basic, more rudimentary, and it's easier to establish a friendship." Jorge (35-39, Spain, 2013)*

His comment also draws attention to the dynamic of equality that exists between two learners of a language compared to when a learner is speaking with a native speaker, once again highlighting the complex way that language can affect social relationships.

The complexity of this interaction can also be seen in the table 6.5 below. It shows that those with higher numbers of British friends were significantly less likely to report wanting to improve their English in the future and conversely those with higher numbers of Spanish friends more likely to report wanting to improve their English (94.3% with high numbers of Spanish friends versus 82.5% with low). This probably reflects the findings above, that those who have more British friends arrived with higher level of English and speak more English regularly, so do not feel a great need to improve their language skills.

Table 6.5: Cross tabulations of having Spanish and British friends and improving English
*[X^2 (1, n=413)=14.19, p<0.001, Phi=1.93]
**[X^2 (1, n=423)=14.53, p<0.001, Phi=-1.86]

		Improve English? Yes	Improve English? No	Total
British friends*	Low	243	18	261
		93.1%	6.9%	100.0%
	High	122	30	152
		80.3%	19.7%	100.0%
	Total	**365**	**48**	**413**
		88.4%	**11.6%**	**100.0%**
Spanish friends**	Low	174	37	211
		82.5%	17.5%	100.0%
	High	200	12	212
		94.3%	5.7%	100.0%
	Total	**374**	**49**	**423**
		88.4%	**11.6%**	**100.0%**

Thus clearly language plays an important role in the formation of new friendships. Spaniards who arrive with better language skills are more likely to make a higher number of British friends and speak English regularly in their everyday lives. But the interactions between the two areas are complex. There did not seem to be any link between the number of British friends and whether people had improved their language. And those who had a higher number of British friends were less likely to want to continue improving their language skills. The fact that people can speak multiple languages, and that English acts as a lingua franca in many parts of the world may also act to confuse any straightforward relationships.

Social life and feelings of belonging

Establishing friends in the destination country has been associated with developing a greater sense of belonging in the country (Phillimore, Humphris, and Khan 2017; Grzymala-Kazlowska 2016) and having contacts already in the country can also be important sources of emotional and moral support. Knowing people, and having friends around you can be a key element of starting to develop

a sense of belonging in a new place. This was particularly the case for those who had come when they were younger, and for those who had never lived abroad before. Alba who was a nurse and had moved to take up her first job in the UK, described how her friend from university and the other Spanish nurses who started at the same time as her were fundamental in easing the transition. As they were all living in the same building of residential halls for nurses she describes having people around on a daily basis with whom she was able to discuss things or to go for a drink as hugely important for her sense of wellbeing. Developing a routine which involved new-found friends was a key part of establishing a new 'normal life' in the UK and developing a sense of belonging. As Marta reflected,

> *"So you need to have a bit of a routine and feel part of the city that you're living in. And I think for that, unless you're someone who's very independent and solitary, you need to have people around you who make you feel good and make you feel integrated, if not... it's very difficult." Marta (30-34, Spain)*

Often in the course of a big change, like a migration, even weak ties, such as acquaintances could be crucial in forming part of that new routine. Several interviewees described having one or two initial contacts – a friend of a friend or a friend of a cousin – who quickly became fundamental in the early stages of their lives in the UK. Silvia who moved to the UK to study English and who had never lived anywhere else apart from with her parents, described this:

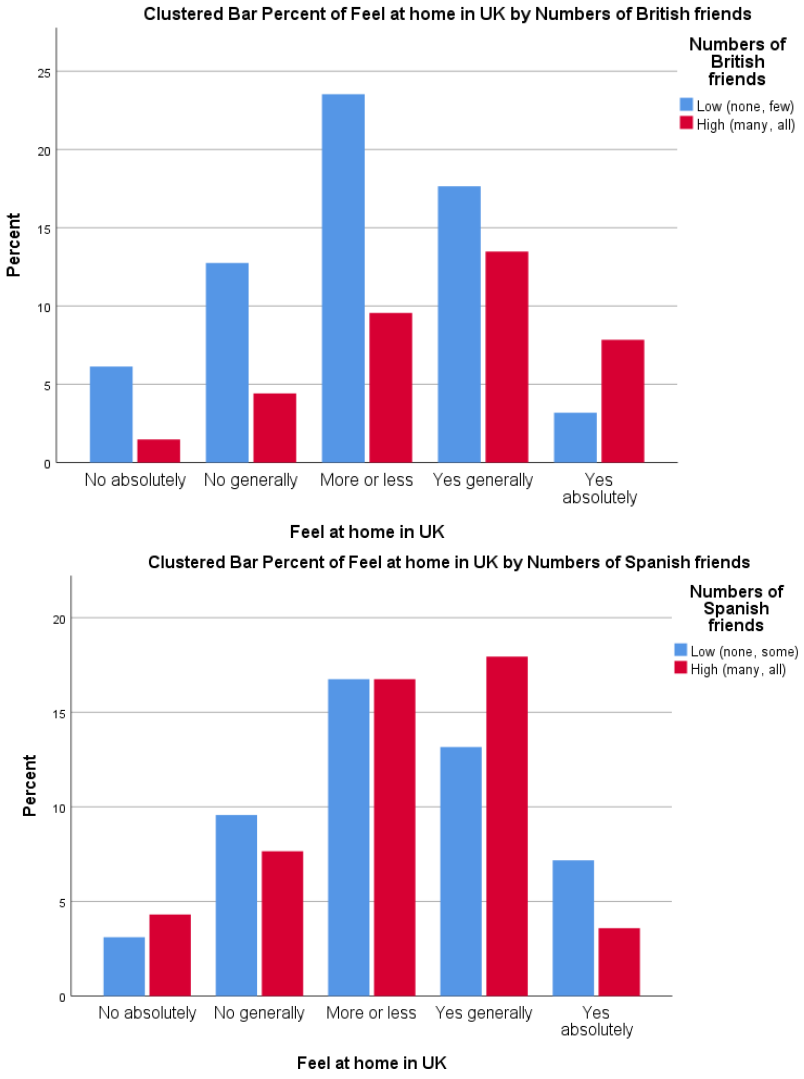
> *"They [2 acquaintances] helped me, yes, a lot, above all with moral support, because I went through a very tough time when I arrived. The first Saturday after I arrived, I got up and I was completely disorientated, I didn't know where I was and I had like a small panic attack and I started packing all my stuff because I wanted to go back to Spain. (...) I call them my little angels of the city, they helped me loads." Silvia (30-34, Spain)*

Silvia's description really highlights the very initial feelings that some people experience of being alone and disorientated in a new place. On that first Saturday in which she was feeling anxious, her two acquaintances reached out to her and took her out to enjoy the city. Over time they became close friends, but initially the simple fact of having some friendly faces around can really ease this transition.

Establishing new friends and building networks is part of the longer term process of developing feelings of belonging and being at home in the new country. Evidence from the survey supported this argument, as those with higher numbers of British contacts were significantly more likely to

report that they feel at home in the UK than those with lower numbers. However, having higher numbers of Spanish friends shows a similar pattern, as can be seen in the graphs below.

Figure 6.12: Feelings at home based on numbers of Spanish and British friends [X^2 (4, n=408)= 36.49, p<0.001, Cramer's V = 0.299]



This means that having friends in general is good for developing feelings of belonging. What is interesting to explore is how the developing feelings of belonging are mediated, with interviewees suggesting that it was both a factor of both 'fleeting friends' – quotidian recognition and interaction, as well as of 'social anchors' – people with whom individuals formed more substantially emotional and intimate connections.

Fleeting friends and social anchors

The process of establishing friends can reduce loneliness and support people to feel that their migration projects are worthwhile. I would argue that the process of establishing friends and losing friends is of fundamental importance to understanding the multi-directional processes of social

integration. Friends are lost when they leave, or through processes of changing friendships such as with life events. For non-migrants when friendships fizzle or dissolve, they may well lead to feelings of loss or sadness. For migrants, however, these changes can also be associated with questioning of the migration projects and their feelings of belonging (L. Ryan 2017).

Research has previously identified that sometimes even fairly superficial contacts with strangers in public space can be important for developing feelings of wellbeing and belonging (Phillimore, Humphris, and Khan 2014; Ager and Strang 2008). These 'micro-publics' of conviviality, it has been argued, can be the basis for establishing longer-term recognition and respect of diversity and forms part of everyday cosmopolitanism (Wessendorf 2015), although some have argued that the potential of these kind of encounters has been overstated (Valentine 2008). Participants in Phillimore et al's (2014) study described these kind of fleeting encounters as 'fast friends'. This was described by Silvia who, as discussed above, had struggled a lot emotionally on arrival in the UK. Fleeting encounters and basic interactions became quite important to her in those early days: *"I valued that people said good morning to me because I didn't have anyone."* She also mentioned that in London she had found people open and willing to help out strangers. She described an incident in the London underground where she became upset and a stranger approached to help her. This was something she felt that would not have happened in Madrid where she grew up.

Beyond these more superficial contacts, several people identified the fact that it was important for a sense of wellbeing to have people with whom you could 'hang out', in a rather mundane or quotidian way. This speaks to Marta's comment above about having people 'around' you. Perhaps these people did not necessarily need to be people in whom you confided all your secrets, but rather, simply the fact of having people to call on would make a difference to one's sense of belonging in the new society that you had made your home. Ernesto drew attention to the importance of those people that you had around you in the day-to-day when discussing both his best friend at home but also his friends in the UK:

> *"Obviously those who are here are more important right now, I mean at the level of the day-to-day. Emotionally perhaps no, my best friend lives in Spain and maybe a week goes by without us exchanging a word. But yes really those you live with, and those who follow your problems day-to-day and such are your friends here." Ernesto (35-39, Spain, 2014)*

For Ernesto, his flatmate was very important in the context of having someone who he came home to who gave day-to-day support. For those who were single, flatmates filled this role fairly often, but of course there was a certain amount of luck involved in finding flatmates with whom you really

clicked. For those who didn't have flatmates who were close, not having this informal regular interaction could lead to feelings of instability (Pumares 2017). Valentina commented on the fact that she didn't really have this, saying she had learnt to live without friends:

> *"But I'm lacking a friend to have a coffee or a beer with after work. I don't have that here and it's very important. It's really important. Above all if you don't have a partner which is my case, it's important, it gives you a lot of stability, and sometimes I feel a bit out of balance." Valentina (40-44, Spain, 2014)*

Often this contact may be most effective, when it is fairly regular and easy to organise. Isabel reflected in the quote below on how her friendship group had evolved and the impact this had had on her wellbeing. Her new group of daily friends had been formed in a new workplace context. Although she had made some close friends previously in London, several had left and others lived further away. Her new group more closely resembled the cohesive group of close friends she had at home. Having these people that she saw regularly and that she felt that she could call on had made quite a difference to how at home she felt in the UK:

> *"I hadn't really thought about it but yes it's like a direct consequence, no? The fact that I feel much more comfortable here, the fact that I have a group of friends and that at the weekend we do things, and that I can count on them and be like: hey, I'm feeling bad, let's go have a beer. And I know that I have various friends [here] whom I can do that with and count on them." Isabel (30-34, Spain, 2014)*

The fact of regularly interacting at work meant that over time, deeper and more intimate friendships had formed. This resulted in a more cohesive group of good friends that provided regular sociability as well as emotional support.

For those who had more intimate, stronger ties, the importance of these ties came out very clearly in narratives of interviewees. These ties could be usefully conceptualised as 'social anchors'. The idea of social anchoring was developed by Aleksandra Grzymala-Kazlowska (2016, 2017) as an alternative to the idea of integration. Drawing on interviews with Polish migrants, Grzymala-Kazlowska's formulation stresses the affective element of the settlement and adaptation process as well as people's psycho-social need for stability and security. So she defines anchoring as, "the processes of establishing footholds which allow migrants to acquire a relative socio-psychological stability and function effectively in new life settings," (2017 :4). While Grzymala-Kazlowska uses the idea to refer to a number of different dimensions of adapting and settling, such as getting a job, I would argue that its usefulness is maximised if it is applied more narrowly, to social relationships.

Thus the idea of social anchors is useful in identifying the close relationships which made people feel at home in the country. The relationships most easily and clearly identifiable as 'anchors' are spouses or romantic partners. Of my interviewees, four had met their future spouses in the UK and a further two had met people with whom they were in long term relationships. The majority of the partners were not Spaniards, but were a mixture of other migrants and British. Interestingly, a number of those who were British were from an ethnic minority background, something also highlighted by Grzymala-Kazlowska (2017) in her study with Polish participants. For several of these individuals it was clear that these relationships were hugely important in terms of fostering a sense of being at home in the UK, but also in terms of widening their social circles. As discussed in the previous section, these anchors can also act as the means through which other people are met and encountered.

However, social anchors can also be good, close friends and this was reflected in a number of interviews who referred to friends who were their 'pillars'. The loss of one of these pillars can lead to people feeling unanchored or unmoored. Núria had recently experienced this and described it.

> *"I for example, right now, one of my best friends has left. One of my most important pillars, as I say, has left. And I feel that absence" Núria (30-34, Spain, 2012)*

Núria still had her British husband and other friends around her to provide her with stability. But she described in some detail how the loss of her friend had left a big hole in her life. In certain cases, the loss of a 'pillar' or 'social anchor' can lead to people questioning their migration project and whether they should stay in the UK (Pumares 2017). Key individuals definitely shape decisions, as for Marta who had moved to another part of the country to continue to live with her best friend in the UK. It is quite likely that the types of relationships that act as anchors change with life stage, as those who are younger depend to a greater extent on these close friendships, with those who are older or in a relationship or have children more likely to focus inwards on their close family (Bidart and Lavenu 2005).

As we have seen the social realm is hugely important for a number of different areas and intersects in different ways with them. The most clear and straightforward relationship is feeling at home and developing a sense of wellbeing and belonging, with those with bigger networks and close relationships more likely to say they feel happy and at home in the UK. For this effect, it didn't matter what nationality friends were, it was simply important to have friends. This emotional

dimension is very important to understanding people's own experiences of their integration trajectories but has been somewhat overlooked in previous studies (Boccagni and Baldassar 2015). This will be explored in greater detail in chapter seven. For the other areas examined the relationship can be more complex; having contacts on arrival often facilitates access in the structural domain such as in employment, but it may lead to Spanish citizens accessing jobs in specific sectors with less favourable employment conditions. The relationship to language learning was also less clear cut. While it is clear that those who reported better levels of English on arrival reported higher numbers of British friends it did not seem to follow that having British friends made a big difference in terms of improving language. This is likely to be because with any non Spanish friends, English would be the lingua franca.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have sought to explore the trajectories of integration of Spanish citizens in three main areas: language learning, employment and the social realm. It is clear that most newly arrived Spanish citizens found that they were able to improve their English over time in the UK. This was often done through taking active steps, most commonly some kind of course but also investing in self-study. However, the rate of improvement varied, in part because people arrived with very different levels and were able to invest different levels of resources learning English both previously in Spain and in the UK. Language levels also have a clear implication for the ability to access suitable employment. While simply getting a job was generally unproblematic for Spanish citizens due to their rights to access the labour market as EU citizens, different forms of job hunting were associated with different occupational levels and sectors. Having previous contacts in the UK, who could help provide information or access to jobs, impacted on the ways some people got employment. Trajectories in the labour market were marked more clearly by people's educational level, work experience, level of English and other cultural capital. Based on these factors three different groups emerged in the analysis: the internationally-recognised, highly qualified; the middling transnationals and precarious workers. It was common for all to experience some downward mobility upon entry to the UK labour market but the degree of that downward mobility and the rate of improvement varied over time depending on which group people fell into. Over time many participants were able to improve their jobs or conditions to some degree. However, sometimes improvements in conditions were predicated on leveraging other forms of cultural capital, namely their Spanish language skills.

In the social realm it was clear that making friends was not something that simply 'happened' but rather was something that required a certain level of investment of time and, to a certain extent,

resources. On the whole, people reported that it was easier to make friends with other migrants, as they were in a similar situation, and in cities such as London and Manchester other migrants were fairly easy to meet, whether at work, through hobbies or study or through other friends. The difficulty of establishing friendships with British people was explained as a structural factor, i.e. that British people had less 'need' for new friends, but also in terms of some cultural differences. However, when one looks at the impact of having friends and social connections on other domains, it becomes clear that the distinction between British friends and Spanish friends may be less important. Instead it may be more important simply having social connections, through whom you can gain information about employment and housing. Friends of any nationality were an important element of developing feelings of belonging, demonstrating clearly how belonging is a relational construct, a feeling that emerges through interactions. The importance of the social realm in people's emotional state but also in other areas of life has implications however. As relationships form the core of this realm, changes to these relationships has the prospect of having disproportionate impact, particularly in terms of 'unsettling' people's experiences of integration, a theme that I will return to in more detail in chapter seven. Before doing so, however, I will take a more detailed look at some of the individual factors that shape these trajectories and the diversity that exists within the group of Spanish nationals.

Chapter 7: Delving into complexity: comparing the experiences of Spanish citizens of diverse backgrounds

In the previous chapter, I painted a broad brush picture of the integration trajectories of recent Spanish migrants to the UK. On the whole, Spanish citizens arrived with relatively high levels of English language, although it can take a while to adjust to English accents and vernaculars. They are able to access the labour market and progress within it, although most experience some level of de-skilling in the process, especially at the beginning before people have further developed their English language skills. Integrating socially is facilitated where there is greater diversity and with other migrants. While this demonstrates the patchwork nature of the receiving society, it also highlights the multi-directionality of integration processes, as friends that act as 'social anchors' may leave unexpectedly leaving individuals feeling un-tethered. In this chapter, I aim to delve into some of the complexity and nuance within the experiences of my diverse group of Spanish citizens in order to develop a more complete picture of the different factors that affect integration. I seek to respond to the question: what do differences in experiences of diverse Spanish citizens reveal about integration and the factors that affect it? For the purposes of the analysis, I will focus on one of the main axes of diversity within this citizenship group: place of birth, specifically looking at those who were born in Latin America in comparison with those who were born in Spain. However, through the analysis I hope to reveal that these analytic distinctions, while helpful, encompass a more complex set of differing factors that affect experiences in the UK. In the following, I will seek to elucidate on those factors and the interplay between them and show how they have influenced different elements of integration processes.

Differences between those born in Spain and those born in Latin America

One of the aims of the thesis was to deliberately explore diversity within a specific citizenship group. As a result of my previous research and interest in citizenship, one of the main elements I was interested in was the diversity introduced by dual citizens. In many ways, it could be argued that there is no real reason to focus on this aspect. After all, they all hold Spanish passports, meaning their legal status in the UK is the same as other Spanish citizens. Their experiences should also not be too divergent in terms of their linguistic background. Nevertheless, there clearly are differences that emerge as a result of the migration experience and the national contexts people have come out of. In the case of Latin American-Spanish, this move to the UK is an onward migration, thus these individuals already have 'migratory knowledge' (Ramos 2017). While every individual's experience is unique, in the first half of this chapter I will attempt to discuss some of the main differences between the two groups that emerge from the findings. These concern the previous migratory

experience, life stage and family responsibilities, motivations for migration, class and education level. Clearly these factors interlink, with some elements flowing one from another. In the second half of the chapter, I will seek to set out exactly how these factors impact on integration trajectories in the UK.

As outlined in chapter three, Latin Americans have usually gained Spanish citizenship through one of two routes: through ancestry or through residency based naturalisation. The former will therefore be considered Spanish by origin, while the latter are considered Spanish by derivative (Rubio Marín et al. 2015). How an individual gained their citizenship clearly shapes their migratory experience. Those who have naturalised as Spanish citizens would have entered Spain as immigrants, often experiencing a period of irregularity, before undergoing a process to become citizens. In contrast, those who are Spanish by origin would have arrived in Spain as Spanish citizens with all the rights that this entails. As highlighted previously, these different routes are sometimes also associated with differences in terms of ethnicity, wealth and also geographic location, as a result of the history of migration flows between Spain and Latin America. It is worth noting that this study did not explicitly look at ethnicity. The difficulties of defining categories especially that would be reliable across the multiple contexts covered by the study was one factor in this decision, as was the fact that these forms of classification are rarely used in Spain or Latin America (Wade 2010). However, given the history and diversity of migration waves to Latin America, it is probably safe to presume that there is greater level of ethnic/racial diversity among those born in Latin America compared to those born in Spain. Previous studies in the UK have found those from Latin America identifying as 'mestizo', 'mulatto', African-Latin American, indigenous and white despite many identifying as Latin American or Latino in the UK context (McIlwaine 2010, 2011).

Migratory background

To begin with, it is worth briefly discussing where the main participants in this study had come from and their previous experience of migration from Latin America to Spain. Among survey respondents, there was a subset of the sample (15%) that was born in a country other than Spain, which suggested that those individuals had migrated at one stage to live in Spain. This was used to give an idea of previous migration experience. For respondents born in Spain, the assumption was that people had grown up there, spending most of their lives there. However, of course, people's life courses are more complex than that, and roughly 8% of those born in Spain had been there for less than 20 years, which may imply other forms of mobility. It should also be noted that of those born in Spain, some are likely to have a migrant background.

Turning to those born in countries other than Spain, however, the findings reveal that one percent of the sample were born in countries other than Spain or Latin America, mainly in other countries in Europe, with Switzerland and France being the most common (likely the result of Spanish emigration flows between the 50s and 70s which targeted these countries (Arango 2016)). The remaining 14% were born in Latin America. In particular, Argentina, Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela were among those with a higher number of respondents. There were also a small number of respondents from Peru, Bolivia and the Dominican Republic and several other Latin American countries (including Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, Cuba, El Salvador). For those born in other countries, most had also spent substantial time in Spain. The majority (60%) of respondents born in Latin America had been in Spain for 11 years or more. This was also the case with those born in other countries the vast majority of whom had been in Spain for 20 years or more.

The survey did not ask directly about access to citizenship, however, there are some inferences that can be made based on the trends and patterns for respective countries. Based on what we know about migration between Spain and Latin America, we can speculate that a large number of those born in Colombia and Ecuador, as well as the other Andean countries of Bolivia and Peru and the Dominican Republic, would have gone through the residency and naturalisation route in order to have accessed Spanish citizenship. Those born in Venezuela and Argentina are more likely to have gained their Spanish citizenship either at birth or through ancestry routes. These differences matter because of how they would have affected that initial experience of migration – either of being an immigrant or of being a citizen 'returning' home.

Entering Spain as an immigrant, particularly if undocumented thus created conditions in which people experienced downward mobility (McIlwaine and Bunge 2018). As Carlos described, people arrived with a sense of urgency to find work as often they had become indebted to someone in order to make the journey:

> *"Well we felt the pressure [to get a job], we all arrived with the pressure because one arrives with debts, one has left debts in Colombia." Carlos (50-54, Colombia, 2012)*

Integrating quickly into the Spanish labour market, meant entering the informal sectors, such as agriculture, construction, domestic work and elderly care. Working irregularly, these Latin Americans often experienced many years of precarity before being able to regularise their status (Ramos 2017; Ramos, Lauzardo, and McCarthy 2018). For example, Mariela, originally from Ecuador, describes how

she lived for six years undocumented, and spent many years getting the correct paperwork in order to be able to regularise her status:

> *"In Spain I spent 6 years undocumented. I started doing the paperwork from the first work permit, a year later I got a second permit. At that point I started applying for the Spanish nationality." Mariela (40-44, Ecuador, 2011)*

The process of regularising, followed by the process of naturalising can be extremely long winded, with most applications for Spanish naturalisation taking a minimum of two years to process (McCarthy 2012). Thus although people had often been in Spain for upwards of a decade, a large part of that time had likely been spent in irregular, unstable and precarious conditions. Work in the large informal sector of the Spanish labour market also meant poor employment conditions and protections (Fiala 2012). These conditions create the initial state of precarity which then continues to be carried over in the future migration to the UK.

In contrast Matías entered Spain as a Spanish citizen having gained Spanish citizenship in Uruguay through ancestry. Although he arrived once the crisis had already become entrenched and thus struggled to find a job, as a citizen he was able to access some job hunting support and training. Eventually, not having found anything, he decided to move to the UK as he had a friend who had made the move previously. Although he suffered downward mobility and precariousness on arrival in the UK, over time he was able to progress and undertake further training. Having already a good command of English before he moved to the UK allowed him to make the most of opportunities that were available to him once in London.

Life stage and transnational families

As a result of having already undergone one initial migration and spent a decade or more in Spain, those Spanish Latin Americans who are moving onwards to the UK are often slightly older than the cohort of Spanish emigrants born in Spain. While recent emigration from Spain has been characterised as overwhelmingly young, driven by the effects of the crisis particularly on youth unemployment, the secondary migration of Spanish Latin Americans has often comprised a greater range of ages and life stages. Ramos (2017) has sought to categorise some of these different movers, arguing that, "specific junctures in the life-course affect what migrants expect from onward migration, not only because of the importance of age or family responsibilities but also because of the different attachments that younger and older generations have to the countries involved in onward migration and the country of destination" (2017, 3). She suggests a typology of three main categories: mature reluctant movers; mid-life, career advancement movers; and young, adventure

seeking movers, the latter including the 1.5 generation. As she describes, the expectations for the future and the frame of mind with which people arrive are often shaped by their stage of life and family commitments. Mature, reluctant movers experience their onward migration through the lens of hopelessness: struggling with English, they see the move as temporary and have often left family behind in Spain. In contrast mid-life, career advancement migrants may see opportunities for their children in the UK and are more optimistic about their own prospects even if they have experienced downward mobility.

These differences in life stage and the concomitant differences in family commitments were evident among my participants as well. On the whole, those who were born in the rest of the world were older than those born in Spain. 29% of those born in the rest of the world were 40 years old or above compared to 15% of those who are born in Spain. While again this may reflect differences in sampling (online recruitment is more likely to attract younger respondents) this trend is also visible in Spanish consular data on the population in the UK (PERE 2017). Partly as a consequence of these age differences, survey respondents born in Latin America were more likely to be in a relationship (40%) than those born in Spain (29%) and significantly more likely to have children. For those born in Spain who were in a relationship, the vast majority (92%) had their partner with them in the UK, while this was slightly lower for those born in Latin America (85%). From the interviews, one explanation of why this might be emerges. For interviewees who were in relationships, the Spanish born were much more likely to have established the relationship in the UK, with over half the relationships falling into this category. While almost all of those born in Latin America, who were in relationships, had come to the UK with their partner, sometimes after experiencing a temporary period of separation.

Latin American-Spaniards were also more likely to have children than Spanish-born Spaniards. 17% of those born in Spain had children compared to almost half (48%) of those born in Latin America. This aligns with other research that has found a high proportion (70%)of EU Latin Americans had children (McIlwaine and Bunge 2016). Those born in Latin America were more likely to report greater numbers of children. Once again, not only are there differences in the relative proportion of those who have families but there are also differences in terms of the geographic distribution of families. Of those born in Spain who had children, the vast majority (90%) had all of their children with them in the UK. In the survey of those born in Spain there was one individual who reported that a child under the age of 18 lived in another country, in this case Spain. In contrast, for those born in Latin America with children, only 61% had all their children in the same country as them. Instead,

reflecting the migratory trajectories, children could be in three different locations (the UK, Spain and Latin America). Thus Latin American-Spaniards were more likely to find themselves in transnational families. It is more likely for children over 18 to be reported to be in a different country but five Latin American Spaniards reported having children who were under the age of 18 and lived in another country, mostly in Spain. As has been noted elsewhere, experiences of family separation during the first migration of Latin Americans to Spain were not uncommon (Oso and Suárez-Grimalt 2017; Oso 2016) and sending children back to Latin America to live with family members so that parents were free to take on more work hours, had been one way that Latin Americans had sought to cope with the financial crisis in Spain (Herrera 2012; Ramos 2017).

Thus juggling family needs across transnational space was a familiar part of many Latin Americans' migration projects which can lead to different dynamics in the migration pathway (Bermudez and Oso 2018). Caring and providing for children form part of the key dynamic and motivation for further migration (Bermudez and Oso 2018; Ramos 2017). These caring responsibilities are demonstrated in responses to questions about whether people were sending money to people in Spain and Latin America. Four out of ten Latin American respondents reported that they sometimes or regularly sent money to people in Spain compared to 15% of Spanish born respondents, a significant difference.

Table 7.1: Sending remittances to Spain by country of birth [X^2(2, n=398)=22.2, p<0.001, Cramer's V=0.24]

	Send money to Spain?			
	Regularly	**Sometimes**	**No**	**Total**
Born in Spain	17	33	294	344
	5%	10%	85%	100%
Born in Latin America	9	13	32	54
	17%	24%	59%	100%
Total	26	46	326	398
	6%	12%	82%	100%

In addition, four out of ten of those born in Latin America also reported sending money sometimes or regularly to Latin America. This, of course, reflects wealth inequalities in the various regions and the nature of these split families and concomitant transnational caring responsibilities (Oso and Suárez-Grimalt 2017; Baldassar and Merla 2014). In the first migration, remittance sending from Spain to Latin America has been found to be part of familial strategies that sought to improve social positions either by investing education, property or business ventures (Oso and Suárez-Grimalt 2018). Even with the onset of the financial crisis in Spain, remittance sending was maintained although at a lower level (Herrera 2012). These responsibilities may affect people's integration

trajectories in the UK as the need to send remittances can increase the financial pressure on individuals after migration.

Motivations for second migration

These transnational family configurations and the importance of family for those born in Latin America also feature in their reasons for migrating to the UK. People responding to the survey were able to pick multiple reasons to explain their decision to come to the UK. The majority picked only one reason (65%), but those born in Latin America were slightly more likely than those born in Spain to pick multiple responses. On looking at the actual responses, we find that those born in Latin America were significantly more likely to report reuniting with family as a reason to migrate to the UK than those born in Spain.

Table 7.2: Whether migrated for family reason based on place of birth [X^2 (2,n=449)=37.53, p <0.001, phi=0.29]

	Family (as reason for migration)		
	No	**Yes**	**Total**
Born in Spain	379	8	387
	98%	2%	100%
Born in Latin America	50	12	62
	81%	19%	100%
Total	429	20	449
	95%	5%	100%

Those born in Latin America were also more likely to report moving for a romantic relationship than those born in Spain, although this was not a significant difference. Those born in Latin America were also slightly more likely to report that their move to the UK had been motivated by a desire to study. There were no real differences between the numbers reporting coming for work.

The important role of families is revealed in the way interviewees who were born in Latin America talked about their reasons for moving first to Spain and then onwards to the UK. Decision-making within the wider family had clearly been a factor for several interviewees in their initial migration from Latin America to Spain. Franklin, from Colombia, and Facundo from Argentina both described how it had been their mothers who had pushed them to leave for Spain. In Facundo's case, his mum had gone to Spain first and then encouraged him, a young man at the time, to come as well. Carlos, from Colombia, also described his family encouraging him to go to Spain after his brother had initially gone. These examples all demonstrate how the initial decision to migrate is very much one that is taken within the family context, and as discussed above in the case of Carlos, this is also in

part because the family as a whole shoulders the financial responsibility as part of wider familial strategies of social mobility (Oso and Suárez-Grimalt 2017).

On the second migration, family again plays a role, in that it shapes the flow and the destination. Once again, many respondents had chosen the UK because a friend or family member had already made the journey, highlighting the importance of social networks in shaping migration flows. But in this case, as people are older and at a different stage of life, the way they explain the reason for coming is somewhat different. Thus the explanation for most Latin American interviewees who had come onwards was much more straightforward: unemployment linked to the crisis. As Maritza from Peru put it: "*why did I come here? Because of the Spanish crisis, I was left without work.*" Other accounts of Spanish migration have often described how the crisis has featured in people's narratives of their motivations for leaving (Pumares 2017; Jendrissek 2016) so it could be argued that this is something that all Spanish citizens had in common regardless of where they were born. However, in my research the crisis featured more prominently in the narratives of those from Latin America. It is well known that immigrants (and naturalised citizens) were at greater risk of unemployment in part due to the sectors in which they were concentrated (Izquierdo Escribano and Martinez-Bujan 2014; Pajares 2010). The risk of unemployment during the crisis did not affect all groups equally within Spain, with immigrants facing higher risks of unemployment (Cebolla-Boado, Miyar-Busto, and Muñoz-Comet 2015) and with men also affected more heavily than women (Gil-Alonso and Vidal-Coso 2015). That was the case for several of my respondents, such as Maritza, Carlos and Gilberto. Carlos described the situation he found himself in:

> *"because in Spain life became very hard. It was the beginning of the crisis and I was made redundant from the company (...) I was unemployed and desperate. There were no jobs, and no way of getting any work." Carlos (50-54, Colombia, 2012)*

As a result, it was not uncommon for people to have spent some time unemployed hoping to make it work before taking the plunge to leave. While this was also the case to some extent with those born in Spain, what differentiated the two groups of respondents was the life stage, family responsibilities and the lack of wider networks of support. Thus often for those from Latin America, who had less of an established safety net in terms of social support and financial cushion, and many of whom also had children, being made redundant quickly led to a much more critical financial situation than those who had been born in Spain (Mas Giralt 2017). This is not to suggest that there were no Spanish-born Spaniards who were in that situation. However, it is clear that for Latin Americans who have already used migration as part of a strategy to mitigate financial uncertainty, the idea of

moving again appears as a clear option. Thus families send 'kites', individuals who move to different countries as part of strategies to confront the crisis (Bermudez and Oso 2018). It has been noted, however, that often these strategies have been gendered, with Latin American women having less flexibility for mobility due to caring responsibilities, a point I will return to (Herrera 2012).

Nevertheless, Latin American Spaniards are heterogeneous with diverse experiences and there were some individuals who I interviewed whose experiences were much more similar to those of Spanish-born Spanish citizens. Among my interviewees, these individuals were more highly qualified and all had obtained their Spanish citizenship either from birth or through ancestry. Among this group, motivations for the initial migration to Spain were more varied, as were the motivations to move again to the UK. These included Sofía, from Argentina, who had come to the UK for postgraduate study in a similar way to Juan and Alicia (both born in Spain). Alejandra, a doctor from Colombia, had been given the opportunity as part of a research project to spend some time in the UK and from that had been subsequently able to line up a permanent job working in public health. This experience of transferring with work or lining up the job in advance echoed the experience of Federico and Ignazio. Matías, from Uruguay, and Claudia from Venezuela, had somewhat different experiences, but again ones that more closely matched a sub-section of those who had been born in Spain, who we might describe as 'middling transnationals'. While both of them mentioned the crisis and unemployment as a factor in their decision to move to the UK, their age and lack of responsibilities along with their high level of English, meant that they found themselves in a different position on arrival to the UK to Carlos, Maritza and Gilberto described above. Their initial moves to Spain had similarly been motivated by slightly different reasons, in the case of Matías his sexuality played a role in his decision to move to Spain (Manalansan 2006), and for Claudia a desire to study in Spain coupled with increasing insecurity in Venezuela had been the main motivation to come to Spain. Their experiences on arrival had also been very different since they had not lived through any insecurity of status. Once again these differences show how groups are not homogenous and another key factor in affecting experiences is that of social-economic position and educational level.

Class and education level

In recent years, scholars have begun to re-think class to take account of the seeming waning of importance of class identities alongside increasing differentiations based on social and cultural consumption (Bottero 2004). This has been attributed to the individualising force of modern society and drawing on the work of Bourdieu, scholars have come to see class in terms of stratification that is created and reproduced not only by economic wealth but also through cultural and social capital (Reay 1998; Savage 2015). Thus rather than treating class as a fixed analytic category that can be

easily mapped onto occupational and income categories, classed positions are actually created and reproduced through a confluence of different factors, with social boundaries re-created and re-inscribed through social practices (Oliver and O'Reilly 2010). Class continues to be important in shaping people's lives, even if identifications and group identities are no longer as relevant, and social imaginaries increasingly present society as 'classless' (Bottero 2004; Bonjour and Chauvin 2018). Class has been somewhat overlooked in migration studies, despite the fact that it clearly plays an important role in shaping trajectories and outcomes of migration projects (Van Hear 2014). As has been highlighted, geographic mobility and social mobility are linked in complex ways and while migration projects can be part of upward social mobility strategies, this may be linked to upward mobility in the origin country rather than the destination country (Oso and Suárez-Grimalt 2018, 2017). Part of the classed positioning created through cultural capital and particular forms of habitus are locally inscribed in specific social fields (Oliver and O'Reilly 2010). Thus moving across borders often involves moving into different social fields where different rules apply and cultural capital is not always portable across borders (Erel 2010; Nowicka 2014).

Social classed positioning affects and shapes people's experiences of migration and integration in important ways. Institutional cultural capital, in the form of education, is an important factor that stratifies within and between groups. There are significant differences between educational levels of the two groups in the survey. Those who were born in Latin America were significantly less likely to have university or postgraduate level education than those born in Spain, as can be seen in table 7.3 below.

Table 7.3: Highest education level based on place of birth [X^2(1, n=423)=23.32, p<0.001, Phi=-0.24]

Highest education level			
	No university	**University or higher**	**Total**
Born in Spain	101 28%	265 72%	366 100%
Born in Latin America	34 60%	23 40%	57 100%
Total	135 32%	288 68%	423 100%

To some extent, this reflects the huge expansion of university education in Spain that has taken place in the last few decades. For both groups, the high levels of those with higher education suggests a positive selection among those who emigrate (Pumares 2017; Arango 2016).

Another variable used in the past as a gauge of social location has been looking at father's education level as this has proved a good predictor of social location. Looking at the differences between the two groups in this regard, once again there is a significant difference, although not as pronounced. The fathers of those who were born in Latin America were slightly more likely to have only up to secondary education and less likely to have university or postgraduate education compared to the fathers of those born in Spain, a difference that has been noted previously (Cortés, Moncó, and Betrisey 2015).

