Migrant precarity in London: The case of Latin Americans with Spanish passports

Source: (Latin American Recognition Campaign)
http://www.theprisma.co.uk/2014/04/06/larc-and-the-latinos-recognition-around-the-borough-of-lambeth/

Anna Baum
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INDEPENDENT GEOGRAPHICAL STUDY

I, Anna Baum,
Hereby declare (a) that this dissertation is my own original work and that all source material used is acknowledged therein; (b) that it has been specially prepared for a degree of King's College London; and (c) that it does not contain any material that has been or will be submitted to the Examiners of this or any other university, or any material that has been or will be submitted for any other examination.

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Indoamerican Refugee and Migrant Organisation …………………… IRMO

English for Speakers of Other Languages………………………………… ESOL

Income Based Job Seekers Allowance…………………………….…………… IB-JSA

European Economic Area………………………………………………… EEA

Abstract

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Based on semi-structured interviews, this study examines the precaritisation of the lives of Latin American migrants with Spanish passports, who have recently arrived to London. This study finds that despite having equal rights to reside and work in the UK, and equal access to public services and education as British citizens, Latin Americans with Spanish passports living in London face numerous structural barriers and difficulties. These barriers intersect and overlap to reinforce their precarity, and create a migrant division of labour within the working class.

Chapter 1: Introduction

With the increasing polarisation of wealth and liberalisation of the economy, the issue of precarity has been of increasing interest in recent years, with Guy Standing (2011) even referring to the "precariat" as a new global class. While it is beyond the scope of this study to discuss whether those living in precarity can be counted as part of a precariat class or not, it is established that migrants are structurally more vulnerable to precarity (Castles & Kosack, 2010). Definitions of precarity will be explored further on, however for this essay, precarity refers to a state of precariousness, uncertainty and instability. Migrants are disproportionally concentrated in low skilled and low paid sectors and experience higher unemployment levels for longer periods of time (Kanas and van Tubergen, 2009). This study aims to explore the processes which lead to migrant precarity and how these are structurally enforced.

The growth of precarity is not simply a natural process, but a consequence of active Government policy promoting it. The neoliberal economy thrives off and depends on the low wages and a flexible labour force to maintain the current mode of capital accumulation. At the same time the importance of "individual responsibility" in the current neoliberal economic system becomes ever more apparent with the roll back of the Welfare State and associated social rights (Castles, 2011). These processes are all part of an attempt to undo that which organized labour has attained and to return to pre-war conditions of employment and class relations (Harvey, 2005). The recent financial crisis and austerity measures have led to an increase in precarious labour in the UK, and migrants are likely to become the most vulnerable to this precarity (Standing, 2011:90).

This study aims to address a gap in the literature by examining the precarity of Latin American migrants with Spanish passports in London, with a view to understand the legal and structural factors which influence their precarity. Previous studies on the Latin American community have both focused on the community as a whole, and as separate national groups (McIlwaine and Bermudez Torres, 2011;Wright, 2011; McIlwaine et al., 2011;). However, most studies are based on quantitative rather than qualitative information. In the following section I will outline some of literature and theories around

precarity, exclusion and migrant labour to understand how they interrelate. I will then discuss the methods used in the research.

This study argues that the precarity of Latin Americans with Spanish passports living in London is legally and structurally enforced through various government policies. What this study additionally examines is how different aspects of precarity are interlinked and intersect. It will discuss how policies which directly affect some aspects of precarity, such as employment opportunities and welfare support, indirectly produce vulnerability in other areas, such as access to social networks and education. Lastly, it seeks to examine how the precaritisation of the migrant labour force has contributed to a "migrant division of labour" (May et al, 2007:153).

Latin American migrants with Spanish passports were selected for this study to demonstrate that despite EEA nationals being able to reside and work in the UK legally, unlike Latin Americans without European passports, their temporariness is structural rather than legally enforced (Anderson, 2010). There are many different reasons for why Latin Americans migrate to London, the main one being for economic motives (McIlwaine et al 2011). In 2011 around a quarter of Latin Americans in London had British citizenship and around a fifth had an EU passport , although this has probably increased significantly since , as many more have been arriving from Europe (ibid). I have selected migrants with Spanish passports for my research, as the largest proportion of Latin Americans coming from Europe come from Spain, particularly those from Spanish speaking countries (see figure 1).