Table 7.4: Father's highest education level based on place of birth [X^2(4, n=440)=9.97, p<0.05, Phi=0.15]

Father's highest education level						
	Up to primary	**Secondary**	**Post-secondary**	**University /postgrad-uate**	**Don't know**	**Total**
Born in Spain	88	82	82	124	4	380
	23%	22%	22%	33%	1%	100%
Born in Latin America	9	19	14	15	3	60
	15%	32%	23%	25%	5%	100%
Total	97	101	96	139	7	440
	22%	23%	22%	32%	2%	100%

While the above has indicated that there are some differences between those born in Spain and those born in Latin America, we have also seen how even within these groups there are a number of different experiences, which means that we must be wary of making broad generalisations. It is also important to reiterate that these factors interact in complex ways. The way that Spanish citizenship had been obtained and the experiences of different legal statuses that had been associated with that process clearly acted as a stratifying factor (Schuster 2005; Ramos, Lauzardo, and McCarthy 2018). But as described in chapter three, classed positions had potentially shaped access to citizenship. Thus this is an indication of how policies re-inscribe and re-create social hierarchies. But people also have agency in deploying and mobilising their resources in order to shape these outcomes. In the following sections, we will consider how these different factors that differentiate Spanish citizens born in Latin America and Spain affect their integration trajectories in different domains, and how individuals may seek to mobilise resources in different ways.

How do these factors impact on integration?

Thus far I have sketched some of the main differences that emerged when looking at survey data between the two groups. In the following, I will seek to explore how these differences impact on integration trajectories. I will begin with looking at the three main areas covered in the previous chapter: language, employment, and social connections before turning to look at whether there are also differences in terms of plans for the future and feelings of being at home in the UK. Throughout I'll seek to show how these different factors all intersect and interact creating differing trajectories.

English language

Language skills are known to be associated with positive integration trajectories across a range of areas (Spencer and Cooper 2006; Oliver 2016). It has been described both as a facilitator of integration but also an outcome of integration itself (Ager and Strang 2008). Developing language skills has been modelled to be associated with three main factors: exposure, efficiency (of learning) and incentives for learning (Chiswick and Miller 2001). Exposure, in particular is usually linked to the amount of time spent in the country, but more recently researchers have pointed to the importance of considering pre-migration factors (Akresh, Massey, and Frank 2014; Kristen, Mühlau, and Schacht 2016). Akresh et al (2014) argue, "a portion of what is customarily observed as language assimilation resulting from exposure to the host country is actually attributable to experiences, education, and exposure accrued prior to immigration" (2014, 206). They argue that exposure to host language media prior to migration, language classes pre-migration and other time spent in the receiving country are all important factors in accounting for people's language abilities and their subsequent experiences of integration (Akresh, Massey, and Frank 2014). Furthermore, the rate of improvement after arrival has also been positively linked with participation in language classes pre-migration (Kristen, Mühlau, and Schacht 2016). These were all factors shown to be key in the previous chapter.

Looking at survey respondents' self reported levels of English on arrival, it is clear that those born in Latin America were more likely to report lower levels of English. A higher proportion of those born in Latin America (29%) reported having a very bad or bad level of English on arrival compared to those born in Spain (17%), although this was not a statistically significant difference. These differences are not altogether surprising given the differences in the level of educations reported above. However, as already mentioned, despite being closely linked, English language does not map exactly onto educational level (6% of those who had university education reported a lower level of English compared to 26% of those with no university education). Among interviewees born in Spain it was not uncommon for them to report having undertaken a number of different steps prior to migration

to improve their English skills. Thus Alicia and Martín both told me that they had attended extra-curricular private English classes since they were children. Jorge had undertaken self-study and Ignazio had done an online language exchange. Others (Federico and Núria) had spent time in the UK previously when they'd attended language classes, and still others (Juan and Ernesto) had spent time abroad in other EU destinations where the lingua franca had been English. Within the Latin American interviewees there was a much more clearly defined contrast between those who had experienced exposure and arrived with a good level of English and those who arrived with very little English if any. Sofía, Claudia, Alejandra and Matías all fell into the former category. As an example, Sofía had spent several years as a child living in an English speaking environment and Claudia had attended a bilingual private school in Venezuela. Unsurprisingly, those who had very little English on arrival, Mariela, Franklin, Gilberto, Carlos and Maritza had not had this kind of exposure and only a couple had sought to study before coming.

These differences in original level is then also reflected in the level of English people speak in their everyday life. A higher proportion of Spanish-born Spaniards (72%) reported speaking 'a lot' of English every day compared to those born in Latin America (45%). This is a significant difference. This means it is likely that the former are more likely to be able to improve and develop their English language skills.

Table 7.5: Amount of English spoken every day based on place of birth [X^2(2, n=436)=28.86, p<0.001, Cramer's V=0.26]

Level of English is spoken everyday				
	None/very little	**Some**	**A lot**	**Total**
Born in Spain	20 5%	85 23%	271 72%	376 100%
Born in Latin America	14 23%	19 32%	27 45%	60 100%
Total	34 8%	104 24%	298 68%	436 100%

This does, in fact, appear to be the case as a higher proportion of those born in Spain (75%) report having improved their English compared to those born in Latin America (65%), although this difference is not significant. As a result, the gap between those born in Spain and those born in Latin America widens over time. This may in part be linked to the fact that those with higher levels of education have been found to improve more quickly over time (Kristen, Mühlau, and Schacht 2016). When asked to report their current level of English, while a majority in both groups now report good

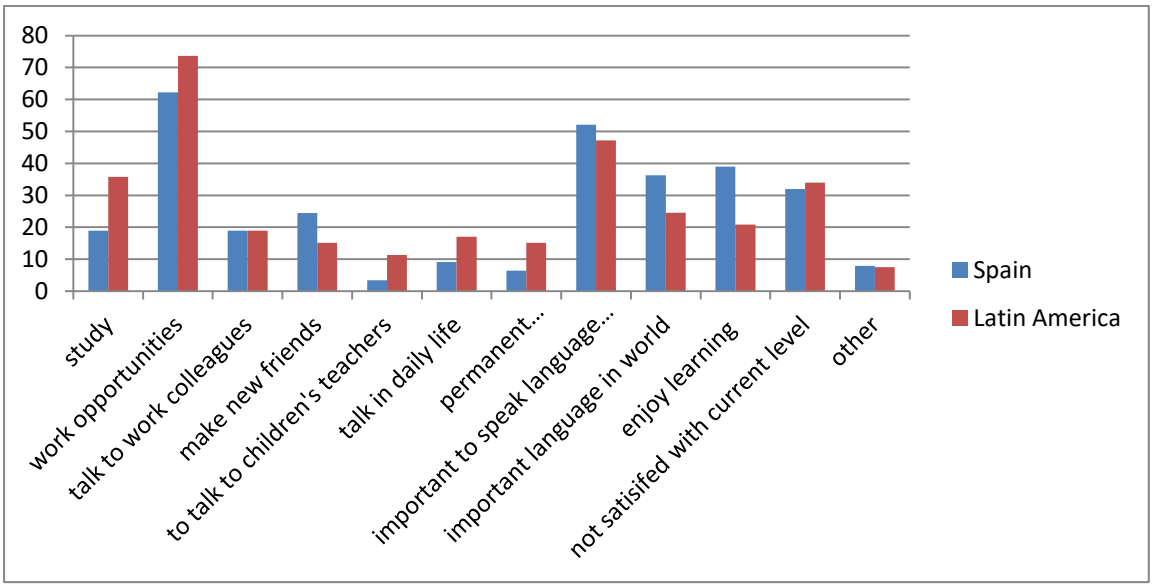
or very good English, there is a significant difference in the proportions. Those born in Spain (87%) are more likely to report good or very good English compared to those born in Latin America (60%).

Table 7.6: Current level of English based on place of birth [X^2(2, n=433)=28.96, p<0.001, Cramer's V=0.26]

Self-reported current level of English (speaking/listening)				
	Bad/very bad	**Not bad or good**	**Good/very good**	**Total**
Born in Spain	17	30	326	376
	5%	8%	87%	100%
Born in Latin	7	17	36	60
America	12%	28%	60%	100%
Total	24	47	362	436
	5%	11%	84%	100%

Despite starting from different points, similar proportions (88%) within the two groups expressed a desire to improve their English. However, the reasons given in order to improve varied as can be seen in the following figure (7.1). A wide range of reasons were given and individuals were able to select multiple options, but the figure shows the percentage of each group that selected each response. As can be seen there were some variations in terms of reasoning given. Those born in Latin America were more likely to give functional reasons, such as: a desire to study, to improve work opportunities, to talk in daily life, to talk to children's teachers, to get permanent residency or citizenship. In contrast, those born in Spain were more likely to highlight social or personal development reasons: to make new friends, because English is an important language in the world or because they enjoy learning.

Figure 7.1: Reasons for wanting to improve English based on place of birth



So what are some of the barriers to actually progressing in English? Employment conditions at the lower end of the labour market often act as a barrier to people being able to progress with their English. This is primarily the result of a lack of time and the fact that working hours, especially in the low paid sector, do not accommodate English language classes. This was the experience of both Facundo and Mariela. As Facundo described:

> *"I have time because I'm not working that many hours, but just during the hours that I'm working that's when most of the English courses take place" Facundo (35-29, Argentina, 2013)*

For Mariela, it is not only time spent working but also the responsibilities of family life that impact on her ability to access classes.

> *"I was studying [English] for a year. But my working hours didn't fit with my course or with those of my son either. Just recently my son is beginning to be a bit more autonomous so he can come and go on his own. But back then it was very complicated with him to get the right hours and with my husband as well... So he [my husband] studied [English] first." Mariela (40-44, Ecuador, 2011)*

In her workplace, she had very little exposure to English, working as she did as a cleaner with a Spanish speaking line-manager. In her case, the confluence of various factors that have been found to be relevant to the experience of some Latin American Spaniards are visible: being positioned at the lower end of the labour market in an ethnic niche with restricted hours and with greater level of family responsibilities. Gendered expectations also play a role, since Mariela, as the mother and

wife, was expected to take care of the child while her husband learnt English first (McIlwaine 2010). Mariela, also commented on another element of the difficulty of progressing with English, saying:

> *"I went two days a week. It wasn't much progress either. Because it was 2 days a week, and that's very little. So I had to stop. So afterwards I said to myself, I need something that will be like 5 days a week at the college. And of course I was paying where I was and so I said to myself I can't continue, because if I want to progress I need classes every day." Mariela (40-44, Ecuador, 2011)*

As she recounted, her level of efficiency (ability to progress over a particular time period) was limited. The incentive to advance in order to improve her employment situation was at that stage not balanced by the cost of the course and what she perceived as her slow progress. In addition, a feeling of not having a future in the country can also act as a disincentive to invest in learning (van Tubergen and Wierenga 2011). While this was rarely expressed in interviews, Maritza did describe this being one of her barriers during her first year in the UK:

> *"The first year I was dreaming of leaving. I wanted to leave, I didn't have plans to stay. So that… More than anything, I was sick that year, I didn't leave my house. It was horrible. (…) But now this last year, I'm taking it [learning English] seriously." Maritza (40-44, Peru, 2012)*

After her first year in which she was dreaming of leaving and feeling depressed, she had slowly come to the acceptance of staying for her daughter's education and so she had started to invest in learning the language.

As the vast majority of my respondents who spoke basic English were Latin American Spaniards, English featured as a much more dominant theme in their accounts of their experiences. While some, like Mariela and Maritza, seemed a bit despondent and disheartened about their level, for several others learning English had become a key motivation for them. Gilberto and Facundo both fell into this category and both spent a large amount of time during the interview telling me about the importance of English and the steps they were taking to learn it. For Facundo, it seemed that this was, above all, driven by an interest in learning and self-development. He told me even if he died poor, he'd be happy if he could say he'd learnt English in his life. Gilberto's motivations seemed more linked to practical considerations, telling me both that he hoped to improve his employment situation within a year and that by learning English he was also potentially improving his employment prospects should he decide to return to the Dominican Republic. He told me:

"In my country someone who speaks English well can earn a salary of a member of parliament or a senator" Gilberto (45-49, Dominican Republic, 2014)

Thus for those whose English is at a fairly basic level, this becomes a key feature of their experience in the UK and learning the language is seen as fundamental to grasping a multitude of opportunities. In contrast, for most of my interviewees born in Spain who had a much better level of English, language was discussed during interviews but in different terms. Issues linked to accent, humour and social identities in language remain (and perhaps become more acute) but the basic question of being able to communicate with people just did not arise. For some of my interviewees born in Spain, English had been a reason to come to the UK and learning the language was an aim, but often with a focus on wider personal development or a return to Spain. Whereas for those with lower language skills, learning English is part of an all consuming project, to move beyond survival, get better jobs, and develop a feeling of independence (Phillimore, Humphris, and Khan 2017).

Employment

Employment is often considered one of the pivotal elements of integration, critical to many other areas as it can be a means to independence and financial security (Spencer and Cooper 2006; Oliver 2016). It is also assumed that working facilitates integration in many other domains (e.g. socially and in terms of language learning). Nevertheless, the impact and interactions are not one-way and importantly, the type and conditions of the work can have different implications (Akresh, Massey, and Frank 2014). In what follows, I'll attempt to unpick how some of the different factors that emerged between those born in Latin America and those born in Spain impacted on trajectories into and within the labour market.

Firstly, there is no significant difference between the two groups in whether people had come to the UK for work or not. Almost identical proportions of those born in Spain (70.3%) and of those born in the rest of the world (71%) cited work as one of the reasons they had come. This may well reflect the ongoing consequences of the financial crisis in Spain (McIlwaine and Bunge 2018). However, citing the reason 'work' as a motivation to come to the UK can reflect a range of divergent circumstances (Bygnes 2017). It covers those who are unemployed, and need to move country as an economic necessity, to those who are in full time employment but are seeking an advancement of their career through moving to the UK. There were also no differences between the two groups as to whether they were actually in work.

However, there are differences in how these two groups access the labour market. There is a significant association between where people were born and whether they had got their job through

social means. 53% of those born in Latin America got their job through social job searches compared to 28% of those born in Spain.

Table 7.7: Job search method by place of birth [X^2(1, n=384)=13.25, p<0.001].

Job search method			
	Social	**Formal**	**Total**
Born in Spain	92	241	333
	28%	72%	100%
Born in Latin America	27	24	51
	53%	47%	100%
Total	119	265	384
	31%	69%	100%

This is significant because getting jobs through networks, particularly networks which may not be very extensive, is thought to contribute to the creation and maintenance of ethnic niches within the labour market (Schrover, van der Leun, and Quispel 2007). While referrals for jobs can lead to positive employment outcomes, this is dependent on the network people have to draw on (Lancee 2016). As has been noted elsewhere, many Latin American Spaniards end up clustered in contract cleaning (McIlwaine and Bunge 2018) which demonstrates the convergence of a number of factors. As people arrive with a low level of English and with a pressing need to secure any kind of work immediately, they rely on quick access to roles secured through limited social networks. Often initial contacts, family members or friends will seek to line people up for openings in their own workplace. In addition, a number of Latin American Spaniards make use of informal ethnic networks in the form of a series of WhatsApp groups, often with thousands of members, where job adverts, rooms for rent and other opportunities are shared (Ramos, Lauzardo, and McCarthy 2018). The effect of these networks is to seek to mitigate the disadvantage that this group finds itself in, in terms of being able to access and navigate mainstream job-seeking services due to having limited language skills (Cangiano 2008). However, these low paid jobs tend to be concentrated in one sector, are often limited in the number of hours and turn over at a remarkable speed. The case of Franklin, from Colombia, illustrates a number of these factors. His sister who was already in the UK initially had a job as a cleaner lined up for him, but it was no longer available when he actually arrived. So instead he turned to the WhatsApp groups through which he finally got a job.

> *"In the Latin American groups, some on WhatsApp, that people put adverts for jobs, although often they're not useful because when you ring someone has already got it. So in one of those, there was an advert that they needed someone in the club. I passed the interview and that was it, the same day I started work." Franklin (35-39, Colombia, 2017)*

This form of job entry then also has implications for the possibility of learning English. In roles obtained through these methods, supervisors, managers and colleagues are usually all Latin American and work conversations take place in Spanish. Even if there are other English-speaking colleagues, often much of this work is solitary further limiting opportunities to practise (Equality and Human Rights Commission 2014).

The differences in job search method and the kind of jobs that are available through those methods also translate into differences in conditions of employment. Looking at those born in Spain and those born in Latin America, no differences appear in the proportion of those who have a permanent contract (67.1% born in Spain versus 69.8% born in Latin America). However, those born in Latin America are significantly more likely to be working part time and more likely to be working multiple jobs (as shown in table 7.8). Those born in Latin America are also less satisfied with their current employment but this is not a significant association.

Table 7.8: Employment conditions by place of birth
*X^2(1, n=391)=7.5, p<0.01, Phi = -0.14
** X^2(1, n=387)=14.19, p<0.001, Phi=-0.19

Working conditions	Born in Spain		Born in Latin America		Total	
Working pattern						
Full time	262	77.3%	31	59.6%	293	74.9%
Part time*	77	22.7%	21	40.4%	98	25.1%
Multiple jobs						
Yes**	33	9.8%	14	28.6%	47	12.1%
Job satisfaction						
Satisfied or very satisfied	230	66.8%	32	57.4%	261	65.6%
Dissatisfied	114	33.2%	23	42.6%	137	34.5%

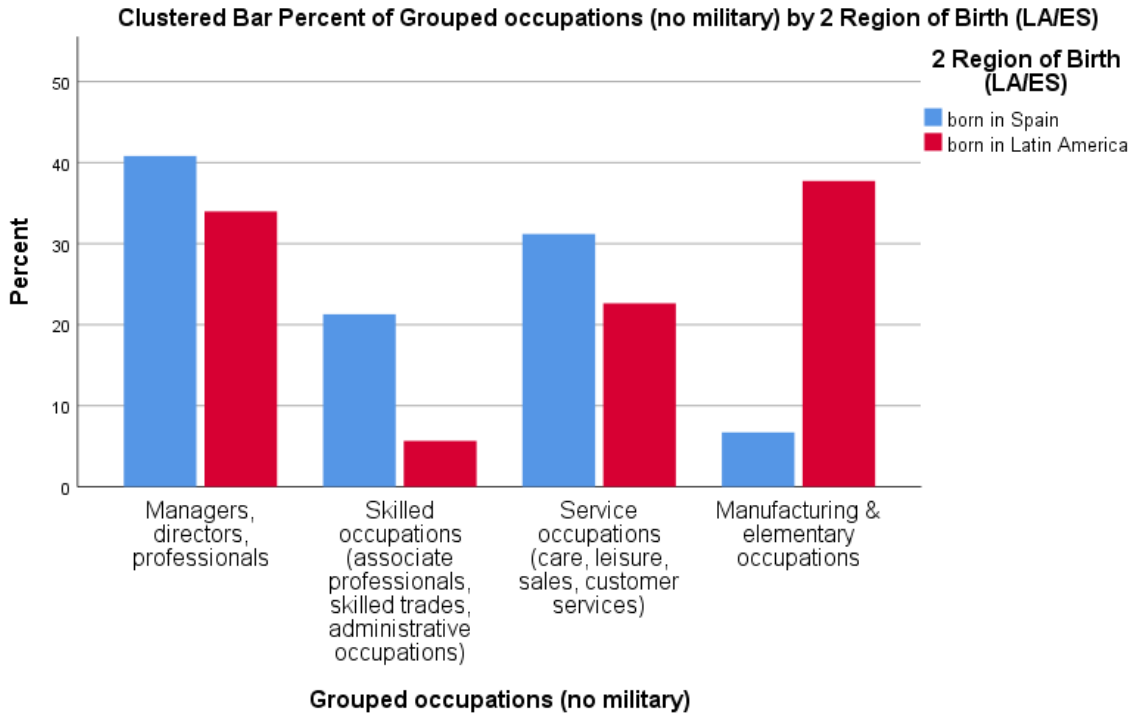
Conditions of employment have important implications for integration trajectories in other areas. As discussed above, one of the barriers to accessing English classes is working hours. Workers in cleaning routinely describe working split shifts often very late at night or very early in the morning, meaning that the only time to catch up on sleep is during the day when classes are taking place (Equality and Human Rights Commission 2014). In addition, with low wages and limited hours, people have to take any additional work and hours they can get, meaning that schedules change frequently – an aspect of the precarity with which people have to live (Wills et al. 2010; McIlwaine and Bunge 2018). Facundo had initially sought to work fewer hours in order to give himself more time to attend English classes, but he found:

> *"It got very complicated, because with a part-time [job], having wages at £7.50 the hour, it's not very high. So, me with a part-time, I couldn't carry on [with the classes]. So you say, shit, English is difficult but I'm not working enough, so I stopped classes and started studying on my own." Facundo (35-39, Argentina, 2013)*

So Facundo had taken on an additional job and stopped attending English classes in order to make ends meet.

Turning to look at the types of occupations being done by those born in Latin America and those born in Spain also reveals differences and explains some of these differences described above. Figure 6.2 shows the percentage of each group that falls in four broad occupational categories. Occupational level is very important as not only does it affect conditions of employment, but is associated with other factors, such as increased English usage (Akresh, Massey, and Frank 2014). Those born in Latin American are overrepresented in the manufacturing and elementary occupations in comparison to those born in Spain and particularly underrepresented in skilled occupations. In fact, the figure shows a much more skewed distribution of Spanish citizens born in Latin America, with higher clusters both at the higher end of the labour market as well as at the lower end, with fewer found in jobs in the middle of the labour market. Those born in Spain are more likely to fall into this group of 'middling transnationals', who - as a result of educational background and English level - experience downward mobility on arrival to the UK but who may well then progress. There appear to be fewer Latin American Spaniards who fall into this group. This likely reflects class and educational differences outlined above. Instead, a large number of Latin American Spaniards have worked in lower paid roles in Spain, in construction, elderly care, domestic cleaning and hospitality, prior to their migration to the UK (McIlwaine and Bunge 2016). A smaller proportion had professional jobs in Spain (McIlwaine and Bunge 2018). It is these individuals, usually with higher levels of English, who had not experienced the precarity of previous undocumented migration, and who often have more readily recognised qualifications, who arrive in the UK in a stronger position. They are able to access roles through formal job search methods and are able to negotiate with employers about their skill and qualification level.

Figure 7.2: Percentage of those born in Spain and those born in the rest of the world in four broad occupational categories [X^2(3, n=396)=48.2, p<0.001. Cramer's V = 0.35]



Looking at occupational level gives just one snapshot of the situation. However, comparing first occupations with current occupations allows us to see whether people are progressing within the labour market. Comparing the two groups, we find that those born in Latin America are less likely to have experienced occupational mobility than those born in Spain. 39% of those born in Spain had experienced occupational mobility compared to 28% of those born in Latin America, although this was not a significant difference. McIlwaine and Bunge (2018) also found limited ability among their onward Latin Americans to be able to move out of elementary (mainly cleaning) jobs that most occupied on arrival. They found that occupational mobility was shaped by gender (women had higher probability), English level (those with higher levels of English were able to move) and indebtedness (McIlwaine and Bunge 2018). Thus the importance of various forms of capital, - cultural, financial and social capital, - shapes individuals' experiences of entry to and progression within the labour market.

Friendships and sociability

As was discussed in the previous chapter, it is clear that social connections and networks can be important in terms of establishing yourself in a new country and particularly in getting a job. Thus it was interesting to discover that those born in Latin American were significantly more likely to report knowing someone in the UK before coming.

Table 7.9: Numbers of respondents who knew someone in the UK before arrival by region of birth [X^2(1, n=428)=8.8, p<0.005. Phi = -0.14]

Knew someone in UK before arriving			
	Yes	**No**	**Total**
Born in Spain	188	180	368
	51%	49%	100%
Born in Latin America	43	17	60
	72%	28%	100%
Total	231	197	428
	54%	46%	100%

However, simply having social connections is not the same as being able to mobilise them to access resources (Anthias 2007). The social locations of the individuals involved as well as the strength of the relationships affect whether this social capital can be mobilised (Anthias 2007). It has been argued that weak ties – that may connect to more distant parts of the network - may be important in facilitating access to new information whereas strong ties may be important for emotional and practical support (Granovetter 1983, 1973; Ryan 2011). Looking at the type of contacts people have prior to arrival, it becomes clear that those born in Latin America are much more likely to have relatives or family members (28%) as their contacts compared to those born in Spain (13%). This suggests that overall, although those born in other parts of the world may be less likely to have contacts in the UK, those contacts that people do have may be stronger ties which could prove to be more easily mobilisable. But these networks may remain rather small, meaning that Latin American Spaniards had less access to new information through weaker, more diffuse ties. Many Latin American Spaniards adopted a deliberate strategy, in which one family member, usually the father, is sent first before being joined by others, to try to mitigate their financial precarity (McIlwaine and Bunge 2018; Bermudez and Oso 2018). Among my interviewees, this strategy had been adopted in the families of Carlos, Gilberto and Mariela. This gendered strategy is explained by two factors: firstly the fact that men's employment was worse hit during the crisis in Spain, meaning that men may have been unemployed before the women; and secondly that women were expected to continue with their care-giving responsibilities (Herrera 2012).

Table 7.10: Numbers who knew a family member in the UK before arriving by region of birth [X^2(1, n=428)=9.82, p<0.005. Phi = 0.15]

Knew family member in UK before arriving			
	Yes	**No**	**Total**
Born in Spain	47	321	368
	13%	87%	100%
Born in Latin America	17	43	60
	28%	72%	100%
Total	64	364	428
	15%	85%	100%

Contacts on arrival can provide support beyond just information about jobs, but what people can offer depends largely on their own situation. An example of significant practical support that facilitates smooth transitions and conserves economic resources is by providing somewhere to stay. Claudia from Venezuela, had lived with her aunt throughout her first six months in the UK as had Isabel, born in Spain, who had stayed with her brother for two months on arrival. The strong ties of close family members may be the most conducive to leading to this type of arrangement. But it also reflects that in both these cases the family member was also in a relatively strong financial position and able to offer this support. Those Latin Americans who were at the lower end of the occupational spectrum, facing greater precarity, are more likely to know others in a similar position, and many of these people were struggling and so were not in a position to offer support. This was highlighted by the situation of Carlos who had been made unemployed in Spain. He had been weighing up a move to the UK or to Germany as both were places he had contacts. In the end, he had opted for the UK, where his wife's cousin was prepared to help him and he felt less constrained about asking this person for support. He had stayed with this contact for two weeks initially, but despite the cousin's willingness to help, his own circumstances were limited. He was living in a multiple occupancy house and sharing his room with Carlos and another relative. Carlos had slept on the floor, but felt he couldn't impose for too long as the other housemates were getting annoyed about sharing the space with two extra people. However, the importance of even this limited support was highlighted by the case of Facundo who arrived knowing no-one and who endured a period of rough sleeping before being able to establish himself in work and accommodation.

Those born in Latin America also have access to specific community spaces and networks set up to support the Latin American community. The Latin American community in London has a few clearly defined areas of physical concentration, such as Elephant and Castle and Seven Sisters, where a concentration of Latin American businesses are to be found as well as a number of community

organisations that provide support to the community (Cock 2011; McIlwaine and Bunge 2016). These places were referenced by some Latin American interviewees – especially those at the lower end of the labour market. These areas and organisations developed over a number of decades as the community established itself from the early 80s onwards (when many Latin Americans arrived in the UK as refugees), and have now become resources to mitigate social exclusion and discrimination experienced (Sales, D'Angelo, and Lin 2008; D'Angelo 2015). These physical sites are complemented by active WhatsApp groups as discussed above. These spaces, both virtual and physical, are not exclusive to Latin Americans, but are accessed primarily by those at the bottom end of the socio-economic spectrum. Thus, Omar, who was born in Spain but also from a migrant, working class background, also used these networks to mitigate the disadvantage he faced. He turned up to the research interview with a folder full of flyers and information leaflets that he had accumulated from different organisations. Despite not being of Latin American background himself, he described how Latin Americans were particularly helpful in sharing information and how Latin American community organisations had also been useful sources of information. Omar described them to me and explained how they led to his first job in cleaning:

> *"Right now, I can't remember how I got some of the WhatsApp groups where they speak Spanish and Portuguese, honestly I can't remember. But anyway, I had these groups and one day a guy who's now a friend of mine, published a job offer for a cleaner in north London." Omar (25-29, Spain, 2017)*

Once again these networks are extremely valuable for those who have no other resources, but they do not link into wider mainstream networks, consequently there is a limit to people's access to resources and information. Omar's case reveals that both virtual and physical community spaces support people who are facing precarity or in some ways are marginalised. Although branded as Latin American, they are not exclusive, may be accessed by a range of Spanish speakers in similar positions – so precarious workers born in Spain may also access this support. Instead it was classed positions that dictated whether people accessed this support. Omar was the only interviewee born in Spain who talked of using these spaces, and those interviewees born in Latin America from higher classed backgrounds also did not talk of using these resources.[15]

On the whole, those born in Latin America and those born in Spain reported similar levels of friendships with British people and with other Spaniards. Unsurprisingly, clearer differences emerged when asked about socialising with people from Latin America. A much higher proportion of

[15] Although research has suggested that these spaces are used by middle and upper-middle class Latin Americans when it comes to cultural events (Cock 2011).

those born in Spain (48%) reported not socialising with anyone from Latin America compared to those born in Latin America (14%). This indicates a distinction between the two communities which the Latin American-Spaniards straddle to some degree (Ramos, Lauzardo, and McCarthy 2018). In the context of the UK, you might expect that a shared language could form the basis of a larger number of friendships, but this research suggests this is not the case. For Latin American Spaniards who have spent time in Spain the connection with other Spaniards is fairly strong but those born in Spain are less likely to form this connection with Latin Americans.

As previously discussed, making friends is a process that requires time and resources (Bourdieu 1986; Ryan, Erel, and D'Angelo 2015) as well as a certain amount of emotional investment (Ryan 2015b). In an expensive city like London, the time and cost required to simply travel to see people is not insignificant. High living costs mean people frequently live in outer suburbs of the city, meaning that long travel times both to and from work but also for socialising is a fact of life. Once you have travelled to meet someone, you also often have to spend money in the socialising activity. All of these factors illustrate that it can be easier for those who already have sufficient resources to invest in making friends. In this respect, for those in low paid jobs who are having to work many hours to make enough money to survive, time becomes a key commodity and one that it is difficult to invest in friendship-making. Claudia, from Venezuela who had moved from a lower paid retail job into a better paid professional job in healthcare commented on this in terms of the time that she had available for socialising.

> *"How can you maintain a friendship if you can never meet up? So I think if you have a job that's a bit more stable, it's easier to make friends" Claudia (30-34, Venezuela, 2011)*

Her new job, unlike many in healthcare, had a stable work pattern which allowed her to maintain a more 'normal' life. Those who work anti-social hours, as many in the cleaning sector do, also struggle to have time that's suitable to meet up with friends, demonstrating how those with economic capital often find it easier to create other forms of capital. For those who had children it was even more complicated. This was particularly mentioned by two of my female Latin American interviewees, who had moved to the UK with their children. Although children sometimes provide opportunities for mothers to meet people (Ryan and Mulholland 2014c), this did not emerge in my interviews, as Mariela explained:

> *"Of course we're all working more hours than we should and usually there's no time. I would like to [socialise more] but the problem is the time" Mariela (40-44, Ecuador, 2011)*

The extent to which children are a facilitator or a barrier to social life is also related to socio-economic position. Time, money and family responsibilities are clearly interlinked in this case and this is also gendered, as women are often expected to take on a greater share of the caring responsibilities with children in the destination country as well as maintaining the relationships with family members 'at home' (Bolíbar, Martí, and Verd 2015). As discussed, many of those who were born in Latin America had more of these family responsibilities than those born in Spain. There are few opportunities to spend time together outside of the home which do not involve money, and those that are living in substandard accommodation such as multiple occupancy housing may feel that they are unable to host people at home due to the limited space or shared facilities. Once again, factors interact in complex ways: precarious low paid jobs limit people's time and money and ability to invest in friends. These constraints are enhanced by having family responsibilities.

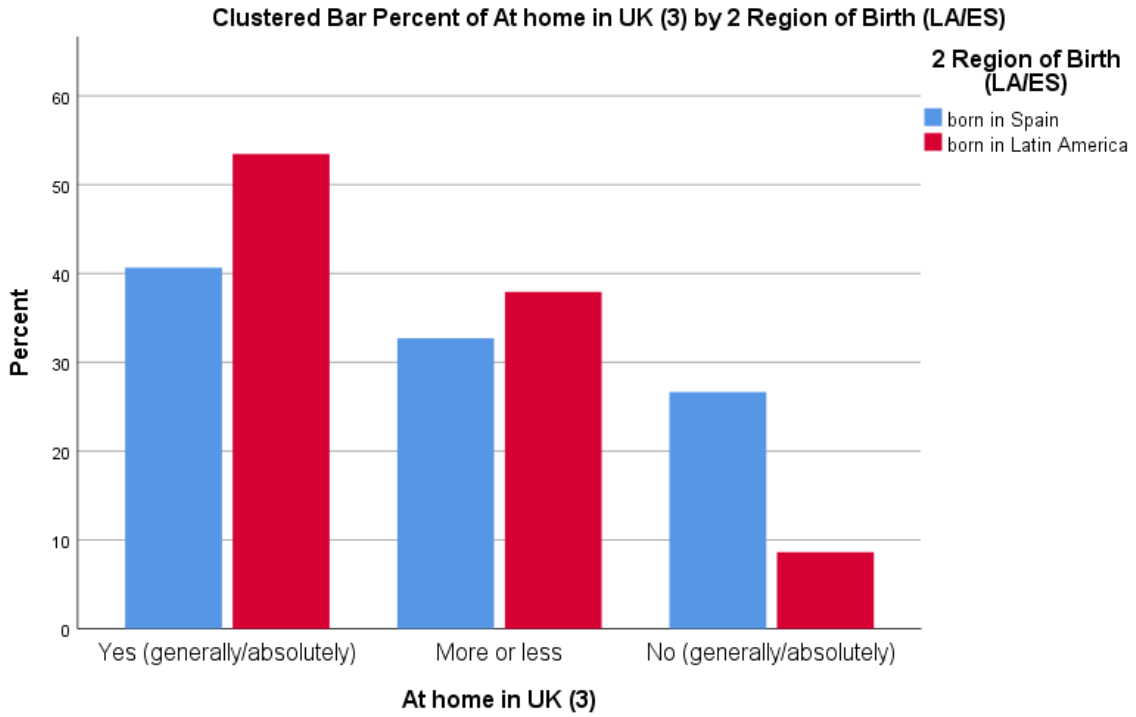
A final factor that may be involved in different socialising patterns is the history of migration that is usually different for those born in Latin America and those born in Spain. While day-to-day socialising patterns may change with migration, for many of my recently arrived Spanish interviewees, some emotional support continues to be provided by friends and family members who are not in the UK, as will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. However, there was a difference in those who were from Latin America originally and who were undertaking their second migration to the UK. On the whole, Latin American Spaniards referred less frequently to people in Latin America beyond family members. When asked about intimate friends, Latin American interviewees were more likely to mention family members who were in Spain as the most important source of support. Clearly certain family members in Latin America, such as parents, remain crucial and contact is regularly maintained. However, few Latin American interviewees discussed close, long-lasting friendships in either Latin America or in Spain, in stark contrast to those who were born in Spain. The exception was Sofía – who had not undergone second migration, but had moved directly from Argentina to the UK. She described a group of very close friends who she was in touch with on a daily basis, which was a narrative that was more similar to some of the narratives of those born in Spain. It seems unlikely that those born in Latin America had never had these types of friendship, but rather more likely that over time, the decade or more that individuals had been in Spain, these friendships had waned in importance (Moroşanu 2013; Ryan and D'Angelo 2018). This combined with other factors, such as age and family composition, means that friends at home in Latin America are less important for interviewees in the UK, demonstrating how ultimately over the longer-term migration can disrupt these friendships.

This section has indicated how some of the personal factors, such as age at migration, family composition and previous migratory history, impact on integration trajectories in the social realm. The different demographic profile of those born in Latin America compared to those born in Spain, helped account for why they were more likely to have known a family member in the UK. Within this group, experiences are still stratified by labour market position. Those facing more precarity are more likely to access community spaces and organisations for support (including social support). With changing work patterns and long hours, they are also less likely to have time to invest in making friends, particularly given their caring responsibilities. Poor living conditions may also make certain forms of socialising, - perhaps those that are more favoured by families – less possible. Despite reporting similar numbers of different types of friends as those born in Spain, those born in Latin America were less likely to talk about long-standing close friendships with people in Latin America that have survived both the time and distance of their first migration. Instead, family members were consistently fore-grounded in interviewees' narratives in terms of the people who provided key emotional support.

Feeling at home and plans for the future

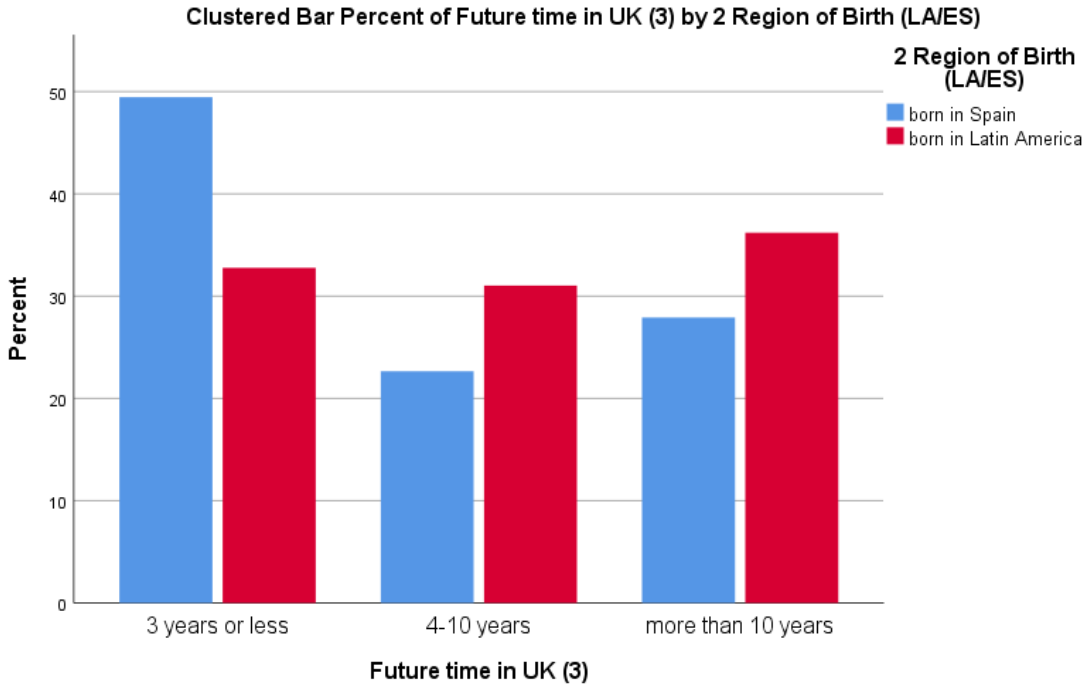
As has been demonstrated, the differences in circumstances that characterise the two groups result in different integration trajectories in the areas examined thus far. There was one further dimension where there appeared to be clear differences between the two groups: their feelings of being at home in the UK as well as their plans for the future. When one compares those born in Latin America and those born in Spain, although across all groups more people reported feeling at home in the UK, those born in Latin America were more emphatic. Thus a much lower proportion of those born in Latin America said they did not feel at home in the UK compared to those born in Spain. This can be seen in figure 7.3, and the differences are significant.

Figure 7.3: Percentage of those born in Spain and in Latin America who report feeling at home in the UK [X^2(2, n=422)=9.07, p<0.05. Cramer's V = 0.15]



Similarly, differences emerge in terms of the future that people envision for themselves and their migration plans. Overall a higher proportion of those born in Spain (49%) reported thinking that they would spend a further three years or fewer in the UK. Among those born in Latin America, there was a much more even split in terms of those who had short, medium and long term plans to be in the UK but the highest proportion (36%) reported wanting to stay in the UK for ten years or more. This suggests that on the whole, those born in Latin America had a longer term outlook on their time in the UK, although this was not a significant difference (see figure 7.4).

Figure 7.4: Proportion of those born in Spain and in Latin America by projected future time in the UK (n=420)



How should these differences be accounted for? There is a relationship between feeling at home in the UK and planning a longer future in the UK (McCarthy 2019) but we can't say definitively that people who feel more at home plan longer futures (it could be that those who plan longer stays end up feeling more at home). However, it is interesting to consider this in the context of this being people's second migration. It may be that simply having that experience of one initial migration and the time needed to establish oneself, can explain why those born in Latin America are planning longer stays. In this regard, life juncture is also relevant. As noted previously, there are differences among Latin American-Spaniards based on their life-stage as to where they see their future and the degree to which they view their time in the UK as an opportunity (Ramos 2017). Those who are younger and the mid-career migrants can see opportunities both for themselves and their children in the UK and despite the initial difficulty they find themselves facing are prepared to make the best of the situation. Gilberto provides an example of this. He was relentlessly optimistic about his ability to continue improving his English and ultimately secure a career as an electrician. He said:

> "*Those of us that have a family, we came and we're going to stay. Because what I told you earlier, the young people develop better here in the school, there's more opportunity, and I like the education system better here than in Spain*." *Gilberto (45-49, Dominican Republic, 2014)*

His explanation for wanting to stay draws on what he perceives to be in the interests for his whole family, demonstrating how inter-generational factors can be key in family decision-making

(Bermudez and Oso 2018). Even Mariela and Maritza who were much more ambivalent about the UK, were committed to staying in the medium term as they felt the UK provided good opportunities for their children.

It may also be that some of those from Latin America who had experienced the financial crisis in Spain, had already tried other options, either going back to Latin America for a while, or trying out other countries in Europe. By all accounts, there is a certain amount of churn of people who come to the UK to try it, and don't like it and leave fairly quickly. Gilberto talked of knowing several people who had made the decision to return to the Dominican Republic after a fairly short period in the UK. As a result, among those who remain, the commitment to stay may be more resolute. This was the case for Facundo, who had come to the UK, then returned to Argentina for 18 months, before returning to the UK. His return to Argentina had reminded him of the social norms he felt pressured to conform to. When talking about why he wanted to stay in the UK, he mainly highlighted his desire to learn English, but also said that he felt London "gives me the freedom to be more myself."

This feeling of being comfortable and being at home changes people's attitudes to the country and thus affects other elements of people's integration trajectories. Gilberto was extremely positive about his stay in the UK and his ability to develop and build a life for himself:

> *"I have this positivity that I'm going to achieve because there's something that tells me that I'll be able to change my life [here], economically and in terms of quality (...) So I feel good due to the fact that since I arrived, I've been fine. Bit by bit I've been advancing, developing both in the intellectual, the social, the economic." Gilberto (45-49, Dominican Republic, 2014)*

This attitude can also lead to specific strategies in terms of choosing who to socialise with. As people see themselves investing in a medium to long-term future in the UK, they are keen to spend time with others in similar positions. Claudia explained it in these terms:

> "*I want to live here, I mean stay here to live. So I want to feel at home here. I have the feeling that if you only hang out with other Spaniards, you don't have that feeling of being at home, no? It's the feeling of: I want to go back and all of that... Because that's what happened to me at the beginning, I arrived and spent time with Spaniards and the only thing they talk about is how badly they're living here, and how much they miss home. I don't really support that. I mean everyone can talk about what they like, but it annoys me that people spend all their time complaining, because I'm like: if you feel like that, go home*." *Claudia (30-34, Venezuela, 2011)*

Claudia was on her second period in London after some time spent in Australia. This return to London demonstrated how she enjoyed being in the city, and over time her trajectory had been one of improvements in labour market position and 'social anchoring' in the form of a British boyfriend (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2017). Thus it was perhaps unsurprising that she felt quite at home. She was the person who was most explicit about how this affected how she interacted with other people, but there were several of my Latin American born interviewees who expressed the same degree of commitment to London and positivity about the future. It could be that for Latin American-Spaniards who had experienced a higher level of migration and mobility, this was an unconscious strategy adopted to help them more quickly feel at home. Alternatively, it may simply be an assessment made on the basis of having tried other options and recognised the positive aspects of life in the UK. This more certain positive attitude was in quite marked contrast to the much greater degree of ambivalence and uncertainty expressed by most of my Spanish-born interviewees. Among Spanish-born interviewees who had clearly made the UK their home (such as by having a children or buying a house) this seemed to have happened almost by accident, rather than having been explicitly chosen (Ryan 2015a).

Conclusion

In this chapter I have sought to examine in greater detail the differences that emerge between those born in Latin America and those born in Spain and consider how these may affect integration trajectories. Beyond national and in some cases visible ethnic differences, there are a number of other features that may help account for some differences in experience. The most obvious difference is that those born in Latin America have all had experience of a prior migration. Not only has this experience potentially helped them to develop resources for adapting, but it also has implications in terms of life stage. As a result many of those born in Latin America migrating onwards from Spain are slightly older than the overall profile of Spanish citizens and are often moving with their families. Their motivations for the second migration are also often different. Those from Latin America are more likely to select re-uniting with family as a reason for their migration. This is often the result of a deliberate strategy of one family member moving to set up before reunifying, a process many had been through on the first migration to Spain (McCarthy 2019). This group was equally likely to cite 'work' as a reason for migration as Spanish citizens born in Spain. However, in interviews, it became clear that in many cases, Latin American-Spaniards were facing greater financial insecurity than those born in Spain when they left Spain (Cortés, Moncó, and Betrisey 2015). On average those born in Latin America had lower levels of education than those born in Spain, and had been working in sectors in Spain that were particularly vulnerable in the recession (Izquierdo Escribano and Martinez-Bujan 2014). The combination and intersection of these factors

have implications for how they then experience their integration trajectories in the UK.

The most obvious implications of these differences were that Latin American-Spaniards arrived in the UK with a lower level of English on average. They also made less progress in improving compared to those born in Spain. This experience with English intersects with experience in the labour market. Facing financial insecurity and with limited English, jobs that can be accessed are usually at the lower end of the labour market with precarious conditions. Working part-time and multiple jobs is more common. This then also limits their ability to invest in language classes. Social networks on arrival are dominated by family members who are in similar precarious conditions and language skills may limit the ability to develop extended networks. Nevertheless, community groups and businesses help to mitigate this to some extent by acting as hubs of information. These various outcomes can be traced back through a chain of 'onward precarity' to the downward mobility that many of these individuals faced in Spain (McIlwaine and Bunge 2018). As a large number experienced a period of irregularity in Spain and faced discrimination in the informal labour market, many have experienced precarity, that may have left them unable to build up the capital (in different forms) that might have facilitated their onward migration to the UK and their integration trajectories on arrival. This highlights another key factor that can be seen throughout these discussions: the role of various forms of capital - including economic, educational and cultural, and social capital - in shaping integration trajectories.

What has been described above could be described as a 'typical' trajectory but in fact within the group of Spanish-Latin Americans there was of course diversity of backgrounds. Among interviewees, there were a number of what I have termed internationally-recognised, highly qualified individuals whose trajectories mirrored more closely those of others born in Spain. They had usually arrived in Spain as Spanish citizens already, thus not undergoing the period of irregularity. They were usually from middle class backgrounds in Latin America and had had greater exposure to English during their education. The experiences of two women of similar ages, Alejandra from Colombia and Mariela from Ecuador, illustrate the differences. Despite both arriving in the UK with the same rights as Spanish citizens, the trajectories prior to that and the positions they had started from led to very different outcomes. While Mariela had arrived in Spain with no post-secondary education and lived for a period undocumented, Alejandra had arrived as a citizen and as a doctor. Although Mariela had progressed in the labour market in Spain and had achieved citizenship and some financial stability, the financial crisis upended this. Thus her move to the UK had been out of financial necessity. Six years later she was still working in cleaning and had made

limited progress with learning English. Alejandra, on the other hand, moved to the UK for her career, but out of choice. Although her labour market path had not been completely straightforward, after two years, she was working in her speciality at the level commensurate with her training. In short, the combination of class and citizenship had shaped experiences, demonstrating the limits of making assumptions about integration based on either of these factors alone. Legal status, and in this case formal Spanish citizenship, hugely shapes integration experiences (Wessendorf 2018). However, what delving into the complexity of this case-study demonstrates, is the importance of not taking this legal status as a given, but in considering the pathway to access this status and the positions people have started from. By tracing these pathways we can see that social positions and levels of different forms of capital shape access to legal status and this can then determine the degree to which other forms of capital are accumulated over time. While formal citizenship is the tool that Spanish citizens of migrant background mobilise to move to the UK, it does not in and of itself protect from other forms of discrimination and marginalisation in Spain, the effects of which people bring with them in their onward move. Thus in seeking to understand trajectories, we must seek to understand the intersection and interaction of numerous different factors that can shape experiences. In the next chapter, I will turn to consider to what degree different experiences result in different emotional reactions and how these impinge on people's own understandings of integration.

Chapter 8: Emotional journeys of integration

A growing body of scholarship has called for greater attention to be paid to migrants' own feelings about and narratives of integration (Boccagni and Baldassar 2015; Simic 2018; Kivisto and La Vecchia-Mikkola 2015). As the subjects of these processes, they are clearly important actors, but surprisingly their perspective, particularly with regard to what 'positive' integration looks like, has often been absent from wider public discussions (Craig 2015). As more studies take this approach, they reveal and emphasise different elements of integration processes – showing the need to have multiple perspectives on these issues (Simic 2018; Erdal 2013; Phillimore, Humphris, and Khan 2014; EAVES 2015; Kivisto and La Vecchia-Mikkola 2015). An important example of the insights this perspective can yield is the idea that integration is not linear but instead multi-directional. As a result, integration processes can be interrupted, unsettled or even sent into reverse. This could for instance happen when people move house and as result of feeling less comfortable in their new local environment come to feel less attached to the country as a whole. Or perhaps it occurs when a job is lost and the next job found is a step down. Several scholars have identified and examined these moments as part of new conceptualisations about the process of settlement, variously naming them dis-embedding (L. Ryan 2017), unanchoring (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2016, 2017) or dis-integrative moments (Grzymala-Kazlowska and Phillimore 2017).

This chapter aims to put participants' feelings centre stage and ask what this reveals about integration processes more widely. Feelings about both 'here' and a left behind, and remembered 'there', shape people's engagements locally and transnationally, which in turn shapes their integration trajectories. The first section of this chapter draws out people's own conceptualisations of integration. While a number of themes common to other research emerged, the importance of integration processes to emotional well-being is emphasised. Thus integration trajectories are in many ways emotional journeys which are intertwined with ongoing transnational emotional engagement. These emotional journeys can be disrupted and unsettled by changes in people's personal lives, but also changes in the receiving society and the following sections look at two types of disruption. Firstly I discuss experiences of discrimination in the UK and what those mean for their integration processes. Finally, I turn to consider how the UK's referendum to leave the EU has affected Spanish citizens living in the UK in terms of the feelings of belonging and their plans for the future. Brexit provides an interesting example of an ongoing process that is creating a turbulent political and societal context leading to shifts and re-alignments of subjectivities (Ben Anderson and Wilson 2017; Ranta and Nancheva 2019).

Narrating integration

As has been outlined in earlier chapters, much research on integration has traditionally been focused on long-term migration that leads to settlement. In many ways this reflects that research into the idea of integration has been driven by preoccupations of states and governments (Ben Gidley 2014). As Grzymala-Kazlowska and Phillimore (2017) note:

> "Integration has not been sufficiently reworked to help develop understanding of migrant adaptation in so-called new migration, wherein not all migrants settle permanently, or maintain close connections to more than one country" (Grzymala-Kazlowska and Phillimore 2017, 8)

Increasingly, new accounts have sought to grapple with this, developing new conceptualisations (L. Ryan 2017; Grzymala-Kazlowska 2017; Grzymala-Kazlowska and Phillimore 2017) and aimed at understanding the empirical processes of social interaction and change rather than the normative discourses of integration (Spencer and Charsley 2016). However, what remains still relatively under-examined in these new accounts is migrants' own understandings of the concept of integration and their feelings about these processes (Erdal 2013; Simic 2018). In order to develop a nuanced and comprehensive understanding of these multi-dimensional, multi-directional processes, it is imperative to consider the accounts given by migrants themselves. While migrants may reflect and repeat aspects that feature in mainstream discourse (Cederberg 2014), they also often are able to present a more nuanced, balanced analysis of the role of the host society and its institutions in facilitating integration (EAVES 2015). In the following section I will explore how Spanish citizens in the UK narrated their own experiences of integration and, in particular, discuss the extent to which integration involved a specific competency or emotional resource.

Being part of society

Towards the end of the interview after discussing different aspects of people's lives in the UK, I asked participants what the word integration meant to them and whether the concept was relevant in their lives. For some people, the question appeared to come as something of a surprise. Several people commented that the question was very complex and that they had never thought about it. This reaction is in itself revealing. It suggests that for some, the word was not one they would have immediately associated with their experience, perhaps because they had never been the objects of discourses on integration. This may reflect the fact that overall migration from Western Europe has not been problematised in UK media and political discourses (Ford 2011; Mügge and Van der Haar 2016) or simply that people are not used to thinking about their own experiences through the more abstract lens of these kinds of concepts. Martín captured this idea succinctly when he said,

> *"I didn't see it [integration] as an exercise to be completed. It's simply living, it's living, that's it. I didn't have a feeling 'I need to integrate', no, no it's simply that you feel comfortable and you agree with the principles and the values [of the society] and you feel comfortable." Martín (40-44, Spain, 2007)*

Nevertheless, despite many people seemingly not really having thought much about integration as a concept, many gave thoughtful, considered answers about what the word meant for them. A large number of people talked about knowing, understanding and respecting local customs and norms as an important aspect of integration. Several people used a particular expression '*donde fueres haz lo que vieres*' basically the Spanish equivalent of 'when in Rome, do as the Romans' to capture this idea. So Ernesto said:

> *"There's a saying in Spanish which is wherever you go, do as you see [donde fueres haz lo que vieres] [laughs]. Well basically that. And for me, integrating here has basically been living like you live here, not more not less." Ernesto (35-39, Spain, 2014)*

Ernesto paints this as a fairly simple process of mimicking how people live. However, several respondents were keen to stress that this didn't imply having to completely subsume your own identity, nor adopt all of the local culture. Instead, it was a balance, which involved respect and acknowledgement of local culture and societal norms. As Ignazio pointed out,

> *"When I say integration, I don't mean that you necessarily have to adopt all the customs of the hosting country. But rather respect the customs of the hosting country." Ignazio (35-39, Spain, 2014)*

Similarly people noted that they were never going to totally lose their identity, there was always going to be some form of difference. For them, integration meant understanding local norms and respecting them, but also recognising that you were never going to be completely the same as people from that place. Valentina thus contrasted integration with assimilation which she saw as requiring a complete and, in her view, impossible transformation.

> "*Assimilation is erasing everything that you were. But [integration] is feeling comfortable and accepted, that other people accept you. I mean, no-one will ever be able to make me completely English, never. I will never be completely English*" *Valentina (40-44, Spain, 2014)*

Often the examples people drew to illustrate what they meant by respecting norms and customs, were fairly mundane, everyday norms about living together. For instance, several people said if you couldn't play music late at night, but you came from a culture where that was normal, you had to

respect the local rule and not do it. Others used the example of food, saying for instance, that in the UK mealtimes were earlier than in Spain and that was something people had to adapt to. It didn't mean they adopted it in their own home, but when out and about it was a fact of life. While these examples may seem fairly superficial, they also underscore the importance for migrants of understanding the everyday norms and codes of behaviour that have been highlighted in other research (Sachrajda and Griffith 2014).

This idea of understanding and respecting local customs was linked to another common theme of what integration meant: it meant being a part of society – a key idea identified in other migrant accounts (EAVES 2015; Simic 2018). Alicia summed it up succinctly and captured what many people expressed when she said integration was: *"forming part of society the same as anyone else"*. Understanding local norms was the first step towards 'being part of society'. However, a further important element for other people was being able to contribute to society in some way, or feeling able to when asked. People talked for instance about being able to help people on the street, for instance when they asked for the time or directions, or being able to help out neighbours. By being able to offer help to others, even strangers, migrants show their agency within society (May 2011; Phillimore, Humphris, and Khan 2017). Phillimore, Humphris, and Khan (2017) described this as a form of informal reciprocity, and suggest that through this process migrants may develop other resources, such as self-esteem. Alejandra was the person who put most emphasis on this point, grounding her narrative of integration in her ability to contribute.

> *"Integrating is feeling that I'm part of something. That I contribute to the society or the community to make it better. That for me is integrating" Alejandra (35-39, Colombia, 2015)*

Whilst this could be read as an echoing of neo-liberal, coercive discourses of integration which require migrants to 'contribute' in order to be accepted, it can also be argued that 'contributing' is a way of acting in a socially meaningful way, that is fundamental to feelings of efficacy and people's identity and sense of belonging. Vanessa May has pointed out: "belonging (...) is bound up with being able to act in a socially significant manner that is recognized by others" (May 2011). While Alejandra used the word 'contribute', for many other participants, the ability to help other people, even with relatively small, everyday things, was an important part of the idea of integration.

For those with limited English, integration was intimately tied up with being able to speak the language. Most of my interviewees spoke a high level of English. However, there were some who were concentrated in lower paying jobs, who had low levels of English that impeded their ability to

progress within the labour market, access services and make friends. Perhaps unsurprisingly, these individuals fore-grounded language in their narratives of integration. For instance Maritza reflected that, *"Integrating is immersing yourself at every level but for that you need to speak the language".* This quote highlights the multi-scalarity and multi-dimensionality of integration processes, but also emphasises how language (or lack of language) shapes all of the engagements and interactions.

Gilberto was able to reflect on the change he had experienced since learning some English. He described how language was fundamental for a feeling of independence and described how things had changed for him since he had arrived.

> *"I'm interested in integrating myself 100% in the society and for that the first thing is the language. In fact, today I can already go to the doctor on my own, and do lots of things and not need to rely on a translator. Although I know that it will still be a while before I can speak English completely correctly, it's not the same as when I came. Now I feel more comfortable, I feel more independent in my development" Gilberto (45-49, Dominican Republic, 2014)*

Independence has been highlighted in other research as a key dimension of integration, but has often been discussed in a gendered dimension (EAVES 2015; Simic 2018). Gilberto's example reveals the importance of language to a sense of independence, particularly as it is a tool that allows him to continue with his own 'development' in terms of finding information and other resources. Language allows him to engage independently with individuals and institutions. Gilberto also described with some pride, how since his language had improved, he was able to help other Spanish-speaking migrants with administrative tasks such as getting a National Insurance Number. Thus in this case language is also a tool that allows him to help others, and through doing so develop a sense of self-esteem fundamental to his sense of being part of society (Phillimore, Humphris, and Khan 2017). As Jenny Phillimore and colleagues note, helping others "allowed reacquisition of agency, status, prestige and purpose. In this way offering informal reciprocity to strangers appeared to function as a marker of progress in their integration process and a mechanism to regain identity" (Phillimore, Humphris, and Khan 2017, 13).

Thus language is a key factor in feelings about integration. Lack of language skills can leave people feeling mute and isolated. As Mariela, originally from Ecuador, described it in regards to her low level of English "*you don't feel comfortable, that someone is talking to you and you can't understand anything*." This emerged as one of the key differentiating factor among those born in Spain and those born in Latin America. This was because among my interviewees, those with the lowest level of English were generally from Latin America. However, ultimately, it was not about a fundamental

difference that arose from having a different migration experience or national background, but rather was an individual factor that was linked to cultural capital. As has been discussed in previous chapters, people's educational backgrounds, their exposure to language in different ways and their ability to invest in learning were all factors that affected their language skills. Nevertheless, this did lead to many Spanish Latin American interviewees describing their integration in terms of a task to complete, as it was often tied to the idea that they needed to learn the language.

For those who had better levels of English, it was not that language wasn't mentioned at all, but it featured much less conspicuously – indicating how easy it is to overlook elements that do not affect your individual situation. For those who spoke English at a higher level, the challenge was more in engaging with different emotional repertoires of different languages and adapting to different contexts (Pavlenko 2006). Sara who was married to a British-Pakistani reflected on this element of communicating feelings in different languages, "feelings can't be translated. You can't translate them. The feelings that you have in Spanish are in Spanish, and you can't translate them." Humour was also often mentioned in this context. Nevertheless, how people responded to this varied considerably. For some, it was a matter of pragmatism, so long as they could communicate in most circumstances. For others, it was clearly more of a pre-occupation. Their feelings about their own abilities in English and how these allowed them to engage in the world thus shaped their overall sense of their integration trajectories (Blommaert 2016). As Valentina told me, these feelings could vary day-to-day – giving some sense of the degree to which integration processes always feel dynamic and in flux.

Integration and wellbeing

In many people's narratives integration is closely linked with happiness or a sense of wellbeing. In many of the quotes above the idea of being comfortable featured, and this was the case in many narratives. It became clear then that many different factors that could be said to be linked more widely to a sense of wellbeing could also be linked to integration. Thus Federico said that feeling integrated was about waking up each morning and feeling like you wanted to be in that city and wanted to go to work. He was not the only respondent who linked integration to feeling happy at work. This shows how for many people processes of integration can be thrown out of kilter by a number of different changes that affect people's lives, such as life course changes, changes in people's personal lives or changes in the workplace (L. Ryan 2017; Spencer and Charsley 2016).

Housing is another key element that can affect people's overall wellbeing and therefore the feelings of integration. The interview did not include specific questions about housing, but often it came up

in the conversation, particularly when interviewees talked about their initial arrival in the UK. Several participants discussed a period of time after they had recently arrived in the UK in which they felt quite ill at ease. Reflecting on it retrospectively, many commented that this was affected by their housing conditions. A number of factors impacted on this: the difficulty of finding somewhere to live in a fast moving and expensive market; the poor quality of the accommodation that was available; or for some, the difficulty of adjusting to living with strangers in shared accommodation having previously lived alone. The UK's private rental market is notorious for the poor standards but the importance of housing for integration has tended to be discussed in the context of refugees and asylum-seekers who often have little choice over their living conditions (Ager and Strang 2008). In the UK, however, where affordable housing is a major issue for large swathes of the population, it is a key consideration in integration processes as well. The importance of a physical space of comfort at home was only explicitly mentioned by a couple of respondents as a key component of integration, with Valentina describing her room in her shared flat as her nest. However, the absence of it was clearly noted when people recounted their initial difficulties.

The way integration is linked to wellbeing is that feeling integrated is a state that allows you to live a 'normal' life in the country, an idea that has surfaced in accounts of Eastern Europeans in the UK (Lopez Rodriguez 2010; Ryan et al. 2008; Galasinska and Kozlowska 2009). As Clara described it, without integration, which would allow you to live normally, people wouldn't be able to stay living in the country:

> *"If you go and live somewhere, obviously one way or another you have to integrate. But it's not a choice. It's just the way it is. Because if not you won't be capable of living normally where you are" Clara (35-39, Spain, 2014)*

In this quote, Clara implies that integration is something that just happens, that you don't have a choice about it. Thus developing a sense of being a part of society through understanding and respecting local norms, helps them to feel at ease in society and allows people to develop a sense of belonging in order to live a 'normal', comfortable life. This has been linked to a feeling of 'ontological security' in which "we can go about our everyday lives without having to pay much attention to how we do it" (May 2011). For Claudia this was linked to understanding many aspects of society and also to gaining an understanding of the humour. She said it was one of her aims to know enough about the place in order to be able to understand comedy and the references being made. In the following quote, Claudia describes knowledge of shared culture and politics important for feeling at ease:

"It's so important to integrate to… to feel integrated, to feel that I know what I'm doing [...] Because if you feel integrated, you understand the politics, you can make jokes, you feel like, for me it makes me feel at ease" *Claudia (30-34, Venezuela, 2011)*

Sofía was even more explicit about the link between belonging, integration and happiness. In her estimation, feeling like an outsider was inimical to overall happiness and thus integration was a necessary part of feeling happy in a new country. In the following quote, she draws attention to the fact that this is somewhat out of your control, however, as people with whom you interact can make you feel like you don't belong.

"I think that if you don't feel integrated it's like, it has a connection with your happiness. Because if not, you're always the outsider, the other, no? Always obviously because someone else makes you feel it, or because you yourself feel it like a stigma, the other, the outsider" Sofía (35-39, Argentina, 2008)

The quote highlights the power dynamics that are implicit in integration processes. Feeling like an outsider was something that many people acknowledged was less of a risk when you lived in a diverse place. The interviews were conducted both in London and in Manchester, but often a similar point was made for both places. London is recognised as a global city and a large proportion of its population were born outside of the UK. Manchester, as a larger city, however, was also similarly perceived by most interviewees as very diverse. For both places, there was a perception that the diversity of people from a number of different countries facilitated integration. Jorge, who lived in Manchester commented:

"For an immigrant it's easy to relate to, very easy to connect with people when there are other immigrants around. When it's a city with only one other nationality, you have to adapt clearly to the customs, to the culture, and if you can't find something in common, maybe it's more difficult" Jorge (35-39, Spain, 2013)

However, it may not solely be about whether the wider city or area is diverse, but may also be linked to what sort of work and social environment you find yourself in. Juan provided a good example of this. He was working at the university in Manchester, whereas his partner was working in a hotel. He described how they had contrasting views on the ease of integration processes, and that she had been the target of more direct derogatory comments than he had. Thus she felt much less at ease in the UK and did not have the same sense of belonging as he did.

"Because my girlfriend has been working in hospitality and it's been much harder for her. And I've been working in a progressive environment that makes you constantly reflect that

> *the people who work in the university do not represent the whole of the population, it's a microcosm, very politicised, very interested in protecting social rights, and you feel part of that very quickly*" *Juan (18-24, Spain, 2016)*

This reflection draws attention to the fact that the contexts can vary quite widely even within the same local area. The receiving society is not homogenous, as indicated in the Spencer and Charlsey (2016) model by the mosaic background, and thus despite the practical difficulties in doing so it is important to attend to the differences in local contexts. Individuals may also encounter different contexts within different spheres of their lives, for instance, perhaps working in a diverse work environment but living in a fairly non-diverse neighbourhood.

This diversity of the UK which was experienced by many interviewees was frequently contrasted with Spain when people talked of their experiences of integration. Sara said,

> "*In Spain, it's not like here, here it's easier. I think it's easier to integrate [here] because there are a lot of countries, there's a big mix of people*" *Sara (35-39, Spain, 1998)*

To my surprise, several people mentioned this to me, saying that they imagined it would be harder for an immigrant in Spain to integrate or to achieve the same position in the labour market, with some telling me it would be harder for me if I went to Spain. Some people described Spain as a place with stricter social conventions around dress and types of behaviour, leading one Latin American Spaniard to say that he felt much freer in the UK to be himself without judgement. The UK was described by interviewees as somewhere that was open to immigrants, with its longer history of receiving immigrants mentioned by several interviewees. Marta captured the spirit of this when she said:

> *"You [British people] are more used to being in contact with immigrants. In Spain, it's different. We don't embrace immigrants' culture in the same way" Marta (30-34, Spain, 2013)*

While these narratives may reflect an idealised or romantic view of the UK it was interesting that these comments were made by a variety of individuals, both those from Latin America who had migrated to Spain as well as by those who had been born and grown up in Spain. Thus the specificity of the local context is relevant, but larger imaginaries of national contexts also play a role in creating the integration context (Crul and Schneider 2010).

Ability to integrate

Another key theme that came out of the discussion about integration was the idea that integration required a certain level of effort or an emotional resource. This was rarely talked about explicitly but was implied in different ways by a number of interviewees. This has echoes of responses given by migrants in other research about the need to be 'pro-active' and take the initiative for integration to be successful (Phillimore, Humphris, and Khan 2014; EAVES 2015). Some people talked explicitly about the fact that the power balance is not equal, the onus for integration is on the immigrant and thus the immigrant is required to make an effort. For instance, Marta while acknowledging there was a role for both sides of the relationship, pointed out that that the person arriving in the country had to make an effort to integrate:

> *"For me it has to come from both sides. On the one hand, the person who comes to the country at the beginning you have try integrate, you can't expect to live your life 100% the way you lived it in your country, because the traditions are different, it's a different country, and you also have to try integrate" Marta (30-34, Spain, 2013)*

Similarly Ignazio made the point that although integration was a process that required both parties to be involved, there was a greater expectation placed on the immigrant to make the effort to integrate.

> *"When there is a relationship, there are two sides, and if the relationship is to function both sides have to make an effort. But in this case, I think that always the immigrant has to make more effort to integrate than the local" Ignazio (35-39, Spain, 2014)*

In these comments, participants may well have drawn on their own experience of the discussion about immigration and integration in Spain. While both acknowledge that there are 'two sides' involved in integration, as in most public discourse, the responsibility for making the effort ultimately is expected to lie with the immigrant (Cederberg 2014). In this respect, Ignazio explicitly made reference to the similarity between public discourses in Spain and the UK, but said that ultimately there were not too many cultural differences between Spain and the UK thus meaning that integration was facilitated.

With other interviewees, the word 'effort' wasn't used, but instead people described integration as requiring a certain capability or skill. Thus Clara had talked above about the need for integration in order to live 'normally' but in the following quote she emphasised that integration was about people having the capacity to be able to adapt:

> *"being capable of adapting yourself to the environment which you're in and living with other people normally" Clara, (35-39, Spain, 2014)*

This is an interesting reflection that implies that people need a certain state of mind or certain capacity or skill in order to integrate. Indeed, Isabel described integration as "*like acquiring new skills thanks to a new culture*". Thus for Isabel integrating may have required skill but also was about gaining a skill. Others talked about this in terms of being 'mentally prepared' and being able to 'open yourself'. This was discussed in some detail by Facundo. Facundo had gone through a tough period initially on arriving in the UK, including sleeping rough. But even after getting his first job and being able to find accommodation, he struggled at work, particularly with socialising with his new colleagues. He put this down to not having the knowledge, or perhaps the emotional resourcefulness, to be able to adapt.

> *"I wasn't able to manage the situation, it was all new for me. I didn't have the astuteness, the knowledge, that helps you to integrate better, no? Because it was all new and I had the same way of being as in Argentina, you have this way of being more mistrustful" Facundo (35-39, Argentina, 2013)*

In this quote, Facundo acknowledges that after migration to the UK he needed to develop a new 'way of being'. He felt that at the time he didn't have the mental preparation, the astuteness or the knowledge to allow him to develop that. He couldn't simply rely on the way he had been in Argentina but instead needed the capacity to adapt. Facundo talked repeatedly through the interview about the fact that he was not '*preparado*' (prepared/qualified), and described Latin Americans in general not being equipped to be able to cope with the changes required in the UK in order to make the most of it. While not explicitly stated, it was implied that his initial migration to Spain had not required such a change to his way of being. This was implied in a number of other Spanish Latin American's narratives, that the move to the UK involved a greater change than the move to Spain, in large part due to the language. This fits with the idea that in some cases migration can cause a loss of psychological resources alongside the loss of social networks which can make it difficult to adapt (Phillimore, Humphris, and Khan 2017). Although during that first period, Facundo had eventually managed to establish himself, it was only on his second period in the UK that he was able to establish himself in a way that led to him being much more at ease.

While the adversity that Facundo had experienced was an extreme case, some people made similar points. For instance, Claudia described people needing to come with the right state of mind, to be

mentally prepared, especially to get through the hardship that might be encountered at the beginning.

> *"I think that people who come for an adventure, and it's good when you're young, but you have be prepared mentally. It'll be fine, I'll sleep on a friend's sofa, that kind of thing. But you have to be mentally prepared. It's not a quick process. That's the most important thing" Claudia (30-34, Venezuela, 2011)*

In this quote, Claudia draws attention both to the time it can take to establish oneself and develop a sense of being at ease, but also to the importance of life stage. Being young and on an adventure can make it easier to endure any difficulties but being 'mentally prepared', having a sense of resilience was also important.

This was also sometimes described as not having fear. This often came up when I asked what advice people would give to others moving to the UK. Obviously moving country can be a life-changing event, but fear seemed to be something that people mentioned in a number of different contexts: language, employment, socialising. Thus fear may be a hindrance to integration, a hindrance to making the most of the opportunities offered by the new place, and can end up pushing people to return. Several people talked about the fact that fear could hold you back. Gilberto, who had also struggled in a low paid precarious job at the beginning, talked about this period and how he had to change the 'chip' in his mind; taking a different mental approach in order to make the most of the opportunities. In the following quote he describes the fear that leads some people to leave the UK.

> *"There was one moment when I wanted to divorce myself from reality, and I felt it, I felt what the others feel - those who leave from fear, from dread, because they can't achieve what they want. In Spain we had everything like we did in Dominican Republic. And then I realised that no, I had to change the chip, change the chip, and I changed it and I don't regret it" Gilberto (45-49, Dominican Republic, 2014)*

This time Gilberto more explicitly acknowledges that his previous migration to Spain had not required the same level of mental resilience that his initial experience in the UK required. Being away from his family, living in overcrowded accommodation and working in a precarious job, had pushed him close to wanting to give up. But he overcame his fear and continued to build resources to aid his integration. In his narrative, we can clearly see the emotional journey he has been on in the UK.

In the narratives of integration of Spanish citizens common themes emerged from both those born in Spain and in Latin America. Integration meant becoming part of society, and understanding and respecting local norms as well as being able to help other people were important elements of that. But this ability to become part of society was also something that was conceptualised as requiring effort and a certain competency or psychological resource. People had to show mental resilience and fear and insecurities acted as barriers to their integration. For those with limited language, this played a huge role, as it undermined confidence and the ability to participate fully in society. Throughout people's narratives, the emotional responses and engagement were a key part of the integration process. Thus 'positive' integration was linked to wellbeing and a sense of being at ease or comfortable. As a result different factors that impact on wellbeing, for better or worse, also have implications for processes of integration. In the following sections, I will examine three examples of these.

Transnational connections

Emotional engagements can be multiple and can take place across large distances, with migrants often continuing to engage with places left behind for years or even generations after migration (Christou 2011). A question that has preoccupied scholars of integration is whether integration required giving up those connections and fully replacing them with engagements in the destination country (Erdal and Oeppen 2013; Vertovec 2009). There was a long-held view that continuing transnational engagement hindered full integration. This was intertwined with narratives that have compared loyalty to a country as emotional engagement akin to a marriage, in which monogamy is the accepted norm and dual loyalties are morally dubious (Spiro 2016). However, transnational scholars have questioned this framing, arguing that many people (not just migrants in many cases) maintain social connections across borders and continue to engage emotionally in social spaces in multiple national contexts (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004). Indeed some studies have shown that in fact these transnational engagements can actually be supportive of integration processes in the destination country (Dubucs et al. 2017; Erdal and Oeppen 2013). Increasingly scholars have recognised that the relationship between maintaining transnational ties and building new local ties is more complex than has been previously depicted (Erdal and Oeppen 2013).

Instead more recent conceptualisations of integration have included the transnational as part of their understanding of integration in a more complex way. Spencer and Charsley (2016) talk of different types of 'effectors', and include among them transnational effectors. These transnational effectors may include a range of different things: from country of origin policies; remittance behaviour to personal relationships maintained across transnational space. Similarly, Grzymala-

Kazlowska (2017) describes how relationships maintained in the country of origin, as well as attachments to maintaining the cultural practices of home can actually act as 'social anchors' in the integration process. In Ryan's (2017) conceptualisation of 'embedding', being involved in transnational social networks could be a sign of successful embedding across different spatialities. As is increasingly recognised, it is difficult to make a definitive statement about the implication of these relationships for integration processes as often they evolve over time and therefore have a shifting impact. However, in many cases these relationships provided emotional support and stability for individuals, particularly when times were tough, and thus generally contributed to a positive wellbeing which was fundamental to positive integration experiences.