Spain (38%)
Portugal (14.3%)
Italy (6.2%)
France (3.7%)
Germany (1.2%)
Holland (0.6%)
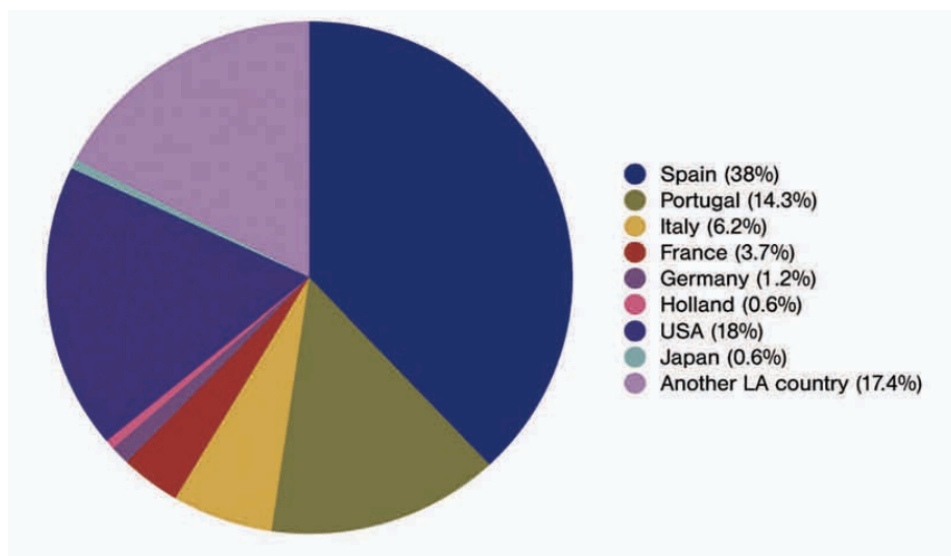USA (18%)
Japan (0.6%)
Another LA country (17.4%)

Figure 1. Country lived in before migrating to the UK (McIlwaine et al 2011:43)

Southwark and Lambeth are the two boroughs where the highest proportion of Latin Americans live in London (see figure 2). This is also reflected by the fact that they have both officially recognized Latin Americans as an ethnic minority (CLAUK, 2014).

Figure 2. Concentration of Latin Americans per borough in London (McIlwaine et al 2011:33)

I have therefore purposely chosen to select migrants who are living in Lambeth as it has one of the highest populations of Latin Americans in the UK. At a time when the "financial crisis has exacerbated economic hardship" for Latin Americans in London, and increasing numbers are migrating from Spain as a result of the recession, this research addresses a very current topic (McIlwaine et al 2011: 8,71). To ensure that the research remains focused I will address and refer to the following research questions throughout the study.

Research questions:

1. What difficulties have Latin American migrants with Spanish passports confronted living in London?
2. How do government policies influence the precarity of recent Latin American migrants with Spanish passports?
3. How do different aspects of precarity interlink and intersect?
4. How has the precaritisation of migrant workers contributed to a "migrant division of labour"?

Chapter 2: Literature review

Precarity

There are many different interpretations as to what condition precarity actually refers to, making it difficult to strictly define. Vosko (2006:52) argues that precarious employment entails working with little social benefits and statutory entitlements, job insecurity, low wages and high risks of ill health. Precarity can be associated with vulnerability, which entails a condition of insecurity, powerlessness and increased exposure to shocks and stresses (Chambers, 1989). However, as Anderson (2010) points out, vulnerability focuses on the individual, rather than the structural circumstances which shape precarious conditions. Unlike vulnerability, precarity suggests an "associated weakening of social relations", not a natural state of being (Anderson, 2010:303). Anderson (2010) describes precarity as an uncertainty of the future, with little opportunities for upward social mobility. She also defines precarity as having little social attachment and time for social activities with most time being spent at work (ibid). Standing (2011) acknowledges that precariousness is more than a state of insecure employment and includes emotional and social insecurity, a constant fear of not knowing what the future brings.

Migrant precarity in the context of capitalist class relations

Precarious labour is a key aspect of the neoliberal capitalist project, while migration policies have facilitated the flexibilisation and repression of wages. When studying the precarity of migrants in capitalist societies we must look at the wider history of class struggle within capital accumulation (Harvey , 2001). David Harvey points out that the existence of surplus labour, or an "industrial reserve army" is essential to feed the expansion of production (Harvey, 2001:238). This migrant industrial reserve army is a fundamental part of the capitalist mode of production as, if employment increases and the reserve army shrinks, labour's demand becomes stronger (Castles & Kosack, 2010:22). It is in the interest of capitalists to decrease wages by maintaining some of the laboring population as unemployed or half-employed, to ensure an increase in profits and

accumulation (ibid). Immigrant workers not only fulfill the need of an industrial reserve army , but have also served a socio-political function by creating a split between immigrant and indigenous workers, providing the indigenous working classes with a sense of "labour aristocracy" (ibid).