Many studies have highlighted the continuing importance of friends in countries of 'origin' for migrants' social lives in the 'destination' countries. In her study of transnational socialising among Romanians in the UK, Moroşanu (2013) described these friendships as 'soul friends', friendships that have been built over a significant period of time. This description echoed my participants' descriptions of their closest or most intimate friends, who had been their friends since 'forever' (*amigos de siempre*). For the majority of my interviewees the people they identified when asked about their closest friends were people in Spain, regardless of whether they had been born in Spain or Latin America. These were usually people who had been part of the interviewee's life for a substantial period either from school or university but sometimes even from pre-school, with whom the person had more or less grown up. Martín provides an example of this.

> *"My closest friends I think are all still the ones from infancy. And they're people that I met, we met when we were 4 years old, and we started to go to school together. And since then we've been together. I've been lucky to keep those friends since then. We all lived in the same place, and we knew each other since we were 4 and we grew up together, always the same group of friends" Martín (40-44, Spain, 2007)*

People usually described three or four individuals with whom they were very close. In some cases, this smaller group of very close friends were knitted into a much bigger, cohesive group of home friends who were rooted in a specific place and considered very important. These friendships were maintained with regular trips home. Almost 60% of survey respondents reported visiting Spain on average between one and three times a year with a further almost 25% reporting more than four visits per year. The proximity of Spain and the ease and low cost of return flights means that maintaining these relationships is relatively easy and several people mentioned this.

Although most people reported being in reasonably regular contact with these 'forever friends', for a few individuals these friendships remained important sources of everyday emotional support.

> *"My friends from forever, I tell them everything. Whether something bad happens or something good" Silvia (30-34, Spain, 2011)*

New technology, including extensive use of the messaging app, WhatsApp, makes maintaining regular contact easier than ever. This technology can allow a feeling of simultaneity with instant responses as was described by Valentina:

> *"I have done lovely things like watch something on Netflix at the same time [as her] and message about it on Whatsapp, and it's wonderful, it's like having her here. So that's the good part of what we have now. It's almost, almost the same, it's not quite the same, but almost" Valentina (40-44, Spain, 2014)*

This ability to have real time running commentary meant Valentina could almost feel like they were watching the programme together. In her case, this had substituted, to some degree for a lack of social contacts in the UK with whom she felt totally at ease. So in some cases, emotional support provided by friends elsewhere helped to mitigate a lack of close friends in the UK or helped people overcome other challenges they were facing. On the whole, however, even once new friendships were established, these forever friends remained important, due to the shared history or length of time, but over time they began to play a different role in people's lives.

As has been noted in other research, it is not unusual that over time the strength of these friendships wane (Moroşanu 2013; Ryan and D'Angelo 2018). This was echoed in my interviews, as people described how over time the frequency of the contact or the importance of these relationships begins to decrease, as the lives of those back home also changes and evolves. Hernán commented on this, saying:

> *"You leave and it's the like the world there [back home] freezes and for you the time there doesn't pass, they all stay your lifelong friends. But they have changed, they have different habits, so for them you're the one who left and they have changed, and when you go back it's not the same" Hernán (35-39, Spain, 2011)*

As the importance of these relationships begins to wane, it may be that the regularity of contact also decreases. For the majority, friends at home were people they reported having regular contact with, but it was not necessarily daily contact. Instead, for their daily emotional engagement and coping with the trials and tribulations of everyday life, people turned to the friends they had around them.

Most people had friends around them in the UK with whom they shared their daily experiences. Núria described the difference

> *"But if I had an argument with my partner, I don't think I'd ring them. It's like yes, we're friends, and if something happens we'll be there for each other. But the day-to-day stuff, at the end of the day, there are other people around you. People you can meet up with for a coffee to feel better" Núria (30-34, Spain, 2012)*

It was only in a small number of cases, where people described their friendships at home as a constant 'pull' factor to potentially return. Isabel had a close and very cohesive group of friends who still lived in her home town in Spain. She described how returning from visits to Spain had been very difficult:

> *"Every time I went to Spain, it was so difficult [to come back], one of the reasons I came back sad was because of my group of friends [in Spain]" Isabel (30-34, Spain, 2014)*

However, Isabel's example also reveals the importance of taking time into account. In her case, the 'pull' factor of her friends at home had lessened as she had subsequently developed more close friendships in the UK. In many other cases, 'forever' friends were not necessarily still in the left behind at 'home'. Instead they had moved to other places and as a result a pull to a remembered 'home' was not so strong. This was particularly noticeable in the case of those who were born in Latin America, few of whom talked of friends from their childhood or youth in the same way. The length of time away, as well as the distance, served to weaken these transnational relationships. Thus, as discussed in previous chapters, Spanish-Latin Americans were much less likely to talk of close friendships in Latin America.

Experiences of discrimination

As integration involves a series of processes that engage both the individual and the receiving society, the response of the receiving society can be crucial in how people experience integration (Spencer and Charsley 2016; Crul and Schneider 2010). Encounters of discrimination or racism, whether direct or indirect, can lead to people feeling less equal and less welcome in a society and therefore disrupt and unsettle people's experiences of integration (Spencer and Charsley 2016; Bhatia and Ram 2009). These experiences clearly affect people's overall wellbeing and how people feel about where they are living. In extreme cases, it may lead to people feeling physically unsafe. This has led to discrimination being identified as an 'effector' in the Spencer and Charsley model. Traditionally Spanish citizens have not been singled out in British media representations nor have

they been being the targets of media campaigns, unlike some other groups of EU citizens (Ford 2011; Fox, Morosanu, and Szilassy 2012). This may, in part, be due to the fact that as a group they have been characterised as 'white'. However, just because something is not overt does not mean it is not taking place. Negative attitudes to migrants in general have been a key feature of the UK's social landscape for the last several decades and thus it is interesting to examine to what extent Spanish citizens report experiences of discrimination, the forms it takes and the impact it has on their narratives of integration.

Overall, in the survey 43% of people reported experiencing some incident of discrimination since they had lived in the UK. This seemed a surprisingly high amount. However, it should be noted that this covered all forms of discrimination, not simply those which may have been the result of national or ethnic origin. This ratio was roughly replicated in the interviews, with around half of interviewees saying they had never experienced any form of discrimination.

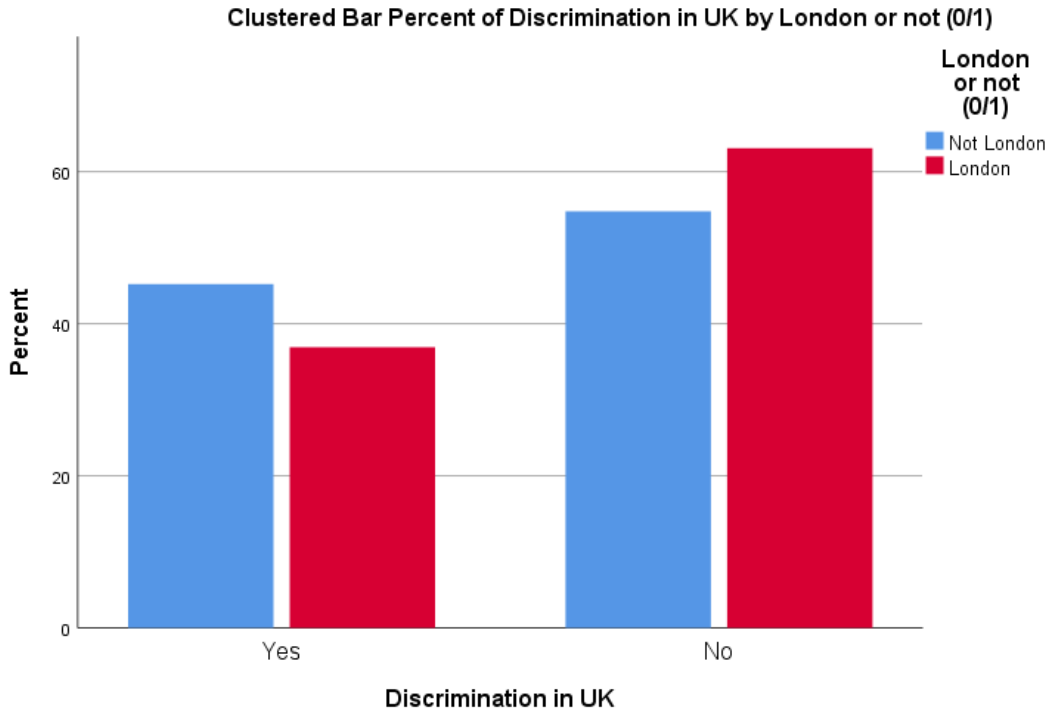
Those that hadn't experienced any form of discrimination often commented that they felt that the stereotypical image of Spaniards as expressed in the UK was fairly benign, that many people had fairly positive views of Spain as somewhere they went on holiday. Ernesto who said he had not had any experiences of discrimination described it thus:

> *"I don't know if maybe it's because Spanish… we are a type of… a very friendly country, do you know what I mean? It's like very charming to be Spanish, I don't know. Maybe if you asked that question to a Polish person they would tell you [inaudible] different, no? It's sad but it's the reality" Ernesto (35-39, Spain, 2014)*

In this comment, Ernesto acknowledges what he describes as the 'sad reality' that other groups of EU citizens face a different level of discrimination to Spanish citizens.

Experiences of discrimination were also structured by people's geographical location. Although this was not a significant difference, people outside of London were more likely to report having experienced discrimination than those who were living within London as can be seen in figure 8.1.

Figure 8.1: Percentage of those in London or outside London who reported experiencing discrimination (n=421)



This perception that London as a multicultural, global city provided some protection from experiences of discrimination was commented on by some interviewees. Federico commented on this, saying he had never had that kind of experience but commenting "*In London, I think it's difficult to suffer discrimination because all of us are from somewhere else."* He commented that perhaps it would be different if he lived in a small village. Hernán also mentioned that friends of his who lived in Manchester and Leeds described incidents much more frequently, but living in London he had not experienced anything direct.

Rates of discrimination were broadly similar between men and women, with men slightly more likely (46%) to report having experienced discrimination than women (42%), although this difference was not significant. The grounds for experiences of discrimination varied and respondents could select multiple grounds. Of those who had reported discrimination, 76% reported experiencing discrimination based on their nationality and 51% reported experiencing discrimination on the basis of not speaking English. Gender was the next highest issue (37%), followed by ethnicity or race (17%). The survey also asked people to describe where they had experienced the discrimination, with the workplace emerging as the most important site (74%) followed by in the street (62%). Far fewer people reported having experienced discrimination in their access to services (40%).

However, as became clear in the interviews, questions about discrimination are complex. Often in the interviews people would describe their experiences but express some ambivalence about whether their experience 'really' was discrimination or not. It was clear that in some cases people were reluctant to label them 'discrimination' even if the experience had made them feel uncomfortable and was in some way linked to them being a foreigner. Jorge's response, including his hesitations, provides a good example of this ambivalence:

> *"Hmmm, well, hmm, discrimination, discrimination no. But yes, ermm, I have seen what I was telling you about, that sometimes there are people who treat you a bit differently because you're a foreigner. So, no-one has discriminated me, nor insulted me for being a foreigner, nothing like that. I don't talk about racism because I haven't suffered it, but I have seen a bit of what I said, that sometimes people turn to the English person or someone else, because you don't speak [English] well or because... maybe because they have a negative view of foreigners" Jorge (35-39, Spain, 2013)*

Most often people would describe having received negative comments, often indirectly. As above, some of the incidents described captured the idea simply of being treated differently. There were few descriptions of incidents that were aggressive or violent. As in the survey, language and accent emerged in the interviews as important factor in people's experiences of discrimination. Once again, often people were reluctant to call these experiences discrimination, but these interactions clearly left people feeling excluded. Carlos described how these encounters in which people expressed little patience made him feel:

> *"In the beginning, many years ago, when I didn't have any idea about English, I would try to communicate and people would be like 'ay! This one doesn't speak English' and some wouldn't even let you try to speak, they'd just leave. And I felt that like discrimination, you feel bad, because you're trying to speak" Carlos (50-54, Colombia, 2012)*

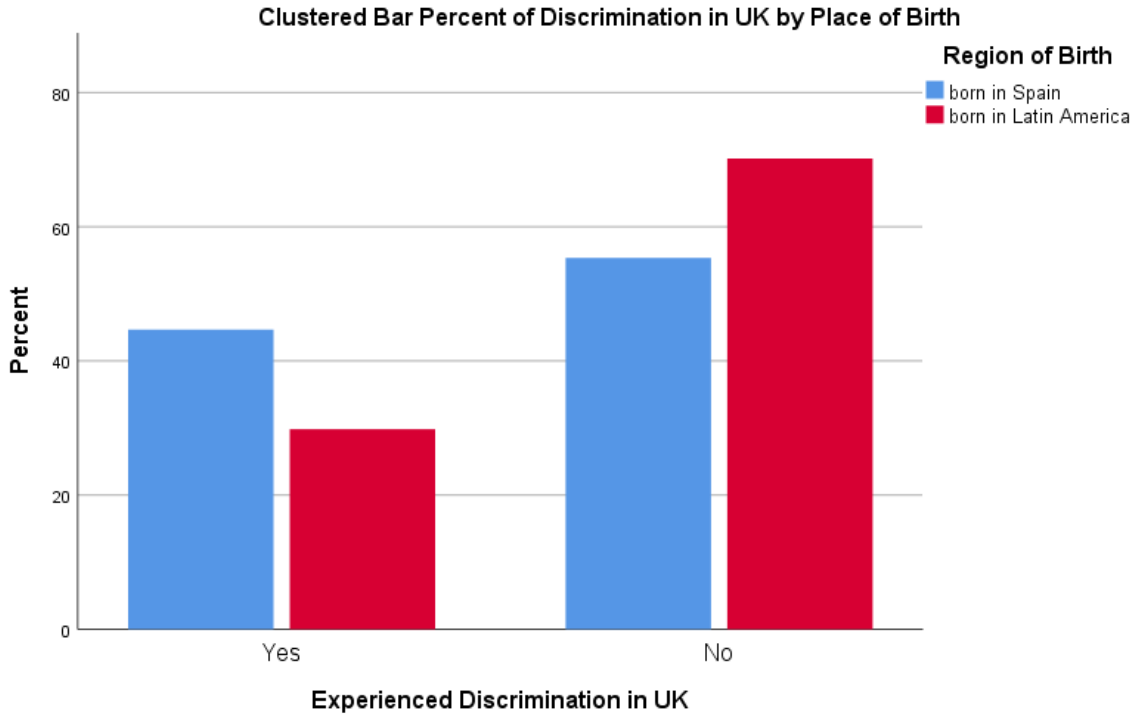
When people are trying to learn the language and making an effort, negative attitudes from members of the wider society act as a disincentive and mark a clear boundary of non-belonging. What Carlos experienced was a rejection of his attempts to communicate before he had even got very far. Discrimination against non-native speakers has been known to be an issue in workplaces (Cerrato 2017; Gluszek and Dovidio 2010a). Discrimination in accent is difficult to study and to detect and in part can come about because of real difficulties in communication (Gluszek and Dovidio 2010a). However, in other cases accent is simply used as a marker for a social identity and as in the quote above native speakers do not even seek to engage in the communication. In the UK, language and accent are increasingly seen as justifiable targets for criticism with numerous policy

announcements aimed at getting migrants to ‘speak English’. This has contributed to what has been described as an increasing level of ‘linguaphobia’ in which differences in language are perceived of disruptive to the social order (Musolff 2019). The interaction described above is an example of how these attitudes manifest at the micro-level in processes of exclusion.

A number of interviewees sought to explain this discrimination in terms of classic anti immigrant narratives. Some interviewees repeated the idea that it was natural to not like people coming to your country and claiming benefits. They then justified themselves by saying that they were not stealing jobs or claiming welfare, discursively differentiating themselves from ‘bad immigrants’ and constructing themselves in the role of ‘good immigrant’ (Bonjour and Chauvin 2018; Cederberg 2012). As long as you are performing the role of the contributing migrant, you have a defence against the experiences of discrimination, although in reality it does not protect you from those experiences. Silvia who had worked in a bar had experienced various comments from customers but pointed out that no British people wanted to do her job. Mariela also sought to justify herself in reference to an imagined ‘bad’ migrant, saying *"no-one is annoyed if you’ve come to work."*

A surprising difference does emerge from the survey data regarding the differences between those born in Spain and those born in Latin America with regards to discrimination. As can be seen in figure 8.2, those who were born in Latin America were less likely to report experiences of discrimination compared to those born in Spain, although once again this was not a significant difference.

Figure 8.2: Percentage of those born in Spain or born in Latin America who have experienced discrimination (n=422)



This is a somewhat counter-intuitive result, but may be accounted for by different groups' expectations of how they should be treated (Cederberg 2014). One explanation comes, however, from this group's previous encounters of 'othering' practices throughout their migration trajectories. As McIlwaine and Bunge (2018) have described, many of those born in Latin America who had naturalised in Spain had experiences of direct discrimination in Spain. Coming to the UK with those experiences, these Latin American-Spaniards have the transnational lens with which to view their encounters in the UK. In comparison Latin American respondents reported experiencing more discrimination in Spain than in the UK (McIlwaine and Bunge 2018; McCarthy 2012). This is similar to what some of my Latin American-Spanish interviewees described. Franklin had served in the Spanish army and had been the target of derogatory comments in Spain due to his Latin American background. This combined with his sense that institutional practices within the army were also discriminatory against Latin Americans, as he described:

> *"In Spain I felt the racism a bit more. I mean, someone, I'm talking about the experiences of Latin Americans, will find it very difficult to progress [in their careers]" Franklin (35-39, Colombia, 2017)*

In contrast, he reported not having experienced any discrimination in the UK. Similarly, Maritza felt that there was a difference in attitudes between the UK and Spain. She said:

"Here people are very tolerant, English people are good people. I have a good perception of them. They respect everyone. They don't get involved... They don't look at you strangely... I mean in the way that... In contrast, Madrid is racist" Maritza (40-44, Peru, 2012)

While clearly not everyone had such as positive perception as Maritza, there was a sense among some of my Latin American participants of being one minority among many in the UK. In Spain, in contrast, they form part of one of the major immigrant groups and are much more visible and attract greater negative attention. Direct experiences of discrimination in Spain were relatively common, in contrast to the more indirect experiences in the UK. In contrast, for many Spanish citizens born in Spain, their move to the UK constituted their first experience of the 'othering' process. However, there is a difference in the patterns of discrimination experienced. Those born in Spain were more likely to report discrimination based on nationality than those born in Latin America. In contrast, those born in Latin America were more likely to report discrimination based on ethnicity or race. This is likely to be due to the fact that there is a greater proportion of people of diverse ethnic backgrounds than those born in Spain (although there is diversity within Spanish born as well). Nevertheless, this is a subsection of the sample so these results should be treated with caution.

The effect of the Brexit referendum

When talking with participants about discrimination, Brexit usually quickly came up. In fact, often people's whole answers were framed around a discussion of the referendum. The campaign for the referendum, the vote itself and the ongoing process leading up to Britain's departure of the EU present a unique case study of wide-ranging societal change that will have particular impact on EU citizens resident in the UK (B. Ryan 2017; Botterill, McCollum, and Tyrrell 2018). With Brexit negotiations constantly in the news, the salience of the issue remained high throughout the period in which the fieldwork was being conducted, although with evolving understandings of what the implications might be. The survey was conducted in the weeks prior to triggering of article 50 process, which was the start of the official negotiations with the EU. The interviews were then conducted six months later, and it was in the middle of that period that the UK's proposal for its immigration scheme post Brexit was leaked to the press.

As Anderson and Wilson (2017) have noted, Brexit is not a one-off disruptive event, but rather a series of on-going re-alignments and shifts of existing identities. These on-going re-alignments have implications for integration processes. They write, "if people, groups, and organisations relate to Brexit differently, then Brexit futures also create new forms of attachment and detachment that move people into and out of citizenship"(Ben Anderson and Wilson 2017, 3). Brexit has both

practical implications, in terms of changing the legal status of EU citizens in the UK, but also as evidenced by people's references to it, social implications for EU citizens. Following the referendum, a spike in hate-crime was recorded, and levels continue to rise (Travis 2016). Thus Brexit, as a series of processes, raises a number of interesting questions with respect to legal status and rights, political participation and feelings of belonging of EU citizens currently resident in the UK.

It is quite clear that for some EU citizens living in the UK, the potential threat to existing rights has had a politicising effect. The UK government failed to offer unilateral guarantees of the rights and status of EU citizens and the proposed new Settled Status scheme will not offer exactly the same rights as at present (D'Angelo and Kofman 2018). As a result of this failure, a number of campaigning groups acting for EU citizens have sprung up. The most successful and most prominent has been the 3 Million, named after an approximate estimate of the numbers of EU citizens thought to be in the UK, which has sought to raise awareness of the issues facing EU citizens and lobby the UK and EU to secure the status of citizens as a matter of urgency. This grassroots campaign has used a rights-based discourse, and has explicitly rejected the terminology of 'EU migrants', preferring to describe themselves as EU citizens (Jablonowski 2017). The group has thus been astute in recognising the need to rhetorically define the argument as one of rights and citizenship, avoiding negative connotations of being immigrants (Jablonowski 2017). But this rhetorical framing also underlines the subjective feelings of many. As has been argued by Bernard Ryan, what Brexit has revealed is that "both the concept of EU citizenship, and the norm of security of residence for long-term residents, are more fragile and negotiable than had previously been thought" (B. Ryan 2017, 224). Thus people's sense of ontological security and their feelings of belonging have been called into question as a result of this change (May 2011). For some, the change that has been engendered by the Brexit debate, - from being a group that's been unproblematised and invisible in public debate to a change of status with rights at stake - has come as a profound shock. Class positioning has also played an important role in these debates. As scholars have noted, freedom of movement has been more 'free' for those who are better positioned in the labour market or who have greater wealth (O'Brien 2016; Trenz and Triandafyllidou 2017). Racialisation has tended to happen for those nationals who are working in lower skilled jobs or whose home country is considered poorer and Eastern European groups have been racialised and problematised in media discourses from the start (Fox, Morosanu, and Szilassy 2012). Thus, responses to Brexit are likely to be varied and to entail ongoing re-adjustments and re-alignments of migration projects, feelings of belonging and plans for the future (Ranta and Nancheva 2019).

At the time of writing, the new Settled Status scheme is being rolled out allowing EU citizens to apply to secure their residency in the UK after Brexit, although it had not been launched during the period of the fieldwork. As an ongoing process, it remains to be seen how EU citizens will respond and how many will find themselves falling through the net for different reasons (Sumption and Kone 2018). However, research conducted just before and shortly after the referendum result demonstrated that while the referendum was likely to have a mobilising impact on three different groups of EU citizens, the impact was not the same for all groups (Moreh, McGhee, and Vlachantoni 2016). While many opted for civic integration measures such as applying for Permanent Residency or citizenship, it was argued that this could be seen as a way of keeping options open for future movement rather than necessarily signal belonging and settlement (McGhee, Moreh, and Vlachantoni 2017). This highlights the difficulty of attributing meanings to these civic integration steps. Those who expressed most anxiety about the impact of Brexit and those who were more aware of their rights were more likely to take steps towards civic integration. However, official government statistics also show that a significant number of EU citizens are also choosing to leave the UK, with the numbers of arrivals also dropping, although with differences visible between those from the EU8 and the EU15 (Office for National Statistics 2018a). Thus Brexit is already leading to differentiated effects. The following sections will explore how my Spanish participants were responding to Brexit and how it was impacting on their integration processes.

Uncertainty and shift in attitudes in the UK

As mentioned, Brexit and the referendum often came up in interviews before I explicitly asked about it. The vote to leave the EU had definitely affected a shift in how many interviewees viewed their positions and status in the UK. Some people had directly experienced the rise in hate crimes, and had a direct experience of discrimination since the referendum, sometimes with the referendum explicitly mentioned in the interaction. Silvia, who was discussed above, had had a few encounters with people making discriminatory comments in her work behind a bar in a wealthy part of London. She had been told to 'go home that's the reason we voted Brexit' and explained that now people took any excuse to make discriminatory comments: "*Now, any excuse, any reply you give is an excuse [for them] to insult you with something racist or xenophobic*." Similarly, Matías, who reported, both having been the victim of and witness to insults in the London transport system, described how Brexit had given licence to certain people to express feelings that they had always held: "*It's not that this wasn't there before Brexit, but it's like it gave certain people a tool to have a target*." These encounters were also mediated by media discourses, with several people mentioning having read about xenophobic incidents since the referendum. Media reports of specific incidents in which Spanish people had been targeted were circulated on Facebook group pages and thus were

often brought up in interviews (for a similar example of mediatised and circulated stories see Erdal and Lewicki 2016:124). For some, these descriptions in the press were overblown, with one person telling me that it was a way to sell newspapers. However, for others these reports contributed to a perception that things had shifted. The risk of becoming a target had led at least one interviewee to change her behaviour in public spaces. Sara, who had been in the UK for almost two decades, who frequently code-switched between Spanish and English during our interview, and who was married to a British citizen and had British children said:

> *"I don't know, now, I feel a bit scared you know? Before I wasn't scared to go in the metro and speak Spanish but now it's like I'm a bit, it's a bit, disrespectful and I don't want to speak. If I go out one day with the kids I don't want to speak. I speak English. Of course they will know I'm not English because of my accent, you know the Spanish never, we'll always be Spanish. We can't change our accent you know? So they'd know I'm Spanish. But yes I feel a bit scared to speak, yes, yes, yes, it feels disrespectful to speak Spanish after Brexit" Sara (35-39, Spain, 1998)*

In this comment Sara reveals that despite the fact that she cannot completely hide her identity due to her accent, she still feels it necessary to speak English in public spaces such as the transport system due to the perception that speaking another language can provoke responses of hostility and discrimination. Later, she jokingly referred to the fact that people could assume she was the nanny with the kids, drawing on some of the stereotypes of European nannies, since her children having been born and gone to school in the UK spoke English without an accent.

More widely the sense among interviewees was that Brexit had led to feelings of being less welcome in the UK (Guma and Jones 2019; Lulle et al. 2019). As a large part of the Leave campaign centred on immigration, this is hardly surprising. Even those who had no direct experiences of discrimination as a result of the referendum expressed a shift in their perception of the country. Marta who lived in Manchester noted how there seemed to be a shift in the atmosphere, as a feeling of uncertainty seemed to suddenly manifest in people's lives.

> *"In Manchester, I did see a bit of tension the first few months after the vote. But not because anything happened, but I don't know, I saw that... We were a bit, not scared, but there was tension... A feeling... What's going to happen? And there are a lot of people who don't want us here" Marta (30-34, Spain, 2013)*

This uncertainty is in part generated by the questions of rights and status, but is also generated by a shift in perception about the people around her. As a result of the vote, and the way the vote has been rationalised, she became aware of the segment of the population that was against immigration

and felt herself the target of what those people don't like. As feelings of belonging emerge in intersubjective encounters, a shift in perception of those on the other side of those encounters can profoundly affect feelings of belonging even if the interaction remains unchanged (May 2011). Alejandra, who was the most troubled and upset by the result of the referendum of any of my interviewees, used the analogy of not having friends at school:

> *"Now I feel like people don't want me [here] you know? You know when you're at school and... Someone started, there's a group of people who don't want to play with you, you know? That feeling. Now I have that feeling, although I still don't know why they don't like me, but they don't like me" Alejandra (35-39, Colombia, 2015)*

Alejandra experienced this shift in feeling in a very personal way, as a sense of personal rejection that she could not make sense of. Throughout her interview, she expressed a lot of uncertainty about her future in the UK, repeatedly talking about the possibility that either she or her partner could be forced to leave the UK. She painted a clear narrative of having committed to the UK prior to the referendum, having planned to buy a house and start a family. The referendum result and the future status of EU citizens in the UK threw this future into doubt. What was somewhat surprising about this was that both she and her husband were doctors – both highly skilled and working in a sector where there are well publicised shortages. Nevertheless, this fact did not seem to assuage her concerns. She talked explicitly about the proposed new scheme which had been leaked the week before our interview, and this may have affected how she talked about Brexit more widely. She clearly had a high level of awareness about the situation and was following it closely.

Nevertheless, surprisingly for me, Alejandra, with her clearly voiced concern was the exception. Overall, at least superficially, my Spanish interviewees expressed a remarkable level of insouciance about the outcome of the process. They tended to express a view of open futures and possibilities, saying that if things changed in a way that obliged them to leave they would. However, as the conversation developed, usually people did express some regret, uncertainty or a feeling of being less welcome since the vote for Brexit. It also seemed to be the highly qualified interviewees who expressed more uncertainty about Brexit. This seems to mirror the findings of Ranta and Nevena (2019) in that those who had perhaps been more committed to the UK, and who were more highly skilled – i.e. those that the Government might be seeking to attract - felt the most ambivalence about their continuing position in the UK post-referendum. These differences in social locations, in awareness of the situation and in feelings of uncertainty were also reflected in how people talked about their plans for the future and their willingness to take steps towards permanent residency to secure their futures.

Changing subjectivities: taking civic integration steps

As mentioned above, most interviewees seemed, on the surface at least, fairly relaxed about the idea of applying for new status post Brexit. At the time of the interviews, it was still unclear what the government would put in place to ensure this status.[16] As a result, the only way of securing status at the time of the interviews was to apply for permanent residency or citizenship.[17] Prior to the referendum, few EU citizens applied for permanent residency as it was unnecessary for EU citizens in most scenarios (The Migration Observatory 2016a). Following the referendum there was a clear spike in applications (Sumption 2017). However, applying for permanent residency, although fairly low cost for EU citizens, was not entirely straightforward. The basic form was 82 pages long (although not all sections applied to everyone) and documentation had to be provided to show that the individual in question had been exercising their EU treaty rights throughout the full five years of their residence. This in some cases resulted in people being forced to submit huge piles of paperwork, as Hernán, who had gone through the process explained:

> *"It was a horrible disaster. It was very difficult the documentation, let me explain, when I applied, they hadn't reformed it [the application] yet, they had the old system and there were lots of issues. The tone in general was quite… I told you starting a business here is easy but immigration is a horrible nightmare. The laws are very complex, thanks to a Facebook group I was able to find out what I needed. The fact that I'm self employed made it more difficult to get lots of documentation. And it wasn't clear how much information was enough, so it was complicated. In the end I sent a pile of documentation like this [gesturing] 5 kilos of documentation" Hernán (35-39, Spain, 2011)*

However, beyond the actual practical difficulties of applying for permanent residency, for some people doing the application required a much more significant subjective shift. As has been noted by other scholars, Brexit involves a fundamental shift as people who have been resident in the UK go from seeing themselves as citizens to migrants (Bhambra 2017; D'Angelo and Kofman 2018; Botterill, McCollum, and Tyrrell 2018). In many senses this is a form of re-socialisation (Fiala 2012) and a re-configuration of collective forms of identity (Ranta and Nancheva 2019). This is for many people the first time they were facing the prospect of 'status mobility' – i.e. a change in their legal status in the country (Schuster 2005) resulting in ontological insecurity. This shift can be seen in the survey results

[16] Since then details of the Settled Status Scheme have been released, and the new application process has been piloted and is being rolled out. See https://www.gov.uk/settled-status-eu-citizens-families (accessed 10/08/2019)

[17] Prior to the referendum EU citizens could decide to apply for a certificate of residence on arrival, and then permanent residence after five years of continuous residence. However, neither of these documents were required in order to live and work in the UK and under EU law EU citizens with five years continuous residence were automatically considered to be permanent residents. However, a permanent residence document was a pre-requisite for naturalisation as a British citizen. These documents were usually required in cases that involved non-EU family members.

when people were asked the probability that they would apply for permanent residency in the coming year. Ten percent of the sample already had permanent residence, but for those that didn't almost half did not have the required five years of residency in order to be able to apply. The remainder were split with a quarter reporting that they were unlikely or very unlikely to apply for the status (McCarthy 2019). This likely reflects people's unwillingness to subject themselves to an immigration process given that they had arrived in the UK with a supposedly secure status. To a certain extent, this also reflects the fact that some people have internalised narratives of EU movement as being different to migration of third country nationals. This was reflected to some extent in comments made in interviews, although on the whole comments in the interviews were not as forceful as comments that were left in the survey. Clara for instance said:

> *"If I'm here, I came with certain rules and I'm working with them, and living complying with those rules, which are the same as the rest of the world. I don't need more papers nor another status." Clara (35-39, Spain, 2014)*

This comment captured the idea that people felt aggrieved at the idea that despite having complied with what was required of them, they would now be required to take further steps simply to guarantee their status. However, Clara later acknowledged that she was prepared to do a new application if it became necessary. Valentina was somewhat critical of this attitude that she saw being expressed by her compatriots, thinking that it was somewhat hypocritical that people only cared when it affected them, when in fact people from other parts of the world had to comply with completely different rules from the beginning.

> *"People are a little offended by the idea of 'I have to apply for a visa'. But well people who are not European also have to apply for a visa, I mean oh you're not special in this sense. Now you'll know how it feels to be from Pakistan and you come here – see! Ehmm. I think they'll make us pay a lot like they make the people from Pakistan pay, but well, ehh, if that happens people will leave just like that, if they have to pay" Valentina (40-44, Spain, 2014)*

Valentina clearly drew attention to the fact that there had always been a stratified system of immigration control that EU citizens had previously had very little awareness of. She felt that some Spaniards in the UK were aggrieved at what was happening to them despite the fact that this had always been the condition under which other people had lived.

Nevertheless, this sense of being aggrieved was less voiced in interviews than I had anticipated. It may have been that people were loath to discuss this with me, due to my being British and therefore a perception that I was aligned with British society. Or they may simply not have seen it as such an

issue. As mentioned, superficially at least, people seemed to be fairly relaxed about their position and were not particularly concerned about their status. Often people expressed the idea that as well paid professionals, they were less at risk. This seemed to be an acknowledgement of the fact that social location impacts on people's vulnerability to immigration control. There was also a view that ultimately the UK would be practical about those who had built their lives in the UK. Martín, who worked in finance, summed some of these sentiments up:

> *Helen: so for the moment, you're not worried about your status?*
> *Martín: I don't think so. No. As I said, having worked here for 9 years, with two children born here, having bought a house, I don't know, no. We're in a situation, I think we're in a situation, ermm... There would be many more people who would be affected before us." Martín (40-44, Spain, 2007)*

This view, that the UK would take a pragmatic approach, particularly to those who had been working and paying taxes in the UK, was fairly widespread. For instance, Alba said:

> *"I sincerely think that they're not going to throw anyone out who's got a permanent job and who's being living here, paying taxes, 4 years or whatever" Alba (25-29, Spain, 2013)*

Some of those who worked in healthcare made particular reference to the sector in explaining why they felt their situation was secure.

> *"I don't think it'll be a problem. Above all because of the work I do. If you're a waiter or a... maybe that's different I don't know, I don't know. I don't know what's going to happen, but when you've got a job that the country relies on so much, I mean, they need a lot of nurses. There's still like 40,000 vacancies. Imagine once Brexit happens and most people, or lots of people leave." Claudia (30-34, Venezuela, 2011)*

Once again, in this quote, Claudia acknowledges her favourable social position in comparison to people doing hospitality jobs who she feels may be more at risk. One person also commented that as Spaniards, they were perhaps even in a more favourable position, since Spain is one of the few countries in the EU in which the number of UK citizens living there outweighs the numbers of Spanish citizens in the UK.

For most interviewees, the idea of applying for a new status was not something that they objected to strongly despite the fact that it represented a change in the conditions under which they came. For most it was more just a practical consideration. However, at the point of the interviews there was still a lot of uncertainty about the new scheme and what it might entail and people had

responded to that uncertainty in different ways. Some, like Hernán, had already started or completed permanent residency applications. Others were waiting to see what the final outcome was, as it had been suggested that having secured permanent residency would not actually mean that people would not have to apply for the new status. Silvia reflected this when she said:

> *"A friend of mine applied for the permanent residency but now they're saying that that'll be useless, so you've got all these people who've got permanent residency, what's going to happen to them? So I said, look this is what's happened, let's wait and see what we really need, and when we need it, then I'll do that." Silvia (30-34, Spain, 2011)*

However, these practical considerations become complicated by each individual's particular trajectory. For instance, Núria told me that her initial time working as an au-pair in the UK wouldn't count towards her five years of continuous residence, because working as an au-pair was not considered as real work and thus there was no associated national insurance or tax. This meant she had to wait an additional year before becoming eligible for any status. This is one example of the strategising people have to make to conform to bureaucratic rules.

One of the questions that applying for a new status raises is the question of how much longer people envisioned spending in the UK. Until now, EU freedom of movement has been characterised by a remarkably few bureaucratic requirements (Carmel 2013; Collett 2013), meaning that people often did not have concrete plans. This sense of open possibilities and increasing ease of movement led scholars to suggest this form of movement should be characterised in a different way, as 'liquid migration', 'intentional unpredictability' and 'deliberate indeterminacy' (Eade, Drinkwater, and Garapich 2007; Engbersen and Snel 2010; McGhee, Moreh, and Vlachantoni 2017). The deliberate indeterminacy of people's plans has been thrown into question, however, by Brexit. The need to secure a continuing residency status opens up the question of how long people intend to stay and thus may act as a catalyst for decisions to return (Moreh, McGhee, and Vlachantoni 2016). My interviewees often offered the nonchalant response of 'if necessary, I'll just leave', which can be seen as both a reaction to a perceived rejection of their presence in the UK, but also as a way of continuing to maintain that they have many options open to them. Nevertheless, many were taking steps or had taken steps to secure their status. These steps are ambivalent: they may both indicate a desire to stay in the UK for the medium to long-term but could also be seen as a strategic move to secure the rights that continue to allow unpredictability and indeterminacy. In the following section, I explore in more detail peoples' plans for the future.

Plans for the future

The survey asked people about how long they expected to remain in the UK. These results are described in greater detail elsewhere (McCarthy 2019) but overall the findings indicate that Spanish citizens have quite short-term plans for their futures in the UK. Almost half of respondents (46 %) expected to be in the UK for up to three more years, but almost 10% reported a lower level expecting to stay in the UK for less than a year. This may reflect the fact that plans are not well developed and may simply indicate that three years sounds like a time frame that is both somewhat imaginable but also that does not commit the person to being in the UK for the long-term. These time scales should not, of course, be taken as indication of how long people would actually end up staying, as migration plans tend to evolve flexibly and change over time (Ryan 2015a). Overall, those who had been in the UK for longer were more likely to report a longer future, those who felt more at home in the UK, and those who had families were more likely to report planning being in the UK for longer (McCarthy 2019). However, as noted in the previous chapter, those born in Latin America were more likely to report planning longer stays compared to those born in Spain. This is in part to do with the fact that those born in Latin America felt at home in the UK compared to those born in Spain.

Many people expressed an open idea of how long they would stay in the UK when asked about it in the interview. Particularly for those born in Spain, and those who had come when they were in their twenties, there was often an open discussion about the timeframe in which they would stay. Some respondents had a clearer indication that their preference was to be in Spain in the medium term, but they were in no rush given their current job and comfortable life in the UK. Others talked in more romantic terms about other adventures and opportunities that might arise in other parts of Europe or the world. Others had clearer attachments to the UK in terms of partners (either British or another nationality) or just from the amount of time they had spent. Nevertheless, even in those cases people still tended not to definitively close off the option of returning to Spain at some point. However, some talked more of the difficulties of returning to Spain and the re-adjustment that would be required. Over time, the trade-offs that can be involved in any course of action can become more acute, leading some people to feel quite uncertain about where their future lies, as Núria expressed:

> "*I have this personal confusion, no, this... Internal, of not knowing if I want to stay or go I don't see my whole life here, but I also don't see it somewhere else*." *Núria (30-34, Spain, 2012)*

Thus for some expressing plans in an open way can be a way of avoiding thinking through the trade-offs and keeping the idea of return alive, even if in practice it is never acted upon.

The contrast of this was found among some of my Latin American interviewees, particularly those who were in lower paid labour market positions. Several were whole-heartedly committed to the UK, talked of it in glowing terms and were much more definitive about their desire to stay. Franklin for instance said, when talking about potentially getting British nationality: "*I'm very clear that I want to stay here. I want to live here."* Similarly Carlos said, "*the rest of my life, I'd like to spend it here. I don't want to move anywhere else."* While it was unclear whether there was a positivity spin in some of these responses, they were striking nonetheless. After in most cases, more than a decade of migration experience in Spain, these individuals were much more confident in their decision and plans for the future in the UK. In many cases they talked of the opportunities on offer in London, either for themselves or importantly for their children (Ramos 2017).

Brexit had clearly changed some people's views about their future in the UK, however. This was due to a range of factors. As Núria pointed out, the feeling of being less welcome, did shift somewhat the balance when thinking of where the future should be spent.

> *"Yes with Brexit, maybe, erm, you feel less welcome? And I think that it's since then that I started to think a bit more about whether I really wanted to be here forever*." *Núria (30-34, Spain, 2012)*

Alejandra similarly felt that she wasn't sure about whether her future was still in the UK since the referendum. She described how she and her partner had been planning to buy a house, they had seen somewhere they liked and were planning on putting in an offer but after hearing another news story about Brexit she'd told her husband to hold off. She felt it was perhaps not the right moment to make those decisions, as she began to question whether her future was actually going to be in the UK, "*I think it came after the referendum. Before I didn't see it like that. Before I was really convinced that I was going to stay here."* Even Sara, who had a British husband and children and had been in the UK for almost twenty years, commented that the last few months had made her question her future in the UK.

Thus a perceived change in the socio-political situation of the country acts as a disrupting effector to people's integration processes. This can shift and change feelings of belonging, meaning that people who previously felt a strong feeling of commitment and attachment to a place begin to question it.

This has also been described as a process of 'disembedding' or 'unanchoring' (L. Ryan 2017; Grzymala-Kazlowska 2017). The impact of Brexit is multi-dimensional and shifting as it is an ongoing process. Not only will it have legal ramifications which will play out in Spanish citizens' lives, it has already had social effects in terms of the increase in uncertainty, the change in the political debate, the rise in hate crime (Virdee and McGeever 2018). It may be that the legal ramifications are not as important as the general sense of ontological insecurity and the feelings of 'unbelonging' that the process has introduced. Longer term it is also expected to have economic impacts. This was a factor that featured in Ignazio's explanation of why Brexit might affect his longer term plans to be in the UK. He said he thought he would be in the UK in five years time but the economic implications of Brexit could still impact that.

> *"Now the uncertainty is huge. When I say I won't live here, I don't know if I'll live here in 5 years, it's not because I'm scared they're going to deport me, nothing like that. I have confidence, I know, in quotation marks, that won't happen. The problem that I see with Brexit, that I'm afraid of with Brexit, is that it will damage the British economy to a sufficiently serious extent that I would decide voluntarily to leave." Ignazio (35-39, Spain, 2014)*

This reflects the fact that many of my Spanish interviewees, particularly the more highly skilled individuals like Ignazio, felt they had options. Return to Spain or leaving to another country were among these options. Several interviewees mentioned the fact that they knew people who had left or people who were planning to come from Spain but who have decided not to come. An improving economic outlook in Spain also contributed to the perception that return to Spain was an option, although only for those in higher skilled sectors. While it is unclear how this will play out in the long-term, Brexit has clearly changed people's perceptions of the UK, and made it a less attractive destination. Overall Spanish citizens who responded to the survey felt that Brexit would have a negative impact on many areas of their life. While some people were ambivalent about its potential impact in some areas, only a handful of individuals identified anything positive (McCarthy 2019). Thus Brexit has clearly acted as a negative 'effector' on people's integration processes, making some people question their belonging and their desire to stay in the UK. These reflections were obviously taken at a particular moment in time and as such provide a snapshot in a series of ongoing processes, but Brexit provides a clear example of how a change in socio-political conditions in the country can unsettle or forestall integration processes.

Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to explore how Spanish citizens feel about their own integration, how these emotional journeys develop and how this is narrated. More broadly, the aim was to see what looking at people's own conceptualisations of integration, especially in a turbulent socio-political context, reveal about integration processes and how we should conceptualise them. In line with other accounts, people describe integration as becoming 'part of society' and people highlighted different aspects that they felt were important in order to do that. Understanding societal norms was key to this, as was being able to help other people, even if only with mundane, everyday things.

More generally, integration is closely linked to well-being. This means that clearly integration processes can be affected by life changes, such as relationship break-ups, job losses and poor quality housing conditions that affect well-being. This is important as it draws attention to the affective and emotional dimension of integration. Being able to live your life 'normally', i.e. not encountering significant barriers and not questioning your own position in society is fundamentally what integration is about. This is where the role of wider society and the people you interact with play an important role. As integration involves a series of interactions, the behaviour of other members of society is critical. Discriminatory encounters can affect people's ability to live 'normal' lives and lead to feelings of exclusion. Despite being a relatively invisible and unproblematised group in public discourse, four out of ten Spanish survey respondents reported having experienced discrimination in the UK. In recounting examples of these, interviewees were often somewhat ambivalent about calling them discrimination, but they had an exclusionary effect. The most commonly cited reason was language or accent, demonstrating just how important language has become as a marker of social identity in the UK (Musolff 2019). The campaign for the UK's exit from the EU drew on explicitly anti-immigrant messages and raised the profile of EU citizens as an immigrant group. Thus the social identities of 'foreigner', 'immigrant' and 'non-native English speaker' have become (even) more prominent and stigmatised in the last few years, and many interviewees brought up Brexit in their discussion of discrimination.

Brexit, as an ongoing process of socio-political change, presents an interesting case study for considering integration in turbulent contexts. Incidents of discrimination can temporally shake people's feelings of belonging but do not necessarily lead to longer-lasting shifts in integration processes (although patterns of discrimination may be different). However, Brexit as a series of ongoing processes may impinge on many more areas. For some Spanish citizens, Brexit has shaken the foundation of what they knew about the UK, what they perceived it to be, it has disrupted their ontological security and feelings of belonging. While they may not have had a direct discriminatory

encounter as a result, and they may be sanguine about changes to legal status, the uncertainty and the questions it has raised has changed their emotional engagement with the UK, in some cases forestalling their integration processes. This uncertainty seems to be particularly acute among the more highly qualified, who are perhaps more aware of the situation. Most respondents were taking a 'wait and see' attitude towards civic integration steps, but maintaining the idea of open options, with the expression: if I need to I'll just leave. In both Brexit and integration processes, time is a key factor, with shifting understandings and realities from day to day, month to month, year to year. However, on the whole Spanish Latin Americans seemed more committed to the UK for the longer-term and were prepared to take steps necessary to secure this future in the changing context of Brexit. This may reflect an underlying lack of confidence in their EU citizenship rights, perhaps due to them having only been recently acquired (Moreh, McGhee, and Vlachantoni 2016), as well as previous migration experience which means that they are used to the social identity of 'migrant'. Nevertheless, it is important to recognise that this was just one particular snapshot captured at the time of the interview or survey, and these are evolving sentiments and plans.

Finally, participants' own descriptions of integration also revealed that a certain emotional resourcefulness or mental resilience played a role. This is an attribute the individual may have to a greater or lesser degree, but also could be something that needs to be activated or cultivated. The discussion of this element of integration reflects to some extent that the onus for integration is still placed on the migrant. However, it also reflects the fact that migration can be a disruptive process that leads to a loss of resources for the migrant. Establishing oneself in a new country therefore requires a specific aptitude. Although this could be considered a form of migrant capital, a skill one develops through the migration process, some interviewees from Latin America suggested that they had not in fact needed to adapt their 'ways of being' following their migration to Spain. It was only in coming to the UK and being confronted with the challenge of a different language and the precarity associated with their employment that they had been confronted with the need to show mental resilience in order to overcome the challenges and be able to build a 'normal' life. This was echoed by other respondents in a variety of settings who talked about overcoming their fear. Thus integration required people to adjust their ways of being for a new society. While some achieved a sense of living at ease, in which their integration was unexamined, large socio-political shifts such as Brexit bring it back into focus, demonstrating the multi-directionality and state of flux of integration processes.

Chapter 9: Interactional integration – dynamics and processes

This thesis has sought to explore and develop our understanding of integration, by considering a case of a so-called 'new' form of migration, - that of Spanish citizens moving to the UK under free movement laws. This migration might be called 'new' in that moving under the free movement regime has afforded greater rights and has led to people having more open, 'liquid' or uncertain plans (Engbersen and Snel 2010; Eade, Drinkwater, and Garapich 2007; McGhee, Moreh, and Vlachantoni 2017). This more 'frictionless' movement is thought to engender more complex mobility patterns: regular circularity, or simply uncertain periods of back and forth-ing, that challenge 'old' models of integration, which assumed a one-off permanent movement. Increasing diversity within societies - both 'receiving' and 'sending' - is also inadequately captured in these 'old' conceptualisations. Spanish citizens in the UK are heterogeneous, they come from diverse backgrounds, with different migratory experiences which impact on their experience of integration in the UK. Through examining this case in detail, this thesis has sought to delve into these differences and explore how they affect integration. In doing so, we can develop and refine a more nuanced and complex picture of how integration works empirically.

Thus, the aim of this project was to examine to what extent new conceptualisations of integration are able to account for the integration trajectories of diverse Spanish citizens. This core question was broken down into three main elements: the first looking at integration trajectories across three main domains; the second, investigating how different personal characteristics affected trajectories, and the third, exploring emotional responses to integration processes. In this concluding chapter, I will begin by providing a summary of my main findings, drawing out key themes related to class, citizenship, language and emotion that have emerged as particularly salient in the empirical findings. I will then move on to discuss how some new conceptualisations of integration account for these findings and conclude by presenting my own conceptual map for thinking about integration processes.

Review of findings

Scholars have long contended that integration is not a singular phenomenon that proceeds in a linear fashion (Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas 2016; Ager and Strang 2008; Spencer and Charsley 2016). Instead it consists of a series of processes that take place across a number of different domains that occur at different rates in different areas. Thus building a complete picture of integration as a whole can be challenging, as it requires looking at many different aspects of an individual's life. As a multi-dimensional phenomenon, I opted to pursue a mixed-methods design using an online survey and in-depth, semi-structured interviews. The aim was to use the two

methods to complement one another providing different dimensions of depth and breadth. The study focussed on three main domains: employment, friendships and sociability, and language. These domains were chosen as they are emblematic of quite different types of integration. They are all also considered by many scholars to be fundamental to overall integration experiences (Spencer and Cooper 2006; Oliver 2016). In what follows I will review the findings from each chapter before going on to draw out some overall themes that emerge from these findings.

In chapter six, I sketched some of the experiences of my participants across these three domains. I was also keen to explore how the different areas interacted with one another. Respondents had usually arrived with a relatively high level of English language skill and this was something they were able to develop over time through investment in language classes and private learning. A main differentiating factor was the extent to which people had been able to invest in language learning before coming to the UK, to some extent indicative of people's classed background. The chapter highlighted how access to employment was generally easy for Spanish citizens in the UK but a range of factors mediated whether individuals were able to access employment at a level commensurate with their education. As found in much other research, educational qualifications from overseas are devalued in the UK's labour market, with employers often mistrustful of these qualifications (Csedő 2008). Among my interviewees, many had started in lower paid hospitality jobs, characterised by insecure contracts and anti-social hours (Nijhoff and Gordano 2017; Jendrissek 2016). One key factor that mediated access was the channel through which initial jobs were obtained. Jobs attained through informal means, either through social contacts or from random CV-dropping, often were associated with lower-paid precarious work. Language was also a hugely important mediating factor: those with higher level English language skills on arrival were able communicate their skills to employers. Over time, progression in the labour market was possible and many people did gain roles that were related to their field of study. But, this was often mediated by language, as beyond highly specialised roles that required specific qualifications, many of these middling jobs relied on these individuals' additional asset of Spanish language. Thus, in some cases, limited progression in English was compensated for by the additional language.

Just as social contacts influence the type of work people are able to get, so the workplace impacts on friendships. Many of my participants had made friends at work, although occasionally noting the different sets of rules that governed workplace friendships in the UK. Social integration, in terms of making friends, takes place in distinct pockets. Spanish citizens often find it easy to make friends with other EU migrants and people from other parts of the world more widely. A large part of this is

due to the fact that as migrants, they all share the experience of migration and have all experienced disrupted social networks and as a result 'need' to make new friends. There are also sometimes additional shared sites of encounter with other migrants, for instance in English language classes. The diversity of immigration backgrounds to be found in large cities such as London and Manchester facilitate this. Making friends is fundamental for people's wellbeing and often had a large impact on other feelings of belonging and people's sense of whether or not they wanted to stay in the UK. The loss of an important friend (for example if they moved away) often provoked a feeling of instability (Pumares 2017) and uncertainty about the continuation of their plans in the UK. This is just one example of how people experience their integration processes as multidirectional.

Chapter seven sought to unpack some of the differences between Spanish citizens born in Spain and Spanish citizens born in Latin America. The aim was first to examine some of the key differences in profiles that emerged from the data between the two groups and then to explore how these affected integration experiences. First, and most obviously, those born in Latin America had different migratory experiences, with the move to the UK being their second major migration. Although all had in common Spanish citizenship on arrival in the UK, it is worth noting that different routes to citizenship for Latin Americans (through naturalisation or through ancestry or birth) often implied different experiences of migration. Thus many of those who had naturalised had spent some time living undocumented in Spain, whereas those who already held Spanish citizenship had not experienced the same level of downward mobility in Spain. Usually Latin American-Spaniards had spent a long time in Spain before migrating onwards to the UK, often a decade or more.

Partly as a result of these different life experiences and trajectories, those born in Latin America who came onward to the UK tended to be older and at a different life stage than those born in Spain. As a result, a larger number of those born in Latin America had family responsibilities. Often these families were split across geographic locations, sometimes with children in several countries. Motivations for migration were also somewhat different between the two groups: family featured as a more prominent motivation for onward migration among Latin American-Spaniards. This may reflect specific strategies in which one family member is sent ahead before the rest of the family follows. Differences in class profile and education level also emerged. Those born in Latin America were less likely to have university education than those born in Spain. Thus among Latin American-Spanish, there was greater polarisation across the social spectrum: with a larger number of individuals who were highly educated and working in professional occupations, what I have called the 'internationally-recognised, highly-qualified', and a larger number with lower levels of education

working in lower paid jobs – a group I have called 'precarious workers'. There were fewer who fell into the group of 'middling transnationals' (Conradson and Latham 2005b; M. P. Smith 2005; Parutis 2014), in contrast to the much larger proportion in this group among those born in Spain.

These different factors impact on integration trajectories in a variety of ways. There are differences in the level of English people arrive with, with on average Latin American-Spaniards having a lower level of English on arrival. They were also less likely to report improvements in their English level. This can be linked to demographic factors (being older, having a lower level of education overall) and linked to labour market factors. Latin American-Spaniards have often arrived with debts, and with greater family responsibilities face the need to secure any form of employment as quickly as possible. This work is more likely to be secured through social means, resulting in precarious employment in ethnic niches with poor working conditions such as in cleaning. Financial insecurity and caring responsibilities mean less time and fewer resources to invest in language learning. This lack of time and resources also impacts on socialising, suggesting that it may take longer to build up other networks. Experience of migration also seems to impact in the social realm, with Latin American-Spaniards less likely to talk of very close, long-standing friendships with people in other places. However, Latin American-Spaniards were able to tap into a network of community organisations and businesses that helped to mitigate some of the precarity, language barriers and information gap they encountered.

In contrast, Latin American-Spanish interviewees working in professional jobs had usually arrived with higher levels of education and with better English levels. Their trajectories usually mirrored much more closely those of other Spaniards who had qualifications that were internationally recognised. From interviews, it became clear all of those who fell into this group, as well as the smaller number of 'middling transnationals' among my Latin American Spanish had gained their Spanish citizenship either through ancestry or at birth to Spanish parents. Those who face precarity in the UK, were the ones who had gone through the process of irregularity and naturalisation in Spain. Having been precariously positioned in the Spanish labour market, often subject to discrimination or exploitation, this is re-iterated and reinforced by the secondary migration to the UK showing the operation of 'onward precarity' (McIlwaine and Bunge 2018). Thus these differences in trajectories, including inequalities related to access to citizenship continue to reverberate and shape experiences in the UK.

Finally, in chapter eight, I explored how Spanish citizens themselves felt about integration, particularly in the turbulent and shifting context of Brexit and asked what this revealed about integration processes more broadly. The importance of attending to migrants' own understandings of integration has been highlighted by other researchers (Simic 2018; Erdal 2014). Thus it was interesting to ask Spanish citizens, who had been fairly invisible in UK society about their views on this process. This exploration revealed a number of core features that have been identified by other work (Simic 2018; Erdal 2014; EAVES 2015). For participants, integration meant: being part of something; being able to participate and contribute and a sense of wellbeing or comfort. Being able to participate was for some people intimately linked to language, for others it was about having a bit more knowledge of systems and processes in order to be able to help others (May 2011; Phillimore, Humphris, and Khan 2017). Developing this meant people began to feel more at ease. This focus on how integration was linked to wellbeing is an important dimension and one that is sometimes overlooked by scholars. It is often in this respect that transnational connections, particularly with close friends, become important. Thus people's friends at home – their forever friends – often continued to play a role in supporting people emotionally and contributing to a sense of wellbeing, particularly in the early stages of the migration to the UK showing how transnational connections are not inimical. Thinking about integration in terms of wellbeing also helps us to understand how small disruptions that may affect one's personal life may also affect people's integration and call into question the whole migration project (L. Ryan 2017). Moreover, participants highlighted how integration requires a certain mindset or resilience, - an ability to be able to change or adapt. This suggests that integration requires a certain amount of effort (EAVES 2015). This is perhaps unsurprising, because the onus for integration in public and political discourses is still on the individual migrant. Developing the capacity to adjust is, in some cases not straightforward, and as one participant put it, it required a new way of being. As a result, I would argue that integration processes are actually about an ongoing process of 'becoming'.

Brexit calls into question this 'becoming' (Botterill, McCollum, and Tyrrell 2018; Ranta and Nancheva 2019). As an example of a wide-ranging socio-political shift, Brexit is a unique case-study of how changes in societal contexts have impacts on people's integration processes. Not only have the rights and legal status of EU citizens been called into question (B. Ryan 2017), but there have also been wider changes in societal attitudes (Virdee and McGeever 2018). There is the perception that those who previously harboured anti-immigration views, now feel that they have a licence to express those views openly. As integration is a series of interactional processes, a perceived new wave of hostility has led many Spanish citizens to question their belonging and their future plans to

be in the UK (May 2011; Ranta and Nancheva 2019; Botterill, McCollum, and Tyrrell 2018). Those who feel most concerned are often, paradoxically, those who are more highly qualified and who are working in well paid jobs - likely to be those who would be most welcomed in any post-Brexit immigration scheme and thus, in theory, those who have least to worry about in terms of their future status (Ranta and Nancheva 2019). Once again some differences emerged here among those who were born in Latin America and who have experienced onward precarity and the remainder of the Spanish citizens. The former feel more comfortable whole-heartedly committing to the UK, while the latter feel more ambivalent about remaining in the UK and taking the necessary civic integration steps. Previous migration experience, particularly, perhaps, the experience of having lived with irregularity, may shape these responses, with this group much more at ease with the idea of themselves as migrants.

Social location

Based on the findings above, a few themes emerged which require more detailed analysis. The findings have demonstrated the importance of considering social location or class in thinking about experiences of integration. This can be complex to account for, as social location is not stable, and people can be upwardly as well as downwardly mobile (Oliver and O'Reilly 2010). In particular, the process of migration can be associated with movements in social location. The various forms of capital that people acquire over the course of their lifetime are not always transportable across borders (Csedő 2008) but also may be re-configured and re-deployed as part of the migration process (Erel 2010; Nowicka 2014). Nevertheless, it is critically important to try to understand what capital people bring with them and how this recognised or transformed in order to understand their experiences in the UK. While much interest has focused on the two ends of the spectrum – those with few resources to deploy and those considered the 'elite' – there is variation within the middle, those from middling backgrounds in their country of birth who have been somewhat overlooked in migration studies (Conradson and Latham 2005b; M. P. Smith 2005).

Based on their personal characteristics and profiles, I categorised my interview participants into three main groups that helped account for differences in experiences. One group is the internationally recognised, highly-qualified individuals. These were mainly people who had degrees in one of several fields (such as engineering, healthcare, IT, and to some extent academia) that are reasonably easy to transfer to a new context. It is interesting to reflect that in this case, law is often difficult to transfer (Kofman 2013). Most of my participants in this group had a reasonable amount of previous work experience before their move to the UK and usually had a job lined up before arrival. This means that they had an easier initial transition into the UK labour market and their

cultural capital was more easily recognised and mobilisable in the UK context. Most often these individuals left full-time jobs in Spain – their move to the UK was motivated by a desire for career progression and perhaps a new adventure, rather than by unemployment. The combination of these circumstances means that these individuals usually had a greater level of economic capital on arrival. In many cases they had also been able to acquire cultural capital in the form of linguistic skills, either before or after arriving in the UK.

The second group concerned 'middling transnationals' borrowing the term from other scholars (Conradson and Latham 2005b; M. P. Smith 2005). I distinguish this group from those above because, despite having a high level of education, this group finds it harder to access jobs at a level that is commensurate with their qualification level. Individuals in this group tended to have a lower level of previous work experience and in many cases a lower level of cultural capital in the form of linguistic skills. As a result, their arrival in the UK is usually followed by a period of working at a level below their formal qualification level, in more precarious jobs such as hospitality, retail or childcare while they develop their English language skills and build up connections and knowledge of the UK. This experience of precarity may be mitigated to varying degrees by economic support from home or in some cases by savings people bring with them. Over time, they often are able to progress into more middle-level administrative or lower professional roles. Sometimes this progression is facilitated by leveraging the cultural capital of their first language skills (Nowicka 2014). In this case, Spanish is a global language which means it is recognised as something of value in certain sections of the UK labour market. Thus this 'middling' group can appear to mimic conditions of either the group above them or the group below them depending on the time point in their trajectory.

Precarious workers were the final group I identified. Similar to the middling transnationals, they start in precarious jobs in the lower end of the labour market. Precarious work is characterised by low pay; unreliable and changing hours which are often at anti-social times; and contracts that do not provide for adequate employment protection (such as lack of sick or holiday pay) (Benton and Patuzzi 2018). However, in contrast to the middling group, people who find themselves in this group tend to have less educational capital and a lower level of English language skills and so find it harder to move out of these precarious roles. While both groups may start in hospitality with the low pay and shift patterns that this work implies, middling transnationals may be more likely to be on the customer-side, and thus gaining English language exposure and perhaps earning tips. In contrast, those with less English often start as kitchen porters, washing up and doing general odd jobs in the kitchen with little exposure to language. It was clear that those in the group of precarious workers

had very little economic buffer, they may already have had debts or come from a longer period of unemployment in Spain. Jobs were often quickly picked up through social means, but in doing so reproduced niches, in which workplaces were often dominated by Spanish speakers. This provided fewer opportunities for these workers to develop their English language skills and build social contacts with people of different backgrounds. Low pay means many face financial difficulties, having to work as much as possible and live in inadequate accommodation to simply make ends meet. These conditions then constrain their ability to invest time in other areas of their lives, and time is a key resource to invest in integration. While some interviewees did experience improvements in their employment position over time, these usually related to work-hours, shift patterns, or small increases in pay rather than a move to a different occupation.

Thinking about participants in terms of these three groups is useful in distinguishing the different resources people have at their disposal that can shape their experiences in the UK. These class differences cut across differences related to national or ethnic origin, as we find individuals born in Latin America and in Spain across all three groups. Nevertheless, there were differences in terms of the likelihood of being in one of those groups among my participants. On the whole, it seems that those born in Latin America were more likely to fall into one of the two groups on either end (internationally recognised, highly-qualified individuals or precarious workers) and that this was conditioned by their migratory path. Their experience of their first migration to Spain and their paths to Spanish citizenship shaped their social location in their onward migration to the UK. The precarity and downward mobility that had been experienced by those who had spent a time living irregularly continued to shape trajectories. Citizenship and the rights that accompany it, thus remains fundamental to acquiring other forms of capital. In these circumstances, a lack of capital in one area contributes to an inability to accumulate resources and capital in another area.

Citizenship: hierarchies and contingencies

As highlighted above, citizenship – or legal status more broadly – is a key part of the puzzle that helps us to understand people's experiences throughout the migratory journey. As has been demonstrated by other scholars, legal status is a key stratifying factor that affects people's ability to move and their experiences post migration (Wessendorf 2018). While people can move in and out of different legal statuses (Schuster 2005), citizenship is perhaps the most secure form of status, granting the most protection under international law (Ellermann 2019). Citizenship ultimately allows unlimited freedom to leave and, importantly, to re-enter the country.

This study has demonstrated three ways in which citizenship status is relevant to thinking about integration processes. First, as discussed in chapter four, citizenship is part of a globally stratified system, in which some citizenships are positioned higher up a global hierarchy than others in terms of rights and protection afforded (Ellermann 2019; Castles 2005). Access to citizenship is also structured by social stratifications and inequalities. This stratification that plays out on a global scale then intersects with other forms of social stratification based on class and gender. Until very recently, in many countries women did not have the same citizenship rights as men (Spiro 2016). Citizenship is also often easier to access for those with greater economic resources, through various types of investor visas (Sumption and Hooper 2014). Thus citizenship – or the ability to access citizenship – is increasingly being seen as a form of capital that can be converted and transformed into other forms of capital (Moret 2018).

These stratifications exist within citizenship groups. Some individuals, women and minority groups, will find it more difficult to access their rights than others and this experience can have implications later on in their migration project. Scholars have argued that migrants who move to another country without the citizenship of said country experience 'status precarity' (Ellermann 2019) which intersects and reinforces other forms of precarity. This lack of secure status impacts on virtually all other processes of integration, leading some to suggest that legal rights should be considered the foundation of integration processes (Ager and Strang 2008). A lack of secure status puts people at a structural disadvantage in many areas, particularly in areas such as the labour market, opening people up to exploitation. This was the position that many Latin American Spaniards had found themselves in, before being able to naturalise in Spain. While everyone in this research had the same formal status as Spanish citizens at the time the study was conducted, having a more complete picture of their full migratory pathways including their access to citizenship, helps to shape our understandings of their individual social locations in the UK.

However, what the findings have also revealed is how legal rights – the foundation that shapes many other integration processes – can be undermined. Until recently, EU migrants to the UK held the most secure status among any migrant group as a result of EU legislation. The Brexit process has undermined this and highlighted how rights for immigrants are always contingent, transforming people from citizens to immigrants (D'Angelo and Kofman 2018). As freedom of movement was already an immigration regime with uneven classed, ethnicised and gendered impacts (Shutes and Walker 2018; O'Brien 2016), these same processes of stratification will come to bear on the immigration application system post-Brexit. This means that women (Guerrina and Masselot 2018),

mixed status families (Kilkey 2017) and those on low incomes (B. Ryan 2017; D'Angelo and Kofman 2018) are likely to be disproportionately impacted by Brexit and will likely find it harder to secure their rights. Thus the impact of Brexit will be felt unevenly by the Spanish citizens involved in this study. Unsurprisingly, this will then have implications for their integration trajectories going forward and has already had impacts on their feelings of belonging. This change of legal status has upset people's sense of belonging in the UK and called into question their sense of ontological security. Responses to this are different: for those who have always felt most secure, the shock is profound, and the desire to reject the UK is strong. In contrast, those who may have always felt that their rights were conditional – such as those who have naturalised – may be more likely to respond in a pragmatic way, by seeking to secure what they can. This highlights how legal rights/legal status should not be taken as a given in studies of integration. It cannot be assumed that everyone with the same legal status, or the same citizenship, is equally able to mobilise their rights (Wessendorf 2018). Instead we must interrogate how citizenship intersects with and is shaped by other social identities in order to seek to fully understand integration experiences.

Role of language

Linguistic skills, both as embodied and institutionalised forms of cultural capital, have been shown to be hugely important in individuals' trajectories of integration. As was clear from the findings, having some language skills on arrival proved an advantage in terms of getting a job and being able to progress within the labour market. Similarly, language could be important in the context of forming new friendships. But beyond these purely communicative functions, having some language skills was important for people's sense of efficacy in the new society, the sense with which they could go about in this new society and engage with it. Language skills were fundamental to confidence. Those who had limited language skills talked of feeling 'mute', incapable of expressing their true personalities and thereby incapable of fully participating in the new society.

While language has been widely recognised by scholars as fundamental to integration, its role is often taken for granted. As a result, the way it has been treated has been fairly superficial, failing to engage with its complex role as both a communicative tool and a means of performing social identities. While language is always included in models and discussions of adaptation and integration, it is usually only in more detailed socio-linguistic studies that the role of language in the process of creating and mediating complex identities through interactions is considered. Meaning is created in a two-way exchange and communication often involves unequal power dynamics (Grenfell 2011). Thus language, including in its wider non-verbal sense, is the medium in which interaction occurs, and is thus an aspect the cuts across all elements of integration.

Language has both subjective and objective dimensions (Grenfell 2011). People's emotional responses to their linguistic endeavours, including the discrimination and push-back they receive, can be seen as a microcosm of thinking about other integration processes. Language, with its different registers and vernaculars, different sub-sets of vocabulary is inherently multi-dimensional (Grenfell 2011; Blommaert 2016), and in that respect mirrors integration. As anyone who has learnt a language can attest, 'fluency' or 'proficiency' are moving targets; one can feel completely fluent in one area of life and then suddenly be confronted with one's linguistic inadequacies in another area (Blommaert 2016). Thus a nuanced understanding of (second) language learning and usage in different social settings can provide useful insights for thinking about processes of integration more widely. As these processes always involve interactions, looking at the micro-level of certain specific interactions can be revealing in thinking about the meso and macro levels of integration processes.

Emotional journeys: indeterminate becoming

A key finding that emerged through this research is that integration – as a series of processes of adaptation and change – is closely linked to emotions. This element has been overlooked in much research, but if we accept the idea of integration as multi-directional, this is key to understanding it. These processes are deeply personal and subjective, and feelings about them can be affected by shifts in people's personal lives, but also by shifts in the wider socio-political context. Investigating the empirical realities, alongside people's own representations of integration, reveals the importance of emotions. This is why when asked to define integration, most people's descriptions align with an idea of 'wellbeing' – some variety of feeling good or feeling normal – as the key indicator of it. This is summed up by Blommaert who has observed that integration: "actually refers to a set of experiences of satisfaction - happiness, let us say - derived from a perceived smoothness in social contact beyond the borders of narrowly conceived and functionally defined social milieux such as that of labor" (Blommaert 2016, 13).

Thinking about the subjective dimension, and the way these processes of change 'feel', is relevant since they proceed through interactions. This can highlight the multi-directionality of the natures of these processes. Changes in feelings can alter the dynamics of the interaction. These changes can occur on both sides and in response to one another. A large part of what was highlighted in participant narratives with regards to being able to 'feel normal' was being able to participate as an equal and not be made to feel like an outsider. This is where the circumstances under which you migrate, your legal status and rights (Wessendorf 2018), as well as wider societal attitudes, are likely to have heavy implications.

Migration is often a life changing experience that requires or brings about changes in people's perspectives. Navigating a life in a new country, one where you are less familiar with how things work, can be daunting. It requires learning, developing new skills and adapting. Living in a new country can entail an adjustment of daily life practices and it is all these tiny adjustments and adaptations that make up the processes of integration. Feelings change from day to day, based on a huge range of factors. The way it 'feels' is also not necessarily the same in different spheres of life and, as discussed above, this can be linked to language use. Thus I may 'feel' very comfortable in my workplace, using the technical language and adopting specific registers that I have learnt in the classroom, but feel uncomfortable in social situations with more local slang and humour (Grenfell 2011; Blommaert 2016). But all of this is done against the backdrop of an imagined home in the country of origin, and in the context of frequent contact with people who are still there (Erdal 2014). Thus every small disruption that can affect daily wellbeing is framed against a life in this imagined, left-behind home. As a result, the migration/integration project requires constant evaluation and re-evaluation of decisions to be in this country, highlighting how integration and transnationalism are intertwined processes.

These changes and adjustments require constant learning and developing, and it is this capacity for learning and developing that is alluded to in many migrants' accounts of integration. Thus migrants have to leave behind one 'way of being' and instead have to engage in a continuous new 'becoming'. Whereas ways of being are often static, becoming is dynamic. 'Becoming' implies a constant development and dynamic transitioning. This transitioning is, however, without end-point and fraught with uncertainty. Thus I would argue that the subjective experience of integration is one of *indeterminate becoming*. This idea draws on ideas of identity and belonging emerging in the space and the movement between 'being' and 'becoming' (Fortier 2000). The idea of indeterminacy adds to this. Indeterminacy has been used to describe future plans, which are often uncertain, constantly evolving and changing to meet life circumstances (Ryan 2015a). The concept usefully also captures the subjective feelings of the processes of change that are undergone in integration. 'Becoming' reflects the development and changes of the individual, but it is indeterminate in that there is no endpoint to this process. It is also a process that is often fraught with uncertainty and ambivalence for the individual. This 'indeterminate becoming' frequently starts well before the migration, as an individual begins to consider life in a new country: makes enquiries about jobs, starts learning the language – in short, starts to imagine a future life in that place (Koikkalainen and Kyle 2016).

Re-visiting theories of integration

Thus far, I have reviewed the findings and discussed some of the key themes that emerged. In the remainder of this chapter, I will discuss the extent to which new conceptualisations of integration help us to understand and account for these findings and how well they treat the four key themes identified. I will conclude by putting forward my own conceptualisation of integration, which seeks to add to and build on these accounts.

As discussed in chapter three, there have been several recent attempts to re-consider the idea of settlement and adaptation in migration studies, with some scholars suggesting new words to move away from the word 'integration'. Many scholars have pointed out the problematic assumptions that underline the concept of integration. Some of these issues are not inherent to the concept itself but become associated with it over time through usage by politicians and in popular discourse (Wieviorka 2014). The most important of these are: that the idea assumes that the nation-state is a bounded, territorialised container of culture; the fact that the migrant is viewed somehow as a 'foreign element' that needs to become part of it; the fact that the word implies a static end state that may not ever be achievable; and that the word has often been used in normative, coercive ways. Linked to these coercive undertones, is the issue of an individual migrant's intentions. This unspoken idea is that people's attitude or their intention matters to the integration process, which is then used as part of the rhetoric of blame when integration 'fails'. Thus it has been fully recognised that there are numerous problems with the word. Nevertheless, many of the alternatives that have been suggested or that are used as replacements carry many of the same issues. For instance, 'incorporation' has often been used, but the word is not more dynamic or processual than integration and similarly relies on the notion of putting one element inside another (Spencer and Charsley 2016).

In contrast to these, and in an attempt to bring some greater nuance and complexity to this debate, scholars have recently proposed new concepts to capture these processes. Two which have been examined here are 'differentiated embedding' and 'social anchoring' (L. Ryan 2017; Grzymala-Kazlowska 2016, 2017). As I outlined in chapter three, both accounts seek to move away from the problematic associations of the word 'integration', and use a gerund form to talk about the dynamic processes involved in migrant settlement. Both accounts focus quite heavily on the social dimension, despite the argument being made that they can be applied more widely to consider other aspects of integration. They also both highlight that these are not uni-directional processes; thus one can embed but also 'dis-embed', 'anchor' but also 'un-anchor'.

In this study, I have found the concept of social anchoring particularly helpful when thinking about social relationships. As highlighted by Grzymala-Kazlowska (2016), this idea goes beyond social network analysis. Thinking about significant others in an individual's life is who help 'ground' or 'anchor' someone by providing stability is an important part of understanding people's process of integration in the social realm. This focus on stability and security is certainly one of the strengths of this formulation, one which has perhaps been insufficiently theorised in other accounts (except see Ager and Strang 2008). Thus for participants in my study, there was often one or two very significant friends or a romantic partner who was fundamental in helping the individual feel comfortable in the UK, sometimes referred to by participants as 'pillars'.[18] These 'anchor' people were thus crucial for many people's emotional journeys. This account is also helpful in highlighting how 'social anchors' in other places (such as in the home country) can contribute to building feelings of stability even in the context of a new physical environment. Once again, I found among my participants that in some cases, very important close friends in Spain or elsewhere – 'forever friends' - provided much needed emotional support despite not being physically present in the same place. Nevertheless, the concept as currently defined feels too broad to be analytically useful. This critique was foreseen by the author who suggested that enumerating and categorising anchors based on empirical research was a way to overcome this. Nevertheless, the key issue remains that there is no clear definition of an anchor, nor criteria to help us to decide whether something is or is not an anchor. Thus as currently conceptualised, social anchoring does not help us understand the *processes* by which certain things become anchors or, for that matter, why some things stop being anchors. While it may be easy to look at a snapshot and identify certain elements as key to a migrant's life in a new context, it is unclear the process by which those things become imbued with the importance for an individual's stability and sense of self. For example, in certain contexts, a job may be a social anchor, in other contexts it may not be, and the current account provides little indication for how we should assess these different scenarios. Moreover, while much is made about the possible multiplicity of anchors, there is no explanation of why certain anchors are maintained transnationally. While the metaphorical evocativeness of the idea of 'social anchoring' is useful for thinking about personal relationships, I have struggled to apply the concept more widely to other areas.

Differentiated embedding also brings many new strengths to a nuanced discussion of integration. One of the key features of this account is the focus on the relationality of the process of embedding. Embedding is thinking about "migrants' experiences of engagement with the people and places that make up their social world" (L. Ryan 2017, 236). Embedding is suggested as a word without the

[18] The word pillar has interesting echoes to the one of anchor – as a pillar is a fundamental supporting/stabilising structure.

normative baggage of integration. The definition for ‘differentiated embedding’ draws explicitly on Granovetter's (1985) work on how economic behaviour is situated within a network of social relationships. It is from this context that the idea of embedding has evolved. Thus embedding is specifically about social connections, but also suggests a place-based element in terms of the fact that networks are situated. But the question arises as to whether the introduction of a new word helps in any fundamental way to shed light on the empirical phenomenon in question. Moreover, embedding does not add any sense of multiplicity. Although in the empirical findings there is discussion of transnational embedding and the maintenance of transnational connections, it is not very clear how this relates to the embedding in the local context.

Both accounts are welcome additions to a discussion of integration and have clearly developed out of detailed work on social networks and social capital, while also seeking to distinguish themselves from those approaches. Arising as they do from that background, both help to challenge a consensus that has seen integration in quite functionalist and institutional terms. While the focus on social interactions is to be welcomed, I would argue that as currently elaborated, their usefulness is best maintained if narrowed more to the social realm rather than be used as overarching concepts to replace the idea of integration. This is because as currently outlined, neither is adequately describing the full spectrum of changes associated with movement and subsequent settlement in a new country. For instance, the importance of legal status and rights is more or less overlooked in both accounts, perhaps a result of the fact that both arose from work with EU citizens. While in the account of social anchoring reference is made to the fact that ‘documents’ may be an anchor (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2016, 1131), and Ryan suggests the idea of civic embedding (L. Ryan 2017, 248), these ideas are far from fully developed and do not seem to fit well with the conceptual elaboration. In fact, as discussed above, legal status is a fundamental issue that shapes all interactions in other domains of life (Wessendorf 2018). This highlights a further issue in both accounts. There is limited explanation of how different spheres of life interact and affect one another. Reference is made to the fact that people can be embedded or anchored in one area but not in another, but there is no attention paid to how that then affects the processes of embedding/anchoring in other areas. Furthermore, neither of the accounts, as currently sketched, draws attention to a person’s characteristics and how these may affect their experiences. Clearly these come out and are explained to some degree in the empirical accounts, but the concepts themselves provide no space for this.

The final conceptualisation that has been explored throughout this thesis is that of Spencer and Charsley (2016). Following more conventional approaches and using the word integration, they propose a conceptual map of integration as a tool to think through a more nuanced and complex idea of integration. While noting some of the issues with the word integration, they argue that it captures the array of processes of adaptation and change that are undergone post migration. Their model is detailed, capturing a number of important elements that have emerged in empirical research. They describe integration as a series of interactional processes that occur across five key domains. Interactional, in that, they involve both the individual migrant and individuals or institutions within the receiving society. They strongly emphasise the fact that there are interactions between the domains, so although there may be different and independent experiences in each domain, often, experiences in one domain impact on another domain. The model also highlights the individual characteristics, as well as their group and transnational practices that help account for differences in experiences of integration. Other factors – called effectors – such as changes in policy, or societal conditions are also shown to have an impact on integration processes. Finally, the model highlights different scales, local and national, across which integration takes place whilst simultaneously indicating that the receiving society is not uniform but is itself heterogeneous.

Devloping the concept of interactional integration

These three differing conceptualisations have all proved useful in advancing my thinking on integration. The starting point for this conceptualisation is that society is not a static object, but is instead created through the interactions of the individuals involved (May 2011; Simmel 1950). As society is constituted through interactions, change is not permanent and untransmutable, but rather ongoing and shifting (Simmel 1950). Migrants arriving in a country are new members of that society, and begin to re-constitute it through engaging and participating. In doing so, the individual migrant also gradually undergoes processes of change. Belonging both for migrants and non-migrants emerges in interactions, and through these interactions people change (May 2011). However, what is different for migrants is the movement across physical space – and the movement into a new social field that this entails (Oliver and O'Reilly 2010). Different social fields involve different rules and it is the changes that come about through interacting in this new social field that are usefully conceptualised separately as integration.

Thus integration is best thought of as a series of multi-directional, interactional processes between the migrant and society that constitute a continual re-negotiation of identity and belonging. Just as belonging is contingent upon and emerging through interactions, so too, do integration processes (May 2011). As a result, integration is not some extra process, it is simply something that happens as

part of everyday life as soon as (if not before) someone arrives in a new country. However migrants continue to engage with other social fields through the transnational space whilst simultaneously engaging in integration processes. It is this through these simultaneous intertwined processes, that new belongings and identities are negotiated. Recognising the 'quiveriness' of identity (Fortier 2000), I argue that for migrants it is through these constant interactions that they experience indeterminate becoming – a constant, affective reformulation of who they are and what it means to live well in the new society.

Thinking of integration in terms of a series of interactional processes draws attention to a number of features. These interactions take place between the migrant in question and individuals, groups and institutions within society and are often structured by unequal power dynamics that are shaped by broader social stratifications. As a result, the dynamics of these interactions – and so an individual's integration trajectory – is shaped by their personal characteristics: their gender, social location, citizenship and ethnicity to name but a few. However, these dynamics are not unchanging: society itself is not homogenous or static, so each interaction is different and the migrant's positionality within it can change. Migrants have agency to mobilise, reconfigure and deploy different forms of capital within their interactions. The receiving society is not monolithic; instead a variety of cultural, political and social practices and identities co-exist within wider society.

Affective responses are a key part of many of these interactions, and help us understand the 'back and forth' nature of integration processes. Hence the use of the term 'trajectories' – there is movement and change, but no normative sense of forward. As changes occur in people's lives that affect their sense of wellbeing in one space, they may choose to engage more in relationships in other transnational spaces, thinking about onward or return movements. As there is no end point to these interactional processes, migrants experience a continuing indeterminate becoming, which can become more or less salient and emotionally charged depending on changes in policies, attitudes or personal lives. These interactional processes are mediated by language and thus are also shaped by the forces around linguistic repertoires and performance of social identity that are inherent within these exchanges. While this is the case for all interactions – and has been the subject of interesting studies with respect to regional varieties and class (Grenfell 2011) – this is fore-grounded when the migrant comes from a country that does not speak the same language. Ideologies around native/non-native speakers thus impinge on many of these integration interactions. However, as highlighted above – society is not homogenous when it comes to language either. This means that not all the interactions that form part of integration processes will necessarily take place in the

receiving society's language(s). This is clearly shown in the importance of migrant friends, or migrant community groups that often become key sites for information exchange that facilitates change and adaptation.

In order to help us specify and understand some of these experiences, it is helpful to consider these interactions as taking place in different domains as other scholars have suggested (Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas 2016; Spencer and Charsley 2016; Ager and Strang 2008). However, I would argue in contrast to those accounts, that it is not helpful to include language as a separate domain, but rather to think of it as inherent in all the interactions that occur. Instead, following Erdal and Oeppen (2013), I suggest thinking of two key domains, the structural and the socio-cultural. Separating experiences into different domains helps us to think about the fact that integration experiences can occur independently of one another as well as drawing attention to the variety of processes and experiences, all of which taken together are part of integration. Nevertheless, there are many different ways of dividing up domains (for example Spencer and Charsley (2016) have five domains, Ager and Strang (2008) have nine domains whereas Penninx and Mascareñas (2016) have three) and all are somewhat arbitrary given the overlapping nature of the categories. Thinking about interactional processes across two broad domains – the structural and the socio-cultural – means recognising that there is a multiplicity of processes within each domain without drawing unnecessary boundaries between them. The structural encapsulates aspects such as the all important legal status, political rights, housing, healthcare, employment among others. Socio-cultural consists of the various social domains including new friendships, engagements with the local community or institutions, relationships with neighbours as well as cultural practices.

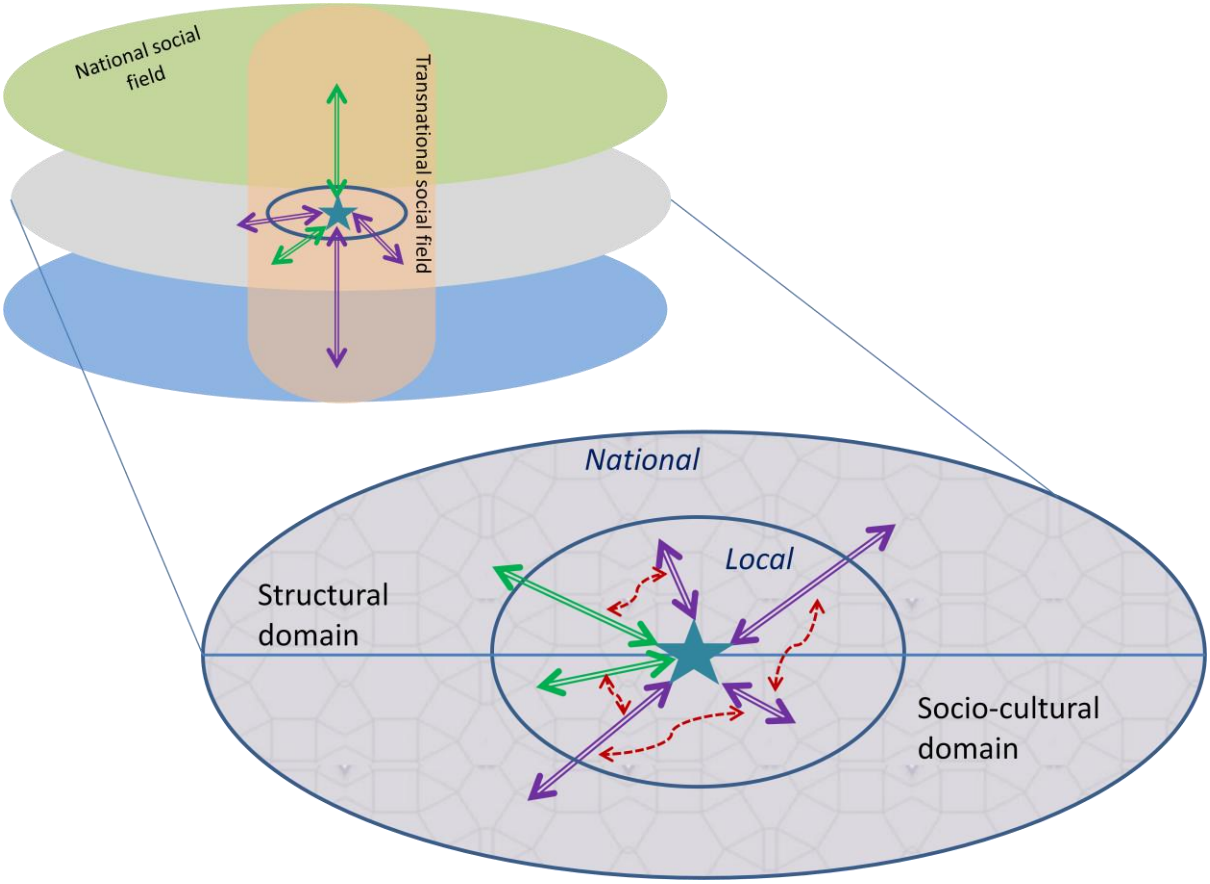
This conceptualisation must also take account of the fact that integration is multi-scalar. As has been pointed out repeatedly, these processes of interaction take place across different scales: the local, national and transnational. Some interactions, such as engagement in the neighbourhood, are much more relevant to the local level. Others, however, engage with institutions at the national level, such as registering to vote. Within these different scales, there may also be spaces or sites of integration, such as the workplace, the neighbourhood, the friendship group, that have different dynamics. As has been highlighted in numerous other accounts, and as emerged clearly in the findings is the fact that maintaining contacts across transnational space is not inimical to integration processes. In fact, as we have seen above, maintaining transnational friendships can often help support integration processes, showing how these processes can be synergistic (Erdal and Oeppen 2013). In fact, it has been argued that transnationalism and integration are processes that share many similarities (Erdal

and Oeppen 2013). Both involve interactions that ebb and flow across different social spaces, reflecting different emotional journeys (Vertovec 2009). Thus integration and transnationalism are intertwined, as migrants often maintain a multi-focality of perspectives throughout (Vertovec 2009).

In the preceding paragraphs, I have sought to outline how I believe we should conceptualise integration. In the figure below, I have sought to capture these ideas in a visual form. This conceptual map builds on previous iterations and seeks to represent the main features of integration sketched above: multiplicity of interactional processes that occur on different scales (transnational, national, local level) across two main domains. This approach starts with the migrant, and their different characteristics, at the centre of these interactions – represented here as a star. The first part of my map sketches the transnational dimension. By representing different circular planes I have sought to highlight how the transnantional space may be constituted of multiple different social fields. I have represented three planes, which could represent social space in the UK, Spain and Colombia for instance, but there could be many others. The light orange sphere highlights the transnational space that the individual moves through, carrying different forms of capital which may get lost, transformed or re-configured along the way (Erel 2010). The individual's interactions and engagements with different social fields within the transnational space are represented by the multi-directional arrows. These interactions are mediated by different languages which are represented by the different colours of the arrows.

In the lower part of the figure, the map zooms into focus on one specific plane of the transnational map, the receiving society, and shows in more detail the interactional processes across two main domains: the socio-cultural and structural domains. As mentioned, the double arrowed line emanating from the individual seeks to represent the engagement, with the double arrow signifying that this is an interaction – thus integration is inherently relational. These interactions may be with individuals, groups or institutions, but they are all interactional. However, as has also been demonstrated in the findings there are often interactions between the different processes. Thus for instance, in the structural domain the process of getting housing is likely to have an impact on social relationships with your neighbours. These inter-linkages between the different processes are represented through the dashed red arrows.

Figure 9.1: Conceptual map of multi-scalar interactional integration processes



As can be seen, the model maintains three key features of the Spencer and Charsley (2016) version (as shown on p.27): the idea of the receiving society being heterogeneous and the difference between the local and national levels. The heterogeneity of the receiving society is represented here, as in their model, by the mosaic background of the sphere of society. The distinction between the local and national level is also key, represented here by the two different circles. While some processes of interaction engage with national level institutions, particularly for instance, those associated with legal status, many other engagements are much more locally focussed and structured.

Taking an example of how this conceptualisation helps us understand a specific example may illustrate the idea more clearly. The case of Alba is instructive. She arrived in the UK with well recognised cultural capital in the form of a nursing degree, but with little work experience. Recruited directly to a hospital, her employment interactions in the structural domain were facilitated as was her accommodation in nursing residences. This facilitated accommodation impacted positively on her developing social relationships – as there were a number of other Spanish nurses recruited at

the same time showing interactions between the two domains. This friendship group was fundamental in her wellbeing in the early days – social interactions that primarily took place in Spanish. It was while socialising with this friendship group that she met her British partner. Over time this relationship became fundamental to her stay in the UK, helping her to develop her English skills. In the context of Brexit, it was a family member of her partner, who was a solicitor, who supported her to apply for permanent residency, thus showing how the socio-cultural domain can impact on the structural domain. Nevertheless she continues to maintain regular contact with her friends from school in Spain, using WhatsApp and Skype and visiting Spain several times a year, indicating how engagement in the transnational space remains important. Her potential plans to move again either back to Spain or to another country means she continues to engage in this transnational space across multiple national social fields. This example highlights how the model above can account for this variety of experience and it is hoped that it can prove a useful tool for other researchers thinking about integration and transnationalism.

Chapter 10: Conclusions and further research

This project sought to examine how integration was experienced by a specific group of intra-EU free movers, Spanish citizens in the UK. The initial rationale for looking at Spaniards was twofold. First, there was relatively little written about the Spanish case, particularly given the increase in migration from Spain following the financial crisis. While there have always been Spaniards in the UK, this has increased in the last decade, but Spaniards in the UK have rarely been looked at in academia and have generally been invisible in public debate. I was interested to think about what integration meant in the context of freedom of movement, and especially for those from Western Europe. Political discourses have insisted that EU citizens did not 'need' integration as EU citizenship grants full equality. Moreover, studies in the UK that have looked at the settlement of intra-EU migrants have tended to focus on arrivals from Eastern Europe. This meant that there is something of a gap in the literature when it comes to studies of settlement of those from Western Europe.

Second, I was interested in the diversity within this group and how this impacted on their experiences of integration. Within one citizenship group there is a diversity of class, ethnic and national backgrounds and differences in how people had become citizens. I was keen to untangle some of these factors to see how they impacted on integration experiences. One year into the project, the result of the referendum on the UK's membership of the EU unexpectedly thrust the experiences of EU citizens and their rights in the UK into the spotlight and added an additional dimension to the study. The Brexit referendum and its aftermath have produced a turbulent socio-political context in which to think about integration, highlighting the heterogeneity of opinions within the UK. The ongoing Brexit process has also brought into sharp relief the contingency of citizenship and rights – as rights to residence for EU citizens have been called into question. As the process has evolved and we have learnt more about the application process for EU citizens to claim a legal residence status post-Brexit, the degree to which this process will reproduce classed and gendered stratifications has been revealed (Botterill, McCollum, and Tyrrell 2018; D'Angelo and Kofman 2018).

Thus the project has evolved over time, but the main focus on looking at lived 'integration' experiences across a range of areas of life remained. What has followed has sought to provide a rich and detailed investigation of experiences of integration in three main areas - the labour market, friendships and sociability, and language - to try to build a somewhat holistic account of integration and to examine interaction between the three areas. In looking at these three areas, I have drawn on new conceptualisations of integration to frame the study and to think through and explain my findings. These new conceptualisations have arisen out of dissatisfaction with previous static,

essentialist and reductive accounts of integration and all have sought to grapple with the empirical realities of these processes of change and adaptation, rather than with normative ideas of what policy-makers think integration should be.

The findings revealed a range of diverse integration trajectories and experiences. In general, Spanish citizens encounter few difficulties accessing the labour market, although most experience some downward mobility on arrival. They arrive with generally high levels of English language skills, often the result of private classes, but tend to invest to continue learning English on arrival. Friendships are easily made with other migrants in diverse towns and these friendships can be equally valuable in facilitating integration processes in the structural domain, such as accessing housing, as friendships with British people. Thus experiences of integration in one area frequently impacted on one of the other areas. Often these experiences reinforced one another, but occasionally they produced contradictory outcomes. Language was key in many areas – hence leading to the conclusion that language is best not considered a separate domain, but something that shapes all integration interactions. Future projects may want to explore in greater detail how language structures interactions, and how different vernaculars are mobilised in different contexts. It would be interesting to explore migrants' own socio-linguistic understandings of the opportunities and constraints they feel in their language use and how this interacts with other areas of integration. This could perhaps be usefully combined with more detailed mapping of social relationships, exploring the languages of these relationships.

Studying this group through the lens of integration, I implicitly sought to question some of the dominant framing on research with this group. Most recent research on Spanish emigration has focussed on young people, youth transitions and the impact of the crisis. While the crisis has undoubtedly been a hugely important contextual feature of recent migration from Spain, a decade later it feels that a continuing focus on the crisis obscures some of the diversity with this emigration, in terms of age groups and backgrounds, as well as overlooking potential continuities in these flows and similarities between groups of intra-EU citizens. Research on the crisis has focussed on flows from Southern Europe (Lafleur and Stanek 2017; Bartolini, Gropas, and Triandafyllidou 2017) but more recently a number of studies have compared Spaniards with Polish citizens in different contexts (Jendrissek 2014; Bygnes and Erdal 2017). While similarities include relatively open and indeterminate plans for the future, differences emerge in terms of the labour market positions people concentrate in and in the re-formulations of cultural capital in the UK context. For Polish citizens their ethnicity can be mobilised in terms of a 'hard working' disposition (Nowicka 2014),

whereas many Spanish respondents are able to leverage the cultural capital of Spanish language in order to progress in the labour market.

It was clear that class and various forms of capital – economic, social and cultural – and how this capital was mobilised played a huge role in accounting for how integration trajectories unfolded. I was keen to explore one dimension of the heterogeneity within the group of Spanish citizens in the UK by looking specifically at Latin American Spaniards as one part of the wider group. Latin Americans that hold dual citizenship with an EU country have usually been studied as part of the wider group of Latin Americans in the UK context (McIlwaine, Cock, and Linneker 2011) or as a specific group (Ramos 2017; Mas Giralt 2017). However, turning this on its head and investigating them in the context of being EU citizens reveals the limits of citizenship as an explanatory factor. The findings demonstrated that social location and various forms of capital were perhaps more important factors in accounting for these differences than national/ethnic backgrounds (Wessendorf 2018). But this is not to say that these national or ethnic differences had not played a role in shaping how individuals had ended in different social locations. Instead this was constituted by a complex interplay of factors, including processes of stratification that shape how those born in Latin America were able to access their Spanish citizenship. Identifying three broad groups among my participants: internationally recognised, highly qualified; middling transnationals; and precarious workers, I found that the distribution across these three groups was not the same between those born in Spain and those born in Latin America. While those born in Spain were concentrated in the first two groups, the group of Spanish-Latin Americas was more polarised with fewer falling into the middle group. Thus previous migratory experience becomes relevant not in providing people with a 'migrant knowledge' (Ramos 2017), but in how it has shaped trajectories affecting people's life stage and ability to accumulate capital across their migration projects. Those who found themselves in the position of being precarious workers in the UK had faced disadvantage in Spain. For those born in Latin America this had often been a combination of a period of irregularity, indebtedness and downward mobility and discrimination in the labour market – characterising a form of 'onward precarity' (McIlwaine and Bunge 2018). While this study has sought to unpack some of the entanglements of class, ethnicity and citizenship in migration contexts, further work is needed to develop thinking on class in transnational contexts and how different factors affect it. While this work has been developing (Kofman 2008; Oliver and O'Reilly 2010), there is still a need for a framework to help think through the situations and ways in which capital is transformed and re-configured across geographical spaces (Erel 2010; Oso and Suárez-Grimalt 2017).

Economic resources remain fundamental to integration processes because they dictate the amount of time people can invest in other areas of their lives. For many precarious workers, simply making enough money to get by was a huge challenge, leaving little time, resources and mental energy to invest in language learning or building social relationships. This is important because social relationships are fundamental for the emotional journey of integration and developing a sense of wellbeing in place. This is done in the context of a constant comparison to a left behind 'home' and continual transnational engagement. It is in this subjective back and forth-ing, these comparisons of life in different spaces, these emotional journeys to establish fulfilling and 'normal' lives that the idea of integration sat in most people's minds. Thus transnationalism and integration are intertwined processes, not zero-sum games. This also helps to illustrate how integration processes can be multi-directional, as the loss of close friendships that may act as 'social anchors' could lead to people feeling less happy and uncertain about their future migration project in the UK (Grzymala-Kazlowska 2017). Indeed, as integration proceeds through interactions, many changes to the dynamics of these interactions could affect feelings of wellbeing. As a result, there was a certain amount of effort involved in navigating these interactions, particularly as power imbalances play out in them, highlighting that integration does require some level of exertion – or at least an emotional resilience to be able to weather the changes.

In spite of all the issues with the word integration, I maintain that the concept still has a place for capturing the full range of experiences across multiple domains. It is the most widely used and recognised word to discuss this phenomenon, and through careful usage and more attentive empirical work, I believe scholars can drive a more nuanced public discussion about what it entails. Replacing the word integration with an alternative will not mitigate all of the problems, particularly if used imprecisely. What scholars must promote and push for is precision and care in usage of the term. Thus starting from a position that sees society as formed through interactions, I have argued that integration is best understood as a series multi-directional, interactional processes that constitute a continual re-negotiation of identity and belonging. These processes involve affective engagements, re-imaginings and a constant comparison across different social spaces. These processes take place across two main domains: the structural and the socio-cultural. Interactions with individuals, groups and institutions in these different domains shape people's integration trajectories, and interactions in one domain may impact on the other. These interactions are shaped and structured by various personal attributes such as gender, ethnicity and age, but also by the forms of capital that people are able to mobilise in a new context. They are also impacted by the heterogeneity of society, with different contexts structuring the experiences. These processes are

multi-scalar, involving interactions across a multiplicity of social spaces in the transnational social field. Language mediates these interactions and the power dynamics that can play out on the micro-level between speakers with forms of language deemed 'legitimate' and 'illegitimate' are also often replicated on the meso and macro level. While some might argue that these processes are best studied separately, rather than lumped together under the heading of 'integration', I would counter that while detailed studies of specific areas are necessary, they give an incomplete picture since they do not capture how the different areas intersect and impact one another. Building on the findings above, I have sought to develop the visual conceptual map presented by Spencer and Charsley (2016), carrying forward a number of key features of their model, but also introducing some important changes. First and foremost, I have sought to highlight how transnationalism and integration are intertwined processes and thus should be conceptualised together. Secondly, I brought the migrant – and their various personal characteristics – to the centre of the model, foregrounding their experience and seeking to move away from any implicit ideas of integration being something that involves progress in a normative sense. The hope is that the account of integration set out above, and the visual representation developed alongside it, can act as a springboard and tool for other researchers seeking to develop nuanced and comprehensive understandings of integration.

References

Ager, Alastair, and Alison Strang. 2008. “Understanding Integration: A Conceptual Framework.” *Journal of Refugee Studies* 21 (2): 166–91. https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fen016.

Akresh, Ilana Redstone, Douglas S. Massey, and Reanne Frank. 2014. “Beyond English Proficiency: Rethinking Immigrant Integration.” *Social Science Research* 45: 200–210. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2014.01.005.

Alba, Richard, and Victor Nee. 1997. “Rethinking Assimilation Theory for a New Era of Immigration.” *International Migration Review* 31 (4): 826–74. https://doi.org/10.2307/2547416.

Allan, Kori. 2013. “Skilling the Self: The Communicability of Immigrants as Flexible Labour.” In *Language, Migration and Social Inequalities*, edited by Alexandre Duchêne, Melissa Moyer, and Celia Roberts, 56–80. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Anderson, Ben, and Helen F Wilson. 2017. “Everyday Brexits.” *AREA*, 1–5. https://doi.org/10.1111/area.12385.

Anderson, Bridget. 2012. “What Does ‘The Migrant’ Tell Us about the (Good) Citizen?” Oxford: COMPAS Working Paper, WP-12-94.

Anderson, Bridget, and Martin Ruhs. 2010. “Migrant Workers: Who Needs Them? A Framework for the Analysis of Staff Shortages, Immigration, and Public Policy.” In *Who Needs Migrant Workers? Labour Shortages, Immigration, and Public Policy*, edited by Martin Ruhs and Bridget Anderson, 15–52. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Anthias, Floya. 2007. “Ethnic Ties: Social Capital and the Question of Mobilisability.” *Sociological Review* 55 (4): 788–805. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.2007.00752.x.

———. 2013. “Moving beyond the Janus Face of Integration and Diversity Discourses: Towards an Intersectional Framing.” *Sociological Review* 61 (2): 323–43. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-954X.12001.

Arango, Joaquín. 2016. “Spain: New Emigration Policies Needed for an Emerging Diaspora.” *Transatlantic Council on Migration*. Washington DC: Migration Policy Institue.

Arango, Joaquín, and Claudia Finotelli. 2009. “Spain.” *Regularisations in Europe Study: Country Studies*. Vienna: ICMPD.

Baldassar, Loretta, and Laura Merla. 2014. “Locating Transnational Care Circulation in Migration and Family Studies.” In *Transnational Families, Migration and the Circulation of Care*, edited by Loretta Baldassar and Laura Merla. London: Routledge.

Bartolini, Laura, Ruby Gropas, and Anna Triandafyllidou. 2017. “Drivers of Highly Skilled Mobility from Southern Europe: Escaping the Crisis and Emancipating Oneself.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 43 (4): 652–73. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2016.1249048.

Baumann, Zygmunt. 1998. *Globalization: The Human Consequences*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Benton, Meghan, and Liam Patuzzi. 2018. “Jobs in 2028: How Will Changing Labour Markets Affect Immigrant Integration in Europe?” Brussels: Migration Policy Institue.

Berg, Mette Louise. 2019. “Super-Diversity, Austerity, and the Production of Precarity: Latin Americans in London.” *Critical Social Policy* 39 (2): 184–204. https://doi.org/10.1177/0261018318790744.

Bermudez, Anastasia, and Elisa Brey. 2017. “Is Spain Becoming a Country of Emigration Again? Data Evidence and Public Responses.” In *South-North Migration of EU Citizens in Times of Crisis*, edited by Jean-Michel Lafleur and Mikolaj Stanek, 83–98. IMISCOE Research Series: Springer Open.

Bermudez, Anastasia, and Laura Oso. 2018. “‘Kites’ and ‘Anchors’: The (Im)Mobility Strategies of Transnational Latin American Families against the Crisis in Spain.” *Population, Space and Place* 25 (6): 1–10. https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.2221.

Berry, J W. 1997. “Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaption.” *Applied Psychology: An International Review* 46 (1): 5–68.

Bhambra, Gurminder K. 2017. “Brexit, Trump, and ‘Methodological Whiteness’: On the Misrecognition of Race and Class.” *British Journal of Sociology* 68 (S1): S214–32. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-4446.12317.

Bhatia, Sunil, and Anjali Ram. 2009. “Theorizing Identity in Transnational and Diaspora Cultures: A Critical Approach to Acculturation.” *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 33: 140–49. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2008.12.009.

Bidart, Claire, and Daniel Lavenu. 2005. “Evolutions of Personal Networks and Life Events.” *Social Networks* 27 (4): 359–76. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socnet.2004.11.003.

Blommaert, Jan. 2001. “Investigating Narrative Inequality: African Asylum Seekers’ Stories in Belgium.” *Discourse & Society* 12 (4): 413–49.

———. 2016. “Teaching the English That Makes One Happy.” *English Today* 32 (3): 11–13. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0266078416000213.

Blommaert, Jan, James Collins, and Stef Slembrouck. 2005. “Spaces of Multilingualism.” *Language and Communication* 25: 197–216. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.langcom.2005.05.002.

Boccagni, Paolo, and Loretta Baldassar. 2015. “Emotions on the Move: Mapping the Emergent Field of Emotion and Migration.” *Emotion, Space and Society* 16: 73–80. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.emospa.2015.06.009.

Bolíbar, Mireia, Joel Martí, and Joan Miquel Verd. 2015. “Just a Question of Time? The Composition and Evolution of Immigrants’ Personal Networks in Catalonia.” *International Sociology* 30 (6): 579–98. https://doi.org/10.1177/0268580915579925.

Bollen, Kenneth, and Juan Díez Medrano. 1998. “Who Are the Spaniards? Nationalism and Identification in Spain.” *Social Forces* 77 (2): 587–621.

Bonjour, Saskia, and Sébastien Chauvin. 2018. “Social Class, Migration Policy and Migrant Strategies: An Introduction.” *International Migration* 56 (4): 5–18. https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12469.

Bonnett, Alastair. 1998. “Who Was White? The Disappearance of Non-European White Identities and the Formation of European Racial Whiteness.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21 (6): 1029–55. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419879808565651.

Borevi, Karin, Kristian Kriegbaum Jensen, and Per Mouritsen. 2017. “The Civic Turn of Immigrant Integration Policies in the Scandinavian Welfare States.” *Comparative Migration Studies* 5 (9): 1–14. https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-017-0052-4.

Botterill, Kate, David McCollum, and Naomi Tyrrell. 2018. “Negotiating Brexit: Migrant Spatialities

and Identities in a Changing Europe." *Population, Space and Place* 25 (e2216): 1–4. https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.2216.

Bottero, Wendy. 2004. "Class Identities and the Identity of Class." *Sociology* 38 (5): 985–1003. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038504047182.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977. "The Economics of Linguistic Exchanges (Trans R Nice)." *Social Science Information XVI* 6: 645–68.

———. 1986. "The Forms of Capital." In *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, edited by John Richardson, 241–258. New York: Greenwood Press.

Bover, Olympia, and Pillar Velilla. 1999. "Migrations in Spain: Historical Background and Current Trends." Working Paper No. 9909. Madrid: Banco de Espana - Servicio de Estudios.

Brenzel, Hanna, and Malte Reichelt. 2018. "Job Mobility as a New Explanation for the Immigrant-Native Wage Gap: A Longitudinal Analysis of the German Labor Market." *International Migration Review* 52 (3): 724–49. https://doi.org/10.1177/0197918318781834.

Brickell, Katherine, and Ayona Datta. 2011. "Introduction: Translocal Geographies." In *Translocal Geographies: Spaces, Places and Connections*, edited by Katherine Brickell and Ayona Datta, 3–22. London: Routledge.

British Sociological Association. 2017. "BSA Statement of Ethical Practice." Durham: British Sociological Association.

Brown, Susan K., and Frank D. Bean. 2006. "Assimilation Models, Old and New: Explaining a Long-Term Process." *Migration Information Source*. Washington DC: Migration Policy Institute.

Brubaker, Rogers. 1992. *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*. London: Harvard University Press.

Bryceson, Deborah, and Ulla Vuorela. 2002. "Transnational Families in the Twenty-First Century." In *The Transnational Family: New European Frontiers and Global Networks*, edited by Deborah Bryceson and Ulla Vuorela, 3–30. Oxford: Berg.

Bryman, Alan. 2006. "Integrating Quantitative and Qualitative Research: How Is It Done?" *Qualitative Research* 6 (1): 97–113. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794106058877.

Burrell, Kathy. 2010. "Staying, Returning, Working and Living: Key Themes in Current Academic Research Undertaken in the UK on Migration Movements from Eastern Europe." *Social Identities* 16 (3): 297–308. https://doi.org/10.1080/13504630.2010.482401.

Bygnes, Susanne. 2017. "Are They Leaving Because of the Crisis? The Sociological Significance of Anomie as a Motivation for Migration." *Sociology* 51 (2): 258–73. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038515589300.

Bygnes, Susanne, and Marta Bivand Erdal. 2017. "Liquid Migration, Grounded Lives: Considerations about Future Mobility and Settlement among Polish and Spanish Migrants in Norway." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 43 (1): 102–18. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2016.1211004.

Cabezón Fernández, Maria J., and Juan D. Sempere Souvannavong. 2017. "'El Paro o Argelia': La Expatriación de Los Españoles En Argelia Como Salida Laboral." *Migraciones* 43: 15–38.

Cairns, David. 2014. "'I Wouldn't Stay Here': Economic Crisis and Youth Mobility in Ireland."

International Migration 52 (3): 236–49. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2435.2012.00776.x.

Campbell, Stuart. 2014. "Does It Matter Why Immigrants Came Here? Original Motives, the Labour Market, and National Identity in the UK." Working Paper No. 14-14. London: Institute of Education, Department of Quantitative Social Science.

Cangiano, Alessio. 2008. "Employment Support Services and Migrant Integration in the UK Labour Market." Policy Paper 3-7. Hamburg: Hamburg Institute of International Economics (HWWI).

Carmel, Emma. 2013. "Mobility , Migration and Rights in the European Union: Critical Reflections on Policy and Practice." *Policy Studies* 34 (2): 238–53. https://doi.org/10.1080/01442872.2013.778028.

Casado, Banghwa L., Michin Hong, and Donna Harrington. 2010. "Measuring Migratory Grief and Loss Associated With the Experience of Immigration." *Research on Social Work Practice* 20 (6): 611–20.

Castles, Stephen. 2005. "Nation and Empire: Hierarchies of Citizenship in the New Global Order." *International Politics* 42: 203–24.

Castles, Stephen, Hein De Haas, and Mark J. Miller. 2014. *The Age of Migration*. Fifth edit. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Castles, Stephen, Maja Korac, Ellie Vasta, Steven Vertovec, Katrin Hansing, Fiona Moore, Emma Newcombe, Lucy Rix, and Soojin Yu. 2002. "Integration: Mapping the Field." Oxford: Centre on Migration, Policy, and Society (COMPAS) and Refugee Studies Centre.

Cebolla-Boado, Héctor, María Miyar-Busto, and Jacobo Muñoz-Comet. 2015. "Is the Spanish Recession Increasing Inequality? Male Migrant-Native Differences in Educational Returns Against Unemployment." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 41 (5): 710–28. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2014.936837.

Cederberg, Maja. 2012. "Migrant Networks and beyond: Exploring the Value of the Notion of Social Capital for Making Sense of Ethnic Inequalities." *Acta Sociologica* 55 (1): 59–72. https://doi.org/10.1177/0001699311427746.

———. 2014. "Public Discourses and Migrant Stories of Integration and Inequality: Language and Power in Biographical Narratives." *Sociology* 48 (1): 133–49. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038512470041.

Cerrato, Laura. 2017. "Accent Discrimination in the US: A Hindrance to Your Employment and Career Development?" Metropolia University of Applied Sciences.

Cheung, Sin Yi, and Jenny Phillimore. 2013. "Social Networks , Social Capital and Refugee Integration." Cardiff: University of Cardiff and University of Birmingham.

Chiswick, Barry R, and Paul W Miller. 2001. "A Model of Destination-Language Acquisition: Application to Male Immigrants in Canada." *Demography* 38 (3): 391–409.

Christou, Anastasia. 2011. "Narrating Lives in (e)Motion: Embodiment, Belongingness and Displacement in Diasporic Spaces of Home and Return." *Emotion, Space and Society* 4: 249–57. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.emospa.2011.06.007.

Clark, Ken, Lindsey Garratt, Yaojun Li, Kitty Lymperopoulou, and William Shankley. 2018. "Local Deprivation and the Labour Market Integration of New Migrants to England." *Journal of Ethnic*

and Migration Studies, 1–23. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2018.1481000.

Cock, Juan Camilo. 2011. "Latin American Commercial Spaces and the Formation of Ethnic Publics in London: The Case of the Elephant and Castle." In *Cross-Border Migration Among Latin Americans: European Perspectives and Beyond*, edited by Cathy McIlwaine, 175–95. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Collett, Elizabeth. 2013. "The Integration Needs of Mobile EU Citizens: Impediments and Opportunities." Brussels: Migration Policy Institue Europe.

Collett, Elizabeth, and Milica Petrovic. 2014. "The Future of Immigrant Integration in Europe: Mainstreaming Approaches for Inclusion." Brussels: Migration Policy Institute Europe.

Conradson, David, and Alan Latham. 2005a. "Friendship, Networks and Transnationality in a World City: Antipodean Transmigrants in London." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31 (2): 287–305. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183042000339936.

———. 2005b. "Transnational Urbanism: Attending to Everyday Practices and Mobilities." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31 (2): 227–33. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183042000339891.

Cortés, Almudena, Beatriz Moncó, and Débora Betrisey. 2015. "Movilidad Transnacionale de Jóvenes Españoles y Latinoamericanos: Una Comparación En Contexto de Crisis." Madrid: Centro Reina Sofia sobre Adolescencia y Juventud.

Cortés, Almudena, and Laura Oso. 2017. "Birds of a Feather in Transnational Flight: Return, Gender and Mobility-Immobility Strategies Between Ecuador and Spain." *Revista Española de Sociología* 26 (3): 359–72. https://doi.org/10.22325/fes/res.2017.28.

Council of the European Union. 2004. "Press Release 2618th Council Meeting Justice and Home Affairs 19 November 2004." Brussels: Press Office. http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/jha/82745.pdf.

Craig, Gary. 2015. "Migration and Integration: A Local and Experiential Perspective." IRIS Working Paper Series, No. 7/2015. Birmingham: Institute for Research into Superdiversity.

Crawley, Heaven. 2016. "Managing the Unmanageable? Understanding Europe's Response to the Migration 'Crisis.'" *Human Geography* 9 (2): 13–23.

Cresswell, Tim. 2010. "Towards a Politics of Mobility." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 28: 17–31. https://doi.org/10.1068/d11407.

Creswell, John W. 2014. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches*. 4th Ed. London: Sage.

Creswell, John W, and Abbas Tashakkori. 2007. "Differing Perspectives on Mixed Methods Research." *Journal of Mixed Methods Research Sage Publications* 1 (10): 303–8. https://doi.org/10.1177/1558689807306132.

Crul, Maurice, and Jens Schneider. 2010. "Comparative Integration Context Theory: Participation and Belonging in New Diverse European Cities." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 33 (7): 1249–68. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419871003624068.

Csedő, Krisztina. 2008. "Negotiating Skills in the Global City : Hungarian and Romanian Professionals and Graduates in London." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 34 (5): 803–23. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830802106093.

Curtin, Richard, Stanley Presser, and Eleanor Singer. 2000. “The Effects of Response Rate Changes on the Index of Consumer Sentiment.” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 64 (4): 413–28. https://doi.org/10.1086/318638.

D’Angelo, Alessio. 2015. “Migrant Organisations: Embodied Community Capital?” In *Migrant Capital: Networks, Identities and Strategies*, edited by Louise Ryan, Umut Erel, and Alessio D’Angelo, 83–101. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

D’Angelo, Alessio, and Eleonore Kofman. 2017. “UK: Large-Scale European Migration and the Challenge to EU Free Movement.” In *South-North Migration of EU Citizens in Times of Crisis*, edited by Jean-Michel Lafleur and Mikolaj Stanek, 175–92. IMISCOE Research Series: Springer Open. https://link.springer.com/book/10.1007/978-3-319-39763-4.

———. 2018. “From Mobile Workers to Fellow Citizens and Back Again? The Future Status of EU Citizens in the UK.” *Social Policy and Society* 17 (2): 331–43. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746417000495.

Davies, Charlotte A. 1999. *Reflexive Ethnography: A Guide to Researching Selves and Others*. London: Routledge.

Deding, Mette, Torben Fridberg, and Vibeke Jakobsen. 2008. “Non-Response in a Survey among Immigrants in Denmark.” *Survey Research Methods* 2 (3): 107–21.

Domingo i Valls, Andreu, Albert Sabater Coll, and Enrique Ortega Rivera. 2014. “¿Migración Neohispánica? El Impacto de La Crisis Económica En La Emigración Española.” *Empiria: Revista de Metodología de Ciencias Sociales* 29: 39–66. https://doi.org/10.5944/empiria.29.2014.12940.

Domínguez-Mujica, Josefina, and Tanausú Pérez García. 2017. “The Economic Crisis and the Southern European Migration Model.” In *European Mobility in Times of Crisis: The New Context of European South-North Migration*, edited by Birgit Glorius and Josefina Domínguez-Mujica, 17–48. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag.

Dubucs, Hadrien, Thomas Pfirsch, Ettore Recchi, and Camille Schmoll. 2017. “Je Suis Un Italien de Paris: Italian Migrants’ Incorporation in a European Capital City.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 43 (4): 578–95. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2016.1249051.

Dustmann, Christian, and Francesca Fabbri. 2003. “Language Proficiency and Labour Market Performance of Immigrants in the UK.” *The Economic Journal* 113: 695–717.

———. 2005. “Immigrants in the British Labour Market.” *Fiscal Studies* 26 (4): 423–70. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-5890.2005.00019.x.

Eade, John, Stephen Drinkwater, and Michal Garapich. 2007. “Class and Ethnicity: Polish Migrants in London.” *Full Research Report. ESRC End of Award Report, RES-000-22-1294.* Swindon: ESRC.

EAVES. 2015. “Settling in: Experiences of Women on Spousal Visas in the UK.” London: EAVES. http://www.eavesforwomen.org.uk/research.

Ellermann, Antje. 2019. “Discrimination in Migration and Citizenship.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 1–17. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2018.1561053.

Engbersen, Godfried, and Erik Snel. 2010. “‘A Van Full of Poles’: Liquid Migration from Central and Eastern Europe.” In *A Continent Moving West? EU Enlargement and Labour Migration from Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by Godfried Engbersen, Marek Okólski, and Cristina Pantîru,

115–40. Amsterdam: IMISCOE Amsterdam University Press.

Equality and Human Rights Commission. 2014. “The Invisible Workforce: Employment Practices in the Cleaning Sector - Findings Report.” London: Equality and Human Rights Commission.

Erdal, Marta Bivand. 2013. “Migrant Transnationalism and Multi-Layered Integration: Norwegian-Pakistani Migrants’ Own Reflections.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 39 (6): 983–99. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2013.765665.

———. 2014. “‘This Is My Home’: Pakistani and Polish Migrants’ Return Considerations as Articulations about ‘Home.’” *Comparative Migration Studies* 2 (3): 361–84. https://acces.bibl.ulaval.ca/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=eue&AN=109002043&lang=fr&site=ehost-live.

Erdal, Marta Bivand, and Aleksandra Lewicki. 2016. “Moving Citizens: Citizenship Practices among Polish Migrants in Norway and the United Kingdom.” *Social Identities* 22 (1): 112–28. https://doi.org/10.1080/13504630.2015.1110371.

Erdal, Marta Bivand, and Ceri Oeppen. 2013. “Migrant Balancing Acts: Understanding the Interactions Between Integration and Transnationalism.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 39 (6): 867–84. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2013.765647.

Erel, Umut. 2010. “Migrating Cultural Capital: Bourdieu in Migration Studies.” *Sociology* 44 (4): 642–60. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038510369363.

Eurostat. 2019. “Educational Attainment.” Brussels: Eurostat. https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Educational_attainment_statistics.

Eve, Michael. 2010. “Integrating via Networks: Foreigners and Others.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 33 (7): 1231–48.

Faist, Thomas. 2000. “Transnationalization in International Migration: Implications for the Study of Citizenship and Culture.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 23 (2): 189–222.

Favell, Adrian. 2001. “Integration Policy and Integration Research in Europe: A Review and Critique.” In *Citizenship Today: Global Perspectives and Practices*, edited by Alexander Aleinikoff and Douglas Klusmeyer, 349–99. Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

———. 2008. *Eurostars and Eurocities: Free Movement and Mobility in an Integrating Europe*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Fawcett, Barbara, and Jeff Hearn. 2004. “Researching Others: Epistemology, Experience, Standpoints and Participation.” *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 7 (3): 201–18.

Fernández Reino, Mariña. 2019. “English Language Use and Proficiency of Migrants in the UK.” Oxford: The Migration Observatory.

Fiala, Charlotte. 2012. “‘And They Lived Happily Ever after’? Ecuadorian’s Re-Socialisation in the Spanish Labour Market through Regularisation of Immigration Status.” COMPAS Working Paper, WP-12-101. Oxford: COMPAS.

FitzGerald, David S., David Cook-Martín, Angela S. García, and Rawan Arar. 2017. “Can You Become One of Us? A Historical Comparison of Legal Selection of ‘Assimilable’ Immigrants in Europe and the Americas.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 44 (1): 27–47.

https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1313106.

Föbker, Stefanie, and Daniela Imani. 2017. “The Role of Language Skills in the Settling-in Process – Experiences of Highly Skilled Migrants’ Accompanying Partners in Germany and the UK.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 43 (16): 2720–37. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1314596.

Ford, Robert. 2011. “Acceptable and Unacceptable Immigrants: How Opposition to Immigration in Britain Is Affected by Migrants’ Region of Origin.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 37 (7): 1017–37. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2011.572423.

Fortier, Anne-Marie. 2000. *Migrant Belongings: Memory, Space, Identity*. Oxford: Berg.

Fox, Jon E, Laura Morosanu, and Eszter Szilassy. 2012. “The Racialization of the New European Migration to the UK.” *Sociology* 46 (4): 680–95. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038511425558.

Friedberg, Rachel M. 2000. “You Can’t Take It with You? Immigrant Assimilation and the Portability of Human Capital.” *Journal of Labor Economics* 18 (2): 221–51. https://doi.org/10.1086/209957.

Galasinska, Aleksandra, and Olga Kozlowska. 2009. “Discourses on a ‘Normal Life’ among Post-Accession Migrants from Poland to Britain.” In *Polish Migration to the UK in the ‘New’ European Union: After 2004*, edited by Kathy Burrell, 87–105. Abingdon: Routledge.

Gidley, B, and H Jayaweera. 2010. “An Evidence Base on Migration and Integration in London.” London: COMPAS.

Gidley, Ben. 2014. “Integration.” In *Migration: A COMPAS Anthology*, edited by Michael Keith and Bridget Anderson. Oxford: COMPAS. http://compasanthology.co.uk/integration/.

Gil-Alonso, Fernando, and Elena Vidal-Coso. 2015. “Inmigrantes Extranjeros En El Mercado de Trabajo Español: ¿Más Resilientes o Más Vulnerables Al Impacto de La Crisis?” *Migraciones* 37: 97–123.

Gilmartin, Mary, and Bettina Migge. 2015. “European Migrants in Ireland: Pathways to Integration.” *European Urban and Regional Studies* 22 (3): 285–99. https://doi.org/10.1177/0969776412474583.

Glick Schiller, Nina, and Ayse Çağlar. 2009. “Towards a Comparative Theory of Locality in Migration Studies: Migrant Incorporation and City Scale.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35 (2): 177–202. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830802586179.

Gluszek, Agata, and John F. Dovidio. 2010a. “Speaking with a Nonnative Accent: Perceptions of Bias, Communication Difficulties, and Belonging in the United States.” *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 29 (2): 224–34. https://doi.org/10.1177/0261927X09359590.

———. 2010b. “The Way They Speak: A Social Psychological Perspective on the Stigma of Nonnative Accents in Communication.” *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 14 (2): 214–37. https://doi.org/10.1177/1088868309359288.

Glynn, Irial. 2015. “Just One of the ‘PIIGS’ or a European Outlier? Studying Irish Emigration from a Comparative Perspective.” *Irish Journal of Sociology* 23, 2: 93–113. https://doi.org/10.7227/IJS.23.2.7.

Golsch, Katrin. 2003. “Employment Flexibility in Spain and Its Impact on Transitions to Adulthood.”

Work, Employment and Society 17 (4): 691–718.

González-Ferrer, Amparo. 2013. "La Nueva Emigración Española: Lo Que Sabemos y Lo Que No." *Zoom Político* 18: 1–20.

González-Ferrer, Amparo, and Francisco Javier Moreno-Fuentes. 2017. "Back to the Suitcase? Emigration during the Great Recession in Spain." *South European Society and Politics* 22 (4): 447–71. https://doi.org/10.1080/13608746.2017.1413051.

González Enríquez, Carmen. 2013. "Los Nuevos Emigrantes Españoles." *El Pais*, October 15, 2013.

González Enríquez, Carmen, and Jose Pablo Martínez Romera. 2014. "Country Focus: Migration of Spanish Nationals during the Crisis." Madrid: Elcano Royal Institute.

Goodman, Sara Wallace. 2010. "Integration Requirements for Integration's Sake? Identifying, Categorising and Comparing Civic Integration Policies." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36 (5): 753–72. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691831003764300.

Graeber, John. 2016. "Citizenship in the Shadow of the Euro Crisis: Explaining Changing Patterns in Naturalisation among Intra-EU Migrants." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 42 (10): 1670–92. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2016.1162353.

Granada, Ana Lucila. 2013. "Latin Americans in London: Language, Integration and Ethnic Identity." *Doctoral Thesis*. Aston University.

Granovetter, Mark S. 1973. "The Strength of Weak Ties." *American Journal of Sociology* 78 (6): 1360–80.

———. 1983. "The Strength of Weak Ties: A Network Theory Revisited." *Sociological Theory* 1: 201–33.

———. 1985. "Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness." *American Journal of Sociology* 91: 481–510.

Greene, Jennifer C., Valerie J. Caracelli, and Wendy F. Graham. 1989. "Toward a Conceptual Framework for Mixed-Method Evaluation Designs." *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis* 11 (3): 255–74.

Greenfield, Patrick. 2019. "Sajid Javid Accused of 'human Fly-Tipping' in Shamima Begum Case." *The Guardian*, May 31, 2019. https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/may/31/sajid-javid-accused-shamima-begum-case-syria.

Grenfell, Michael J. 2011. *Bourdieu, Language and Linguistics*. London: Continuum International Publishing Group.

Grzymala-Kazlowska, Aleksandra. 2016. "Social Anchoring: Immigrant Identity, Security and Integration Reconnected?" *Sociology* 50 (6): 1123–39. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038515594091.

———. 2017. "From Connecting to Social Anchoring: Adaptation and 'Settlement' of Polish Migrants in the UK." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 44 (2): 252–69. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1341713.

Grzymala-Kazlowska, Aleksandra, and Jenny Phillimore. 2017. "Introduction: Rethinking Integration. New Perspectives on Adaptation and Settlement in the Era of Super-Diversity." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 44 (2): 179–96. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1341706.

Guerrina, Roberta, and Annick Masselot. 2018. “Walking into the Footprint of EU Law: Unpacking the Gendered Consequences of Brexit.” *Social Policy and Society* 17 (2): 319–30. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746417000501.

Guma, Taulant, and Rhys Dafydd Jones. 2019. “‘Where Are We Going to Go Now?’ European Union Migrants’ Experiences of Hostility, Anxiety, and (Non-)Belonging during Brexit.” *Population, Space and Place* 25 (1): 1–10. https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.2198.

Harpaz, Yossi. 2018. “Compensatory Citizenship: Dual Nationality as a Strategy of Global Upward Mobility.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 45 (6): 897–916. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2018.1440486.

Hear, Nicholas Van. 2014. “Reconsidering Migration and Class.” *International Migration Review* 48 (S1): S100–121. https://doi.org/10.1111/imre.12139.

Heath, Anthony, and Yaojun Li. 2014. “What Do We Know about Socio-Economic Integration, and What Are the Key Emerging Issues?” Oxford: Global Exchange on Migration & Diversity.

Herrera, Gioconda. 2012. “Starting Over Again? Crisis, Gender, and Social Reproduction Among Ecuadorian Migrants in Spain.” *Feminist Economics* 18 (2): 125–48.

———. 2016. “Respuestas Frente a La Crisis En Clave de Género: Migración Circular y Retorno Entre Familias Ecuatorianas En España y Ecuador.” *Investigaciones Feministas* 7 (1): 75–88. https://doi.org/10.5209/rev_infe.2016.v7.n1.52271.

Hess, Martin. 2004. “‘Spatial’ Relationships? Towards a Reconceptualization of Embeddedness.” *Progress in Human Geography* 28 (2): 165–86. https://doi.org/10.1191/0309132504ph479oa.

Hite, Julie M. 2003. “Patterns of Multidemsionality among Embedded Network Ties: A Typology of Relational Embeddedness in Emerging Entrepreneurial Firms.” *Strategic Organization* 1 (1): 9–49.

Holdsworth, Clare. 2005. “‘When Are the Children Going to Leave Home!’’: Family Culture and Delayed Transitions in Spain.’” *European Societies* 7 (4): 547–66. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616690500342568.

Holzinger, Clara. 2019. “‘We Don’t Worry That Much about Language’: Street-Level Bureaucracy in the Context of Linguistic Diversity.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 1–17. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2019.1610365.

Huddleston, Thomas, Jan Niessen, and Jasper Dag Tjaden. 2013. “Using EU Indicators of Immigrant Integration.” Brussels: European Commission. https://doi.org/10.2837/34091.

Izquierdo, Antonio, and Luca Chao. 2015. “Ciudadanos Españoles Producto de La Ley de La Memoria Histórica: Motive y Movilidades.” In *Ciudadanía Múltiple y Migración: Perspectivas Latinoamericanas*, edited by Pablo Mateos, 113–44. Mexico City: Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas.

Izquierdo Escribano, Antonio, and Raquel Martinez-Bujan. 2014. “From Favourites to ‘ With No Return ’: Permanence and Mobility of Latin American Immigration in Spain during the 21st Century.” *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 46 (3): 103–30.

Izquierdo, Mario, Juan F. Jimeno, and Aitor Lacuesta. 2016. “Spain: From Massive Immigration to Vast Emigration?” *IZA Journal of Migration* 5 (10): 1–20. https://doi.org/10.1186/s40176-016-0058-y.

Jablonowski, Kuba. 2017. “You Don’t Have Rights, You Use Them: Brexit and European Citizenship.” Sociological Review Blog. 2017. https://www.thesociologicalreview.com/blog/you-dont-have-rights-you-use-them-brexit-and-european-citizenship.html.

Jayaweera, Hiranthi, and Helen McCarthy. 2015. “Workplace Integration of Migrant Health Workers in the UK.” Oxford: COMPAS.

Jendrissek, Dan. 2014. “Narratives of Economic Migration: The Case of Young, Well-Qualified Poles and Spaniards in the UK.” *Doctoral Thesis*. University of Southampton.

———. 2016. “Building a Future in Times of Crisis: Young, Highly Qualified Migrants in the UK.” *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 24 (3): 323–40.

Jokisch, Brad D. 2014. “Ecuador: From Mass Emigration to Return Migration?” *Migration Information Source*. Washington DC: Migration Policy Institute. https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/ecuador-mass-emigration-return-migration.

Joppke, Christian. 2007. “Beyond National Models: Civic Integration Policies for Immigrants in Western Europe.” *West European Politics* 30 (1): 1–22. https://doi.org/10.1080/01402380601019613.

Kearns, Ade, and Elise Whitley. 2015. “Getting There? The Effects of Functional Factors, Time and Place on the Social Integration of Migrants.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 41 (13): 2105–29. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2015.1030374.

Kilkey, Majella. 2017. “Conditioning Family-Life at the Intersection of Migration and Welfare: The Implications for ‘Brexit Families.’” *Journal of Social Policy* 46 (4): 797–814. https://doi.org/10.1017/S004727941700037X.

King, Russell. 2002. “Towards a New Map of European Migration.” *International Journal of Population Geography* 8 (2): 89–106.

King, Russell, Aija Lulle, Francesca Conti, Dorothea Mueller, and Giuseppe Scotto. 2014. “The Lure of London: A Comparative Study of Recent Graduate Migration from Germany, Italy and Latvia.” Sussex Centre for Migration Research Working Paper 75. Brighton: University of Sussex.

Kinzler, K. D., E. Dupoux, and E. S. Spelke. 2007. “The Native Language of Social Cognition.” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 104 (30): 12577–80. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.0705345104.

Kivisto, Peter, and Vanja La Vecchia-Mikkola. 2015. “The Integration of Iraqis in Two European Cities: Emotions and Identity Work.” *Emotion, Space and Society* 16: 90–98. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.emospa.2015.01.002.

Kofman, Eleonore. 2004. “Family-Related Migration: A Critial Review of European Studies.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 30 (2): 243–62. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183042000200687.

———. 2005. “Citizenship, Migration and the Reassertion of National Identity.” *Citizenship Studies* 9 (5): 453–67. https://doi.org/10.1080/13621020500301221.

———. 2008. “Stratifikation Aktuelle Migrationshewegungen: Überlegungen Zu Geslechlechterverhaltnis Und Klassenzugehörigkeit.” In *Transnationalisierung Sozialer Ungleichheit, Verlag Für Sozialwissenschaften*, edited by Peter A. Berger and Anja Weiß, 107–36. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

———. 2013. “Gendered Labour Migrations in Europe and Emblematic Migratory Figures.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 39 (4): 579–600. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2013.745234.

———. 2015. “Mobilities and Migrations in Europe: A Problematic Dichotomy.” Budapest: 5th EUGEO Conference, 31 August - 2 September.

Kofman, Eleonore, and Parvati Raghuram. 2005. “Gender and Skilled Migrants: Into and beyond the Work Place.” *Geoforum* 36: 149–54. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2004.06.001.

Kofman, Eleonore, Sawitri Saharso, and Elena Vacchelli. 2015. “Gendered Perspectives on Integration Discourses and Measures.” *International Migration* 53 (4): 77–89. https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12102.

Koikkalainen, Saara, and David Kyle. 2016. “Imagining Mobility: The Prospective Cognition Question in Migration Research.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 42 (5): 759–76. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2015.1111133.

Krackhardt, David. 1992. “The Strength of Strong Ties: The Importance of Philos in Organisations.” In *Networks and Organizations: Structure, Form, and Action*, edited by Nitin Nohria and Robert G. Eccles, 216–39. Boston: Harvard Business School Press.

Kristen, Cornelia, Peter Mühlau, and Diana Schacht. 2016. “Language Acquisition of Recently Arrived Immigrants in England, Germany, Ireland, and the Netherlands.” *Ethnicities* 16 (2): 180–212. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796815616157.

Kuipers, Giselinde. 2008. “The Sociology of Humor.” In *The Primer of Humor Research*, edited by Victor Raskin, 361–98. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyer.

Lafleur, Jean-Michel, and Mikolaj Stanek. 2017. “Lessons from the South-North Migration of EU Citizens in Times of Crisis.” In *South-North Migration of EU Citizens in Times of Crisis*, edited by Jean-Michel Lafleur and Mikolaj Stanek, 215–24. IMISCOE Research Series: Springer Open.

Lancee, Bram. 2016. “Job Search Methods and Immigrant Earnings: A Longitudinal Analysis of the Role of Bridging Social Capital.” *Ethnicities* 16 (3): 349–67. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796815581426.

Lev-Ari, Shiri, and Boaz Keysar. 2010. “Why Don’t We Believe Non-Native Speakers? The Influence of Accent on Credibility.” *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 46 (6): 1093–96. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2010.05.025.

Levitt, Peggy, and Nina Glick Schiller. 2004. “Conceptualizing Simultaneity: A Transnational Social Field Perspective on Society.” *The International Migration Review* 38 (3): 1002–39.

Levitt, Peggy, and B. Nadya Jaworsky. 2007. “Transnational Migration Studies: Past Developments and Future Trends.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 33: 129–56. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.33.040406.131816.

Lindley, Anna, and N. Van Hear. 2007. “New Europeans on the Move: A Preliminary Review of the Onward Migration of Refugees within the European Union.” COMPAS Working Paper, WP-07-57. Oxford: COMPAS.

Loch, Dietmar. 2014. “Integration as a Sociological Concept and National Model for Immigrants: Scope and Limits.” *Identities* 21 (6): 623–32. https://doi.org/10.1080/1070289X.2014.908776.

López-Sala, Ana. 2017. “The New Emigration Issue in the Public and Political Debate in Spain. Official Discourses and New Forms of Mobilization.” In *European Mobility in Times of Crisis: The New Context of European South-North Migration*, edited by Birgit Glorius and Josefina Domínguez-Mujica, 267–86. Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag.

Lopez Rodriguez, Magdalena. 2010. “Migration and a Quest for ‘Normalcy’. Polish Migrant Mothers and the Capitalization of Meritocratic Opportunities in the UK.” *Social Identities* 16 (3): 339–58. https://doi.org/10.1080/13504630.2010.482422.

Lulle, Aija, Russell King, Veronika Dvorakova, and Aleksandra Szkudlarek. 2019. “Between Disruptions and Connections: ‘New’ European Union Migrants in the United Kingdom before and after the Brexit.” *Population, Space and Place* 25 (1): 1–10. https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.2200.

Manalansan, Martin F. 2006. “Queer Intersections: Sexuality and Gender in Migration Studies.” *International Migration Review* 40 (1): 224–49. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2006.00009.x.

Manchester City Council. n.d. “Manchester’s Population, Ethnicity and Migration.” Accessed July 30, 2019. https://secure.manchester.gov.uk/info/200088/statistics_and_intelligence/438/population.

Marangozov, Rachel. 2014. “Benign Neglect? Policies to Support Upward Mobility for Immigrants in the United Kingdom.” Washington DC: Migration Policy Institute.

Martí Romero, Jaume. 2015. “The Remarkable Case of Spanish Immigration.” Bruegel. 2015. http://bruegel.org/2015/12/the-remarkable-case-of-spanish-immigration/.

Martínez-Buján, Raquel. 2019. “Here or There? Gendered Return Migration to Bolivia from Spain during Economic Crisis and Fluctuating Migration Policies.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2018.1547023.

Martiniello, Marco, and Jan Rath. 2010. “Introduction: Migration and Ethnic Studies in Europe.” In *Selected Studies in International Migration and Immigrant Incorporation*, edited by Marco Martiniello and Jan Rath, 7–18. Amsterdam: IMISCOE Amsterdam University Press.

Mas Giralt, Rosa. 2015. “Socio-Cultural Invisibility and Belonging: Latin American Migrants in the North of England.” *Emotion, Space and Society* 15: 3–10. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.emospa.2015.03.002.

———. 2017. “Onward Migration as a Coping Strategy? Latin Americans Moving from Spain to the UK Post-2008.” *Population, Space and Place* 23 (3): 1–12. https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.2017.

Mason, Jennifer. 2006. “Mixing Methods in a Qualitatively Driven Way.” *Qualitative Research* 6 (1): 9–25. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794106058866.

Mateos, Pablo, and Jorge Durand. 2012. “Residence vs . Ancestry in Acquisition of Spanish Citizenship : A ‘ Netnography ’ Approach.” *Migraciones Internacionales* 23 (6): 9–46.

May, Vanessa. 2011. “Self, Belonging and Social Change.” *Sociology* 45 (3): 363–78. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038511399624.

McAndrew, Francis T., and Hye Sun Jeong. 2012. “Who Does What on Facebook? Age, Sex, and Relationship Status as Predictors of Facebook Use.” *Computers in Human Behavior* 28 (6): 2359–65. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2012.07.007.

McCarthy, Helen N.J. 2011. “Firwat Lëtzebuergesch? The Linguistic Integration of Migrants in Luxembourg.” National University of Maynooth, Ireland.

———. 2012. “New Europeans: Dual Citizenship and Mobility among Latin Americans.” London: UCL Migration Research Unit. https://www.geog.ucl.ac.uk/research/research-centres/migration-research-unit/publications/working-papers/files/Helen McCarthy 11.pdf.

———. 2019. “Spanish Nationals’ Future Plans in the Context of Brexit.” *Population, Space and Place* 25 (1): 1–14. https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.2202.

McGhee, Derek, Chris Moreh, and Athina Vlachantoni. 2017. “An ‘Undeliberate Determinacy’? The Changing Migration Strategies of Polish Migrants in the UK in Times of Brexit.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 43 (13): 2109–30. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1299622.

McIlwaine, Cathy. 2010. “Migrant Machismos: Exploring Gender Ideologies and Practices among Latin American Migrants in London from a Multi-Scalar Perspective.” *Gender, Place and Culture* 17 (3): 281–300. https://doi.org/10.1080/09663691003737579.

———. 2011. “Super-Diversity, Multiculturalism, and Integration: An Overview of the Latin America Population in London, UK.” In *Cross-Border Migration Among Latin Americans: European Perspectives and Beyond*, edited by Cathy McIlwaine, 93–118. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

McIlwaine, Cathy, and Diego Bunge. 2016. “Towards Visibility: The Latin American Community in London.” London: Queen Mary University. http://www.trustforlondon.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Towards-Visibility-full-report.pdf.

———. 2018. “Onward Precarity, Mobility, and Migration among Latin Americans in London.” *Antipode* 51 (2): 601–19. https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12453.

McIlwaine, Cathy, Juan Camilo Cock, and Brian Linneker. 2011. “No Longer Invisible: The Latin American Community in London.” London: Queen Mary University.

McLafferty, Sarah L. 2016. “Conducting Questionnaire Surveys.” In *Key Methods in Geography*, edited by Nicholas Glifford, Meghan Cope, Thomas Gillespie, and Shaun French, 129–42. London: Sage.

Mellon, Jonathan, and Christopher Prosser. 2017. “Twitter and Facebook Are Not Representative of the General Population: Political Attitudes and Demographics of British Social Media Users.” *Research and Politics* 4 (3): 1–9. https://doi.org/10.1177/2053168017720008.

Moran-Ellis, Jo, Victoria D. Alexander, Ann Cronin, Mary Dickinson, Jane Fielding, Judith Sleney, and Hilary Thomas. 2006. “Triangulation and Integration: Processes, Claims and Implications.” *Qualitative Research* 6 (1): 45–59. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794106058870.

Moreh, Chris, Derek McGhee, and Athina Vlachantoni. 2016. “Should I Stay or Should I Go? Strategies of EU Citizens Living in the UK in the Context of the EU Referendum.” Vol. Briefing 3. Southampton: ESRC Centre for Population Change. http://www.cpc.ac.uk/publications/cpc_briefing_papers/pdf/BP35_Should_I_stay_or_should_I_go.pdf.

Moret, Joëlle. 2018. *European Somalis’ Post-Migration Movements: Mobility Capital and the Transnationalisation of Resources*. Amsterdam: Springer International Publishing.

Morgan, David L. 2007. “Paradigms Lost and Pragmatism Regained.” *Journal of Mixed Methods Research* 1 (1): 48–76. https://doi.org/10.1177/2345678906292462.

Morgan, Tony. 2004. “The Spanish Migrant Community in the United Kingdom.” Cambridge: Anglia Ruskin Polytechnic University.

———. 2008. “Spaniards in the UK – A Successful Female Post-Industrial Migration.” In *Gendering Migration: Masculinity, Femininity and Ethnicity in Post-War Britain*, edited by Wendy Webster and Louise Ryan, 137–54. Abingdon: Routledge.

Moroşanu, Laura. 2013. “Between Fragmented Ties and ‘Soul Friendships’: The Cross-Border Social Connections of Young Romanians in London.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 39 (3): 353–72. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2013.733858.

Moya, Jose C. 2006. “A Continent of Immigrants: Postcolonial Shifts in the Western Hemisphere.” *Hispanic American Historical Review2* 86 (1): 1–28.

Mügge, Liza, and Marleen Van der Haar. 2016. “Who Is an Immigrant and Who Requires Integration? Categorizing in European Policies.” In *Integration Prcoesses and Policies in Europe*, edited by Blanca Garcés-Mascareñas and Rinus Penninx, 77–90. IMISCOE Research Series: Springer International Publishing.

Musolff, Andreas. 2019. “Hostility towards Immigrants’ Languages in Britain: A Backlash against ‘Super-Diversity’?” *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 40 (3): 257–66. https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2018.1520859.

Narciso, Laia, and Silvia Carrasco. 2017. “Mariama on the Move. Capital Migratorio Y Segundas Generaciones En La Emigración.” *Migraciones* 43: 147–74.

Nielsen, Nikolaj. 2013. “EU Ministers Target ‘Benefit Tourism.’” *EU Observer*, October 9, 2013. https://euobserver.com/justice/119326.

Nijhoff, K. G., and M. C. Gordano. 2017. “Looking at Intra-European Mobilities through Migrant Types: Young Spanish and Polish Migrants in London and The Hague.” *Innovation* 30 (2): 182–203. https://doi.org/10.1080/13511610.2016.1192992.

Nowicka, Magdalena. 2014. “Migrating Skills, Skilled Migrants and Migration Skills: The Influence of Contexts on the Validation of Migrants’ Skills.” *Migration Letters* 11 (2): 171–86. https://doi.org/10.33182/ml.v11i2.237.

O’Brien, Charlotte. 2016. “Civis Capitalist Sum: Class as the New Guiding Principle of EU Free Movement Rights.” *Common Market Law Review* 53: 937–78.

Observatorio de la Juventud en España. 2013. “La Emigración de Los Jóvenes Españoles En El Contexto de La Crisis. Análisis y Datos de Un Fenómeno Difícil de Cuantifica.” Madrid: Observatorio de la Juventud en España.

OECD. 2018. “How Does the United Kingdom Compare? Employment Outlook 2018.” Paris: OECD. https://doi.org/10.1787/empl.

Office for National Statistics. 2017. “Statistical Bulletin: Population of the UK by Country of Birth and Nationality: 2016.” London: Office for National Statistics.

———. 2018a. “Migration Statistics Quarterly Report: February 2018.” London: Office for National Statistics.

———. 2018b. “One in Eight Young People without Degrees Work in Graduate Jobs.” London: Office for National Statistics.

———. 2018c. “Population of the UK by Country of Birth and Nationality: July 2017 to June 2018.” London: Office for National Statistics.

———. 2019. “Employment Rate (Aged 16 to 64, Seasonally Adjusted).” London: Office for National Statistics.

Oliver, Caroline. 2016. “Review of the Research Literature on Integration and Resettlement in Europe and the Impact of Policy Interventions.” Oxford: Global Exchange on Migration & Diversity.

Oliver, Caroline, and Karen O’Reilly. 2010. “A Bourdieusian Analysis of Class and Migration: Habitus and the Individualizing Process.” *Sociology* 44 (1): 49–66. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038509351627.

Ong, Aihwa. 1999. *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality*. London: Duke University Press.

Oso, Laura. 2016. “Migración Ecuatoriana y Estrategias Familiares de Movilidad Social: La Relación Dialéctica Entre El Capital Financiero y Emocional.” *Investigaciones Feministas* 7 (1): 221–40. https://doi.org/10.5209/rev_infe.2016.v7.n1.51739.

———. 2017. “¿Nuevas Criadas y Porteras En París? Reactivación De Los Campos Sociales Española Tras La Crisis Económica.” *Migraciones* 43: 39–63.

Oso, Laura, and Laura Suárez-Grimalt. 2017. “Migration and Intergenerational Strategies for Social Mobility: Theoretical and Methodological Challenges.” *Migraciones* 42 (42): 19–41.

———. 2018. “Towards a Theoretical Model for the Study of Productive and Reproductive Strategies in Transnational Families: Latin American Migration and Social Mobility in Spain.” *Journal of Family Studies* 24 (1): 41–58. https://doi.org/10.1080/13229400.2017.1374202.

Painter II, Matthew A., Shiri Noy, and Malcolm D. Holmes. 2019. “Skin Tone and Asset Inequality in Latin America.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 1–28. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2019.1592881.

Pajares, Miguel. 2010. “Inmigración y Mercado de Trabajo: Informe 2010.” Madrid: Observatorio Permanente de la Inmigración, Ministerio de Trabajo e Inmigración. http://extranjeros.mitramiss.gob.es/es/ObservatorioPermanenteInmigracion/Publicaciones/fichas/archivos/Inmigracion__Mercado_de_Trabajo_OPI25.pdf.

Papastergiadis, Nikos. 2000. *The Turbulence of Migration*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Parutis, Violetta. 2014. “‘Economic Migrants’ or ‘Middling Transnationals’? East European Migrants’ Experiences of Work in the UK.” *International Migration* 52 (1): 36–55. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2435.2010.00677.x.

Pavlenko, Aneta, ed. 2006. *Bilingual Minds: Emotional Experience, Expression and Representation*. Toronto: Multilingual Matters.

Pavlenko, Aneta, and Ingrid Piller. 2001. “New Directions in Multilingualism, Second Language Learning and Gender.” In *Multilingualism, Second Language Learning and Gender*, edited by Aneta Pavlenko, Adrian Blackledge, Ingrid Piller, and Marya Teutsch-Dwyer, 17–52. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Pearce, Lisa D. 2012. “Mixed Methods Inquiry in Sociology.” *American Behavioral Scientist* 56 (6):

829–48. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764211433798.

Penninx, Rinus. 2013. “Research on Migration and Integration in Europe — Achievements and Lessons.” Amsterdam: Vossiuspers UvA. http://dare.uva.nl/cgi/arno/show.cgi?fid=476348.

Penninx, Rinus, and Blanca Garcés-Mascareñas. 2016. “The Concept of Integration as an Analytical Tool and as a Policy Concept.” In *Integration Processes and Policies in Europe*, edited by Blanca Garcés-Mascareñas and Rinus Penninx, 11–29. London: Springer Open. http://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-319-21674-4.

Penninx, Rinus, and Marco Martiniello. 2004. “Integration Processes and Policies: State of the Art and Lessons.” In *Citizenship in European Cities: Immigrants, Local Politics and Integration Policies*, edited by Rinus Penninx, Karen Kraal, Marco Martiniello, and Steve Vertovec, 139–64. Aldershot: Ashgate.

PERE. 2017. “Población Por País de Residencia, Sexo y Lugar de Nacimiento.” Madrid: Instituto Nacional Estadística España.

Pérez-Caramés, Antía. 2017. “Una Nueva Generación Española En Alemania: Análisis de Las Motivaciones Para La Emigración Bajo El Manto de La Crisis.” *Migraciones* 43: 91–116.

Phillimore, Jenny. 2012. “Implementing Integration in the UK: Lessons for Integration Theory, Policy and Practice.” *Policy and Politics* 40 (4): 525–45. https://doi.org/10.1332/030557312X643795.

Phillimore, Jenny, Rachel Humphris, and Kamran Khan. 2014. “Migration , Networks and Resources : The Relationship between Migrants ’ Social Networks and Their Access to Integration Resources.” Milan: ISMU Foundation.

———. 2017. “Reciprocity for New Migrant Integration: Resource Conservation, Investment and Exchange.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 44 (2): 215–32. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1341709.

Ponzo, Irene, Ben Gidley, Emanuela Roman, and Francesco Tarantino. 2013. “Researching Functioning Policy Practices in Local Integration in Europe: A Conceptual and Methodological Discussion Paper.” Turin: ITCILO.

Portes, Alejandro, and Min Zhou. 1993. “The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and Its Variants.” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 530: 74–95.

Pumares, Pablo. 2017. “The Changing Migration Projects of Spaniards in the UK: The Case of Brighton.” In *European Mobility in Times of Crisis: The New Context of European South-North Migration*, edited by Birgit Glorius and Josefina Domínguez-Mujica, 133–60. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag.

Pumares, Pablo, and Beatriz González-Martín. 2016. “Movilidad, Migración y Retorno de Jóvenes Españoles En El Reino Unido.” In *Población y Territorio En La Encrucijada de Las Ciencias Sociales. XIV Congreso de La Población Española, Fuerteventura 8-10 Junio de 2016*, edited by Josefina Domínguez-Mujica and Ramón Díaz-Hernández, 275–90. Universidad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, Servicio de Publicaciones.

Putnam, Robert. 2000. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

———. 2007. “E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-First Century The 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture.” *Scandinavian Political Studies* 30 (2): 137–74.

Raghuram, Parvati, Leroi Henry, and Joanna Bornat. 2010. “Difference and Distinction?: Non-Migrant and Migrant Networks.” *Sociology* 44 (4): 623–41. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038510369360.

Ramos, Cristina. 2017. “Onward Migration from Spain to London in Times of Crisis: The Importance of Life-Course Junctures in Secondary Migrations.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 44 (11): 1841–57. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1368372.

Ramos, Cristina, Patricia Lauzardo, and Helen McCarthy. 2018. “The Symbolic and Practical Significance of Dual Citizenship: Spanish-Colombians and Spanish-Ecuadorians in Madrid and London.” *Geoforum* 93 (May): 69–78. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2018.05.007.

Ranta, Ronald, and Nevena Nancheva. 2019. “Unsettled: Brexit and European Union Nationals’ Sense of Belonging.” *Population, Space and Place* 25 (1): 1–10. https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.2199.

Reay, Diane. 1998. “Rethinking Social Class: Qualitative Perspectives on Class and Gender.” *Sociology* 32 (2): 259–75.

Roberts, Celia. 2013. “The Gatekeeping of Babel: Job Interviews and the Linguistic Penalty.” In *Language, Migration and Social Inequalities*, edited by Alexandre Duchêne, Melissa Moyer, and Celia Roberts, 81–94. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Rodríguez-Fariñas, María Jara, Juan Manuel Romero-Valiente, and Antonio Luis Hidalgo-Capitán. 2015. “Los Exiliados Económicos. La Tercera Oleada de Emigración Española a Chile (2008-2014).” *Revista de Geografia Norte Grande* 61: 107–33.

Rolfe, Heather. 2019. “Challenges for Immigration Policy in Post-Brexit Britain: Introduction.” *National Institute Economic Review* 248 (1): R1–4. https://doi.org/10.1177/002795011924800108.

Romero Valiente, Juan Manuel, and Antonio Luis Hidalgo-Capitán. 2014. “El Subregistro Consular: Magnitudes y Efectos En Las Estadísticas de Emigración Española.” *OBETS. Revista de Ciencias Sociales* 9 (2): 377–407. https://doi.org/10.14198/obets2014.9.2.06.

Rouvoet, Marjo, Melanie Eijberts, and Halleh Ghorashi. 2017. “Identification Paradoxes and Multiple Belongings: The Narratives of Italian Migrants in the Netherlands.” *Social Inclusion* 5 (1): 105–16. https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v5i1.779.

Rubio Marín, Ruth, Irene Sobrino, Alberto Martín Pérez, and Francisco Javier Moreno Fuentes. 2015. “Country Report on Citizenship Law: Spain.” Florence: EUDO Citzizenship Observatory.

Ruiz, Isabel, and Carlos Vargas-Silva. 2018. “Differences in Labour Market Outcomes between Natives, Refugees and Other Migrants in the UK.” *Journal of Economic Geography* 18 (4): 855–85. https://doi.org/10.1093/jeg/lby027.

Rumens, Nick. 2016. “Researching Workplace Friendships: Drawing Insights from the Sociology of Friendship.” *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships* 34 (8): 1149–67.

Rutter, Jill. 2015. *Moving Up and Getting On: Migration, Integration and Social Cohesion in the UK*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Ryan, Bernard. 2017. “Negotiating the Right to Remain after Brexit.” *Immigration, Asylum and Nationality Law* 31 (3): 197–226.

Ryan, Louise. 2010. “Becoming Polish in London: Negotiating Ethnicity through Migration.” *Social*

Identities 16 (3): 359–76. https://doi.org/10.1080/13504630.2010.482425.

———. 2011. “Migrants’ Social Networks and Weak Ties: Accessing Resources and Constructing Relationships Post-Migration.” *Sociological Review* 59 (4): 707–24. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.2011.02030.x.

———. 2015a. “‘Another Year and Another Year’: Polish Migrants in London Extending the Stay over Time.” London: Middlesex Univesity. https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.1.2688.3046.

———. 2015b. “Friendship-Making: Exploring Network Formations through the Narratives of Irish Highly Qualified Migrants in Britain.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 41 (10): 1664–83.

———. 2015c. “‘Inside’ and ‘Outside’ of What or Where? Researching Migration Through Multi-Positionalities.” *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 16 (2): 1–12.

———. 2017. “Differentiated Embedding: Polish Migrants in London Negotiating Belonging over Time.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 44 (2): 233–51. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1341710.

Ryan, Louise, and Alessio D’Angelo. 2018. “Changing Times: Migrants’ Social Network Analysis and the Challenges of Longitudinal Research.” *Social Networks* 53: 148–58. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socnet.2017.03.003.

Ryan, Louise, Umut Erel, and Alessio D’Angelo. 2015. “Introduction: Understanding ‘Migrant Capital.’” In *Migrant Capital: Networks, Identities and Strategies*, edited by Louise Ryan, Umut Erel, and Alessio D’Angelo, 3–17. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ryan, Louise, and Anne Golden. 2006. “‘Tick the Box Please’: A Reflexive Approach to Doing Quantitative Social Research.” *Sociology* 40 (6): 1191–1200. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038506072287.

Ryan, Louise, and Jon Mulholland. 2014a. “French Connections: The Networking Strategies of French Highly Skilled Migrants in London.” *Global Networks* 14 (2): 148–66. https://doi.org/10.1111/glob.12038.

———. 2014b. “Trading Places: French Highly Skilled Migrants Negotiating Mobility and Emplacement In London.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 40 (4): 584–600. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2013.787514.

———. 2014c. “‘Wives Are the Route to Social Life’: An Analysis of Family Life and Networking amongst Highly Skilled Migrants in London.” *Sociology* 48 (2): 251–67. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038512475109.

———. 2015. “Embedding in Motion: Analysing Relational, Spatial and Temporal Dynamics among Highly Skilled Migrants.” In *Migrant Capital: Networks, Identities and Strategies*, edited by Louise Ryan, Umut Erel, and Alessio D’Angelo, 135–53. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ryan, Louise, R. Sales, Mary Tilki, and Bernadette Siara. 2008. “Social Networks, Social Support and Social Capital: The Experiences of Recent Polish Migrants in London.” *Sociology* 42 (4): 672–90. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038508091622.

Sachrajda, Alice, and Phoebe Griffith. 2014. “Shared Ground: Strategies for Living Well Together in an Era of High Immigration.” London: Institute for Public Policy Research.

Sáiz López, Amelia. 2017. “Trayectorias y Expectativas En China. Una Aproximación Descentrada a La Movilidad Internacional Española.” *Migraciones* 43: 65–89.

Sales, Rosemary, Alessio D’Angelo, and Xia Lin. 2008. “London’s Chinatown: Integration, Identity and Diaspora.” London: Middlesex University.

Sánchez-Ayala, Luis. 2012. “Interviewing Techniques for Migrant Minority Groups.” In *Handbook of Research Methods in Migration*, edited by Carlos Vargas-Silva, 117–37. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Santos, Hudson P. O., Amanda M. Black, and Margarete Sandelowski. 2015. “Timing of Translation in Cross-Language Qualitative Research.” *Qualitative Health Research* 25 (1): 134–44. https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732314549603.

Sapsford, Roger. 2007. *Survey Research*. London: Sage.

Savage, Mike. 2015. *Social Class in the 21st Century*. London: Pelican.

Schinkel, Willem. 2013. “The Imagination of ‘Society’ in Measurements of Immigrant Integration.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 36 (7): 1142–61. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2013.783709.

Schneider, Jens, and Maurice Crul. 2010. “New Insights into Assimilation and Integration Theory: Introduction to the Special Issue.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 33 (7): 1143–48. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419871003777809.

Schrover, Marlou, Joanne van der Leun, and Chris Quispel. 2007. “Niches, Labour Market Segregation, Ethnicity and Gender.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 33 (4): 529–40. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830701265404.

Schuster, Liza. 2005. “The Continuing Mobility of Migrants in Italy: Shifting between Places and Statuses.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31 (4): 757–74. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830500109993.

Shachar, Ayelet, and Ran Hirschl. 2007. “Citizenship as Inherited Property.” *Political Theory* 35 (3): 253–87.

Shelter. n.d. “Homes in Multiple Occupation.” Accessed September 7, 2019. https://england.shelter.org.uk/housing_advice/private_renting/houses_in_multiple_occupation_hmo.

Shutes, Isabel, and Sarah Walker. 2018. “Gender and Free Movement: EU Migrant Women’s Access to Residence and Social Rights in the U.K.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 44 (1): 137–53. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1340829.

Simic, Agnes. 2018. “Understandings of Integration Amongst Highly Educated Indian Women Migrants Living in the UK.” *Doctoral Thesis*. Middlesex University.

Simmel, Georg. 1950. “The Field of Sociology.” In *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, 3–25. New York: The Free Press.

Smith, Fiona M. 2016. “Working in Different Cultures and Different Languages.” In *Key Methods in Geography*, edited by Nicholas Glifford, Meghan Cope, Thomas Gillespie, and Shaun French, 88–108. London: Sage.

Smith, Michael Peter. 2005. “Transnational Urbanism Revisited.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31 (2): 235–44. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183042000339909.

Song, Miri, and David Parker. 1995. “Commonality, Difference and the Dynamics of Disclosure in In-Depth Interviewing.” *Sociology* 29 (2): 241–56.

Spencer-Rodgers, Julie, and Timothy McGovern. 2002. “Attitudes toward the Culturally Different: The Role of Intercultural Communication Barriers, Affective Responses, Consensual Stereotypes, and Perceived Threat.” *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 26 (6): 609–31. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0147-1767(02)00038-X.

Spencer, Sarah. 2011. *The Migration Debate*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Spencer, Sarah, and Katharine Charsley. 2016. “Conceptualising Integration: A Framework for Empirical Research, Taking Marriage Migration as a Case Study.” *Comparative Migration Studies* 4 (1): 1–18. https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-016-0035-x.

Spencer, Sarah, and Betsy Cooper. 2006. “Social Integration of Migrants in Europe: A Review of the European Literature 2000–2006.” Oxford: OECD.

Spencer, Sarah, Martin Ruhs, Bridget Anderson, and Ben Rogaly. 2007. “Migrants’ Lives beyond the Workplace The Experiences of Central and East Europeans in the UK.” Oxford: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Spiro, Peter John. 2016. *At Home in Two Countries: The Past and Future of Dual Citizenship*. New York: New York University Press.

Statec Luxembourg. 2019. “Evolution of Total, Luxembourgish and Foreign Population 1961 - 2019.” Luxembourg: Statec.

Sumption, Madeleine. 2017. “The Burden of Proof: How Will the Application Process Work for EU Citizens After Brexit?” Oxford: Migration Observatory.

Sumption, Madeleine, and Kate Hooper. 2014. “Selling Visas and Citizenship: Policy Questions from the Global Boom in Investor Immigration.” Washington DC: Migration Policy Institute.

Sumption, Madeleine, and Zovanga Kone. 2018. “Unsettled Status? Which EU Citizens Are at Risk of Failing to Secure Their Rights after Brexit?” Oxford: Migration Observatory.

Tapini, Elisavet. 2018. “Settling in a Global City: Transnational Practices and Cosmopolitan Openness in Sociality Patterns.” *Doctoral Thesis*. Middlesex University.

Temple, Bogusia. 2002. “Crossed Wires: Interpreters, Translators, and Bilingual Workers in Cross-Language Research.” *Qualitative Health Research* 12 (6): 844–54. https://doi.org/10.1177/104973230201200610.

Temple, Bogusia, and Katarzyna Koterba. 2009. “The Same but Different — Researching Language and Culture in the Lives of Polish People in England.” *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 10 (1): 1–10.

The Migration Observatory. 2016a. “Commentary: Here Today, Gone Tomorrow? The Status of EU Citizens Already Living in the UK.” Oxford: The Migration Observatory.

———. 2016b. “Commentary: Pulling Power: Why Are EU Citizens Migrating to the UK?” Oxford: The Migration Observatory.

Travis, Alan. 2016. “Lasting Rise in Hate Crime after EU Referendum, Figures Show.” *The Guardian*, September 7, 2016.

Tremlett, Annabel. 2009. “Claims of ‘knowing’ in Ethnography: Realising Anti-Essentialism through a Critical Reflection on Language Acquisition in Fieldwork.” *Graduate Journal of Social Studies* 6 (3): 63–85.

Trenz, Hans Jörg, and Anna Triandafyllidou. 2017. “Complex and Dynamic Integration Processes in Europe: Intra EU Mobility and International Migration in Times of Recession.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 43 (4): 546–59. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2016.1251013.

Tubergen, Frank van, and Menno Wierenga. 2011. “The Language Acquisition of Male Immigrants in a Multilingual Destination: Turks and Moroccans in Belgium.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 37 (7): 1039–57. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2011.572476.

Valentine, Gill. 2008. “Living with Difference: Reflections on Geographies of Encounter.” *Progress in Human Geography* 32 (3): 323–37. https://doi.org/10.1177/0309133308089372.

Valluvan, Sivamohan. 2018. “Racial Entanglements and Sociological Confusions: Repudiating the Rehabilitation of Integration.” *British Journal of Sociology* 69 (2): 436–58. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-4446.12284.

Vargas-Silva, Carlos, and Yvonni Markaki. 2015. “EU Migration to and from the UK.” Oxford: The Migration Observatory.

Vega Solís, Cristina, and Raquel Martínez-Buján. 2016. “Las Migraciones de Retorno de La Población Ecuatoriana y Boliviana: Motivaciones, Estrategias y Discursos.” *Investigaciones Feministas* 7 (1): 265–87.

Vertovec, Steven. 2007. “Super-Diversity and Its Implications.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30 (6): 1024–54. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870701599465.

———. 2009. *Transnationalism*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Vink, Maarten P., and Gerard Rene de Groot. 2010. “Citizenship Attribution in Western Europe: International Framework and Domestic Trends.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36 (5): 713–34. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691831003763914.

Virdee, Satnam, and Brendan McGeever. 2018. “Racism, Crisis, Brexit.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 41 (10): 1802–19. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2017.1361544.

Wade, Peter. 2010. *Race and Ethnicity in Latin America*. 2nd Ed. London: Pluto Press.

Waldinger, Roger. 2017. “A Cross-Border Perspective on Migration: Beyond the Assimilation/Transnationalism Debate.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 43 (1): 3–17. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2016.1238863.

Wardle, Huon, and Laura Obermuller. 2018. “The Windrush Generation.” *Anthropology Today* 34 (4): 3–4. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8322.12445.

Wessendorf, Susanne. 2015. “’All the People Speak Bad English’: Coping with Language Differences in a Super-Diverse Context.” IRIS Working Paper Series No. 9/2015. Birmingham: University of Birmingham.

———. 2018. “Pathways of Settlement among Pioneer Migrants in Super-Diverse London.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 44 (2): 270–86. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1341719.

Wieviorka, Michel. 2014. “A Critique of Integration.” *Identities* 21 (6): 633–41.

https://doi.org/10.1080/1070289X.2013.828615.

Wills, Jane, Kavita Datta, Yara Evans, Joanna Herbert, Jon May, and Cathy McIlwaine. 2010. *Global Cities at Work: New Migrant Divisions of Labour*. London: Pluto Press.

Wimmer, Andreas, and Nina Glick Schiller. 2002. "Methodological Nationalism and beyond: Nation-State Building, Migration and the Social Sciences." *Global Networks* 2 (4): 301–34. https://doi.org/10.1111/1471-0374.00043.

Yelvington, Kevin A. 2011. "Patterns of 'Race', Ethnicity, Class and Nationalism." In *Understanding Contemporary Latin America*, edited by Richard S. Hillman and Thomas J. D'Agostino, 251–84. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Zhou, Min. 1997. "Segmented Assimilation: Issues, Controversies, and Recent Research on the New Second Generation." *International Migration Review* 31 (4): 975–1008. https://doi.org/10.2307/2547421.

Zincone, Giovanna, Tiziana Caponio, and Rossella Carastro. 2003. "Integration Indicators." *EU INTI Project Report*. Milan: FIERI. http://fieri.it/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/Rapporto-finale-Promoting-Equality-in-Diversity-Integration-in-Europe-2006.pdf.

Zwysen, Wouter, and Neli Demireva. 2018. "Ethnic and Migrant Penalties in Job Quality in the UK: The Role of Residential Concentration and Occupational Clustering." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 1–22. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2018.1498777.

Appendix A

Table 1: List of Facebook groups in which survey, number of members and date survey posted *Commenting on the post had the effect of pushing it higher up the group's wall in an attempt to garner more attention

Group name	Number of members at time of posting (approximate)	Date posted (2017)
Españoles en el Reino Unido – Surviving Brexit	2,300 members	11 February
Argentinos en Oxford	192 members	11 February
Españoles en Londres	52,000 members	16 February
Españoles en Bristol	15,800 members	19 February
Españoles en Manchester	17,500 members	19 February
Argentinos en Inglaterra	7,400 members	19 February (commented 6 April)*
Españoles en Newcastle	3,000 members	20 February
Colombianos en Londres	2,200 members	20 February (commented 6 April)
Ecuatorianos en Londres	5,200 members	27 February (commented 6 April)
SPUKs Birmingham (Españoles en Birmingham)	2,400 members	27 February
Españoles en Brighton & Hove	19,400 members	27 February
Latinos en Londres (public)	7,500 members	27 February (commented 5 April)
Españoles en Edimburgo	13,300 members	27 Feb
Peruanos en Londres	3,200 members	28 Feb (commented 6 April)
Latinos en Manchester	1,600 members	2 March (commented on 5 April)
Dominicanos en Londres	629 members	3 March
Españoles en Southampton UK	3,400 members	3 March
Españoles en Belfast	2,600 members	10 March
Bolivianos en Londres anuncios	3,600 members	10 March
Comunidad Hispano Hablante en Glasgow	1,900 members	16 March
Bolivianos en Londres	500 members	16 March
Españoles en Escocia	3600 members	20 March
Latinos en Escocia	250 members	28 March
Venezolanos en Londres	1500 members	29 March
Venezolanos en Londres VENELON	3300 members	30 March
Venezolanos en Inglaterra VENenIN	17,200 members	4 April
Peruanos en Inglaterra	5,200 members	5 April
Latinos en Londres	3,300	5 April
ESPAÑOLES Y LATINOS EN LONDRES	3,400 members	5 April
Colombianos en Londres	3,300 members	6 April

Appendix B

Survey questions

The survey was conducted in Spanish. Below is a translation of the questions and corresponding introductory text.

This survey is looking at the experiences people who have Spanish citizenship and who currently live in the UK. The questions in the survey are about your employment situation, your employment conditions, social life and your use of English in everyday life. The research is being conducted as part of my doctoral studies and the result will be published in my thesis as well as in academic publications. The information collected in the survey is completely confidential and anonymous. It won't be shared with any third parties or institutions. The project has been given ethical approval by the Middlesex University Ethics Committee. The survey should take 15-25 minutes to complete. You are free to withdraw at any point. You can do this by closing your browser window.

If you would like further information on the study or have any questions, please contact Helen McCarthy hm826@mdx.ac.uk.

About you

1. How old are you?
   - ☐ 18-24
   - ☐ 25-29
   - ☐ 30-34
   - ☐ 35-39
   - ☐ 40-44
   - ☐ 45-49
   - ☐ 50-54
   - ☐ 55-59
   - ☐ 60-64
   - ☐ 65-70
   - ☐ 70+

2. What is your gender?
   - ☐ Male
   - ☐ Female
   - ☐ Rather not say

3. Please write the first part of your postcode (for example M1 / SW7 / MK11 / EC1V)
   .....

4. Where were you born?
   - ☐ Spain
   - ☐ Argentina
   - ☐ Colombia
   - ☐ Ecuador
   - ☐ Dominican Republic

- Peru
- Venezuela
- Other – please complete

5. What citizenships do you have? (please tick all that correspond)
   - Spanish
   - Argentine
   - British
   - Colombian
   - Dominican
   - Ecuadorian
   - Peruvian
   - Venezuelan
   - Other – please complete

6. Did you previously live in Spain?
   - Yes
   - No

     ➔ If no, end of survey

     → If yes, how long did you live in Spain?
     - More than 20 years
     - Between 16 and 19 years
     - Between 11 and 15
     - Between 6 and 10 years
     - Between 3 and 5 years
     - Less than 3 years

7. In which region of Spain did you live? (If you lived in more than one region, choose the one in which you spent the most time.)
   - Basque country
   - Galicia
   - Extremadura
   - Andalucia
   - Catalunya
   - Castilla y Leon
   - Castilla La Mancha
   - Madrid
   - Valencia
   - Murcia
   - Aragon
   - Canarias
   - Balearics
   - Asturias

- ☐ La Rioja
- ☐ Navarra
- ☐ Cantabria

8. What is your marital status?
   - ☐ Never married
   - ☐ Married
   - ☐ Divorced or separated
   - ☐ Widowed
   - ☐ Civil partnership/long-term partner

     ➔ If married or in a civil partnership, where is your spouse/civil partner living?
     - ☐ UK
     - ☐ Spain
     - ☐ Other

9. Do you have any children?
   - ☐ Yes
   - ☐ No

     ➔ If yes, how many children do you have?
     - ☐ 1
     - ☐ 2
     - ☐ 3
     - ☐ 4
     - ☐ 5
     - ☐ 6 or more

     ➔ If yes, please list age of children and the country each child lives in:

	Age					Country of residence		
	0-5 years	6-10 years	11-15 years	16-18 years	18+years	UK	Spain	Other
child 1	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
child 2	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
child 3	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
child 4	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
child 5	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
child 6	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

10. What was your annual household income (before tax) in 2016?
    - ☐ Less than £14,000
    - ☐ £15,000 -25,000
    - ☐ £25,000 – 35,000
    - ☐ £35,000 – 50,000
    - ☐ £50,000 -100,000

- More than £100,000

11. In what year did you first move to the UK to live?
    - 2016
    - 2015
    - 2014
    - 2013
    - 2012
    - 2011
    - 2010
    - 2009
    - 2008
    - 2007
    - 2006
    - Between 2000 and 2005
    - Before 2000

12. How frequently do you visit Spain on average?
    - Less than 1 visit per year
    - 1- 3 visits per year
    - 4 – 6 visits per year
    - 7 – 10 visits per year
    - More than 10 visits per year

13. [for those born in Latin America] how frequently do you visit your country of birth on average?
    - Less than 1 visit per year
    - 1- 3 visits per year
    - 4 – 6 visits per year
    - 7 – 10 visits per year
    - More than 10 visits per year

14. Have you registered with the Spanish consulate since arriving in the UK?
    - Yes
    - No

        ➔ If yes, what type of registration did you complete in the consulate?
        - Permanent resident
        - Temporary resident
        - I don't know

15. What were your reasons for first moving to the UK? [mark all that apply]
    - Family
    - Romantic relationship

- Work
- Study
- Adventure
- Other - Please complete.....

16. What is the highest level of education that you have completed?
    - I never studied / incomplete primary
    - Completed primary school
    - Incomplete secondary school
    - Complete secondary school
    - Professional technical education
    - Incomplete university
    - Complete university
    - Incomplete postgraduate
    - Complete postgraduate

17. In which country did you complete your highest level of education?
    - Spain
    - UK
    - Other

18. What was the highest level of education of your father?
    - I never studied / incomplete primary
    - Completed primary school
    - Incomplete secondary school
    - Complete secondary school
    - Professional technical education
    - Incomplete university
    - Complete university
    - Incomplete postgraduate
    - Complete postgraduate
    - I don’t know

19. What was the highest level of education of your mother?
    - I never studied / incomplete primary
    - Completed primary school
    - Incomplete secondary school
    - Complete secondary school
    - Professional technical education
    - Incomplete university
    - Complete university
    - Incomplete postgraduate
    - Complete postgraduate

- I don't know

20. Are you currently working?
    - Yes
    - No

        ➔ If no, are you looking for work?
        - Yes (go to question 32)
        - No I'm in full time education (go to question 32)
        - No I'm a full time carer (taking care of children, on maternity leave, taking care of elderly family members etc) (go to question 32)
        - No I'm ill or unable to work (go to question 32)
        - No I'm not currently interested in working (skip to question 33)
21. Do you have more than one job?
    - Yes
    - No

22. For your main job (the one you work for most hours)in what sort of role are you currently working?
    - Managers, Directors and Senior Officials
    - Professional Occupations
    - Associate Professional and Technical Occupations
    - Administrative and Secretarial Occupations
    - Skilled Trades Occupations
    - Caring, Leisure and Other Service Occupations
    - Sales and Customer Service Occupations
    - Process, Plant and Machine Operatives
    - Elementary Occupations

23. Please describe your role: ……..

24. For your main job (the one you work for most hours) , how many hours are you working?
    - full time
    - part time

25. For your main job (the one you work for most hours) , what type of contract do you have in this job?
    - Permanent /indefinite
    - fixed term /temporary
    - self employed
    - zero hours contract
    - I don't have a contract
    - I don't know what type of contract I have

26. For your main job (the one you work for most hours) , how did you get this job?
    - Through friends or family
    - By applying after seeing an advert
    - Through a recruiter or an agency
    - Through a Job Centre
    - Through social networks (for example Facebook, Whatsapp)
    - Other – please complete: ……..

27. How satisfied are you with your current job(s)?
    - Very satisfied
    - Satisfied
    - Not satisfied nor dissatisfied
    - Dissatisfied
    - Very dissatisfied

28. How do feel that moving to the UK has been for your professional career?
    - Very negative
    - Negative
    - Neither negative or positive
    - Positive
    - Very positive

29. Do you send money back to people in Spain?
    - Yes regularly
    - Yes occasionally
    - No

30. [if born in Latin America] Do you send money back to people in your country of birth?
    - Yes regularly
    - Yes occasionally
    - No

31. What was your *first* job in UK? [select following standard occupational classifications]
    - Managers, Directors and Senior Officials
    - Professional Occupations
    - Associate Professional and Technical Occupations
    - Administrative and Secretarial Occupations
    - Skilled Trades Occupations
    - Caring, Leisure and Other Service Occupations
    - Sales and Customer Service Occupations
    - Process, Plant and Machine Operatives
    - Elementary Occupations
    - Not applicable (skip to question 34)

32. How did you get your *first* job?
    - ☐ Through friends or family
    - ☐ By applying after seeing an advert
    - ☐ Through a recruiter or an agency
    - ☐ Through a Job Centre
    - ☐ Through social networks (for example Facebook, Whatsapp)
    - ☐ Other – please complete: ……..

33. Approximately how many different jobs have you had since being in the UK?
    - ☐ More than 11
    - ☐ Between 6 and 10
    - ☐ 3 to 5
    - ☐ Less than 3

English

34. How much English to do you speak in your daily life?
    - ☐ None
    - ☐ Very little
    - ☐ Some
    - ☐ A lot

35. What was your level of English when you *first* arrived in the UK? [2 scales speaking/listening; reading/ writing]
    - ☐ Very good
    - ☐ Good
    - ☐ Not good nor bad
    - ☐ Bad
    - ☐ Very bad

36. How would you rate your *current* level of English? [scale 1-5 for speaking /reading; writing/listening]
    - ☐ Very good
    - ☐ Good
    - ☐ Not good nor bad
    - ☐ Bad
    - ☐ Very bad

37. Would you like to improve your current level of English?
    - ☐ Yes
    - ☐ No

        ➔ If yes, for which reasons is it important for you to improve your English? (mark all that are relevant)
            - ☐ To study

- To improve my job prospects
- To make new friends
- To talk to my colleagues at work
- To speak to my children's school teachers
- To speak in shops, the bank, the doctor etc
- Because English is an important language in the world
- Because it's important to speak the language of the country where you live
- Because I'm dissatisfied with my current level
- Because I like learning languages
- To obtain residency or citizenship
- Other please complete .....

38. Have you done taken any of these steps to improve your English? [two scales past/present]
    - Taken a course
    - Private classes
    - Self study
    - Language exchange
    - Other, please specify …
    - I haven't done any of these

Social life in the UK

39. Did you know anyone in the UK before moving here? [Select all of those that apply]
    - Yes some relatives
    - Yes some friends
    - Yes some acquaintances
    - No

40. Thinking about the people you socialise with, in which contexts is it easiest to make friends? [please pick the three most important]
    - Neighbours
    - Workplace
    - Studying
    - Leisure activities/ hobbies or sport
    - Volunteering
    - Place of worship
    - Through other friends
    - Through relatives
    - Through the school of my children
    - In a community space
    - Other please complete.....

41. Thinking about the people you socialise with, would you say the majority are ... ?

	None	Some	Many	All
People who have come to the UK from Spain	❍	❍	❍	❍
People who have come to the UK from other European countries	❍	❍	❍	❍
People who have come to the UK from Latin America	❍	❍	❍	❍
People from other parts of the world	❍	❍	❍	❍
British people	❍	❍	❍	❍
Personas que hablan inglés como lengua materna (6)	❍	❍	❍	❍
Personas que hablan español como lengua materna (7)	❍	❍	❍	❍

42. How easy do you find it to make friends with British people (in comparison with other nationalities)?
    - ☐ very easy
    - ☐ moderately easy
    - ☐ neither easy nor difficult
    - ☐ moderately difficult
    - ☐ very difficult

Participation

43. Are you registered to vote in the UK?
    - ☐ Yes
    - ☐ No
    - ☐ I don't know

    →If yes, have you ever voted in the local elections or European elections since you lived in the UK
    - ☐ Yes
    - ☐ No
    - ☐ I don't know

44. Do you volunteer actively in any of the following organisations?
    - ☐ Local or national charity
    - ☐ Your child's school
    - ☐ Residents/tenants association
    - ☐ Church or place of worship

- ☐ Other
- ☐ None

45. How easy have you found it to access the following services in the UK?

	Very difficult	Difficult	Neither difficult nor easy	Easy	Very easy	Doesn't apply
Health services	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Education for your children	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Professional training	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Housing	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Unemployment benefits	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

46. Since you've been in the UK, have you experienced any form of discrimination?
    - ☐ Yes
    - ☐ No

47. What type of discrimination and in which situations? Please mark all that apply

	in the workplace	in the street	In access to services (e.g in hospitals, school, banks)
Gender or sex	❑	❑	❑
Disability	❑	❑	❑
Age	❑	❑	❑
Sexual orientation	❑	❑	❑
Pregnancy	❑	❑	❑
Ethnicity or race	❑	❑	❑
Nationality	❑	❑	❑
Discrimination for not speaking English	❑	❑	❑
Religious discrimination	❑	❑	❑
Other please specify	❑	❑	❑

48. Do you feel at home in the UK?
    - ☐ Yes, absolutely
    - ☐ Yes generally
    - ☐ More or less
    - ☐ No generally
    - ☐ Not at all

49. At the moment, how many years do you think you'll stay living in the UK?
    - ☐ Less than a year
    - ☐ 1-3 years
    - ☐ 4-6 years
    - ☐ 7-10 years
    - ☐ More than 10 years
    - ☐ All my life

    ➔ [for any responses other than all my life] Where do you think you'll live after the UK?
    - ☐ Spain
    - ☐ My country of birth (if not Spain)
    - ☐ Other – please specify …….

50. What impact do you think the result of the referendum of the UK to leave the EU will have on…?

	Very negative	Negative	neither negative or positive	Positive	Very positive	Doesn't apply
Your work	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Your children's education	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Your access to services	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Your social life	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

51. Do you have permanent residency in the UK or have you started the application? (the permanent residency is residency permission that you have can apply for after 5 years of living in the UK)
    - ☐ Yes
    - ☐ No
    - ☐ I don't know
52. [if yes to Q51 selected] When did you start the applications for permanent residency?
    - ☐ Before the referendum
    - ☐ After the referendum
    - ☐ I don't know
53. [if no or I don't know to Q51 is selected] How likely is it that you'll apply for the permanent residency in the coming year?
    - ☐ Very likely
    - ☐ Likely
    - ☐ Not likely

- Very unlikely
- I don’t know
- It doesn’t apply (because I don’t yet have 5 years of residency)

54. Please add any further comments you would like:

Many thanks for taking part.

The survey will be complemented by research interviews covering the same topics as above in greater detail. These interviews are likely to take place in spring 2017. If you would be interested in being involved in the second stage of the research, please enter your email address below. You will be contacted later in the year with further details. Leaving your email address does not oblige you to take part in the next stage of the research.

Appendix C

Interview Guide

Interviews were conducted in Spanish and followed a semi-structured format. The following is a translation of the main themes and prompts.

Background

- Can you tell me a little about yourself?
    - Where were you born? Where did you grow up?
    - What nationalities do you have?
    - When did you move to Spain? Why?
- How long have you been in the UK?
- Why did you decide to come to the UK?
- Did you think about going to other countries? Was it an easy decision?
- Have you lived in other countries before the UK?
- Do you have any family members in the UK?
- Do you have children? Where do they live?
- Did you know people in the UK before coming?
- Who? Did they help you when you arrived? In what way?

Employment

- What do you do currently (for your work)?
    - How long have you been working there?
    - How did you get the job?
- Are you happy with the role that you have?
- Do you feel that your previous skills or experience is being used in your current work?
- Do you like your job? Why/why not?
- How well do you get on with your colleagues?
- Where are your colleagues from?
- How easy was it to get a job when you first arrived in the UK?
- Has your employment situation improved since you arrived in the UK? In what ways?
- Do you think that moving to the UK has been positive for your career?
- What work were you doing in Spain before moving to the UK?
- What advice would you give to other people thinking of moving to the UK?

English language

- Do you speak English in your daily life? In which situations?
- How satisfied are you with your current English level?
- How does your current level of English compare with your level when you moved to the UK?

Sociability

- Thinking about your five closest friends (that could be anywhere in the world): how did you get to know those friends? Where are they from? Where do they live? How often are you in contact with them?
- Thinking about the people you socialise with here in the UK: how did you get to know those friends? Where are they from? What language(s) do you speak to them in?
- If you had a serious problem in the UK, who would you turn to for support? For instance: if you were sick at home and needed someone to bring you food who would you ask? Or if you needed to take a serious decision who would you talk to about it?
- Do you think it's easy to make friends in the UK? Why/why not?
    - In which situations is it possible to make friends?
    - Would you like to make more friends? Would you like to have more British friends?
- How important are friends in process of moving country? Why?

Life in the UK

- Do you feel comfortable in the UK? Why/why not? How have your feelings about the UK changed since you arrived?
- Where do you think you'll live in 5 years time?
- What does the word 'integration' mean to you?
- Do you think the word is relevant to your experience in the UK?
- Have you ever experienced any type of discrimination since you've been living in the UK? In what situations?
- What impact do you think the referendum will have on your life here in the UK? (or what impact has it already had?)
- Has your perception of the country changed since the referendum? Have you changed your plans for the future?
- Do you feel more European after the referendum and the resulting debate?
- Is there anything else you'd like to add about your experiences?