Migrants often carry out unskilled and semi-skilled work in sectors with the worst working conditions and pay, while indigenous workers tend to be employed in jobs with better conditions and a higher status (Castles & Kosack, 2010:30). Therefore, there is an inherent demand for precarious, disposable migrant labour in industrial economies, even as unemployment has increased after the crisis (ibid). The recession has increased the development towards precarious labour, as many UK employers have got rid of older, long term employees, moving to a lower cost, temporary and flexible labour force (Standing, 2011:102). Sassen (2001) argues that immigrants make up a specific group of labour supply which meet the needs of firms looking to hire powerless labour (Sassen, 1990:41). In this way powerlessness makes migrants profitable (ibid). In her "Global Cities Hypothesis" she explains how migration has played an important part in the formation of global cities, as an increase in financial and business services at the top end consequently lead to an increased demand for low paid service sector jobs filled by migrant labour (Sassen, 2001).

The structural precaritisation and exclusion of migrant labour

It is important to note here that the creation of a more flexible, precarious labour force within global cities such as London is not a "natural" economic process. London has not only been subject to occupational and income polarization but has also seen a split within the working class through a "migrant division of labour" (May et al, 2007:153). This divide is not simply due to economic restructuring and an increase in financial and business services as Sassen suggests, rather the state has played an active role in shaping this divide (ibid). Active state policies of labour market deregulation, welfare reform and "managed migration" have created a reserve army of migrant labour, to ensure the UK's competitive advantage in the global economy (May et al 2007:155). Multiple job holdings and agency employment are common in the UK, particularly since subcontracting was introduced in the public sector during the Thatcher period (ibid). The subcontracted private sector tends to offer lower wages under poorer conditions (McDowell et al, 2009:9). The availability of

migrants who are willing to take precarious , short-term, low paid work actually constructs a labour market which is increasingly dependent on migrant workers (McDowell et al, 2009:7). Therefore jobs are not "neutral slots" but are "socially constructed definitions", shaped to draw in particularly "raced and gendered workers" (ibid).

Migrants are excluded socially and institutionally while being included as subordinated labour, exploited and hired and fired on demand. Castles (2011) argues that civil, social and political rights are granted on an unequal, hierarchical basis to migrant and non-migrant workers, creating a new class structure. This is seen by the way in which the racialisation of the welfare system has institutionalized migrant precarity (Schierup et al, 2006:3). The migrant division of labour seperates labour not just according to human capital but according to gender, race and ethnicity (Castles, 2011:312). Therefore, the neoliberal claim that employment status is determined by human capital does not reflect the reality, where many skilled migrants face structural barriers to work and experience deskilling (ibid). For example, although Latin Americans are generally a highly skilled, educated workforce their socio-economic situation in London remains poor (McIlwaine et al, 2011). Theories of assimilation assume that over time the job sector and earnings of immigrants will converge with that of the majority group (McGovern, 2007:223). This has not been the case with the Latin American community however, as most Latin American migrants experience language difficulties, face social exclusion and disadvantage in the labour market, working in low paid flexible job sectors. As a result many families live in overcrowded housing with little access to social support, public services and healthcare (ibid).

Through the creation of a migrant industrial reserve army, we see how borders act as "unequal exchanges of value" (De Genova, 2013:1188). The subordination of migrant labour is not simply as a result of market forces, but is enforced through state power , as capitalist class relations are reflected within the state. State policies and laws naturalise the exclusion of migrants , producing and emphasising their "differences" from the indigenous community (De Genova, 2013:1192). Exclusionary policies , be they along nationality lines, therefore promote racialised inequalities and structural discrimination (De Genova, 2013:1191).

Analysing the political subjectivity of migrants helps create an understanding of how state power shapes identity and belonging. The subjectivity of labour is especially apparent when looking at migrant workers, where the relation of the migrant to the state is distinct from indigenous workers. As Agamben explains, "bare life" entails being "included in politics in the form of exception", or being "included solely through exclusion" (Agamban,1998:11). With the inclusion through the exclusion of migrants, we see the contradiction between democratic citizenship and universal rights, and inequalities produced by capitalist markets along racial and gendered lines (Ong, 1996:736). Drawing on Foucault's idea of "subjectification", where the self is made by power relations through discipline, control and administration (Foucault, 1989) we see how the state categorises people as citizens, tax-payers, workers and welfare dependents, which become interwoven with statuses of race and class (Ong, 1996:737). As Foucault's (1991) idea of "governmentality" argues, the nation state controls the conduct of subjects in the name of national security and prosperity. This involves promoting ideas of belonging and not belonging , inclusion and exclusion, not just on a national policy level, but also in non-state institutions and practices.

The subordination of migrant labour reflects the conflicting relationship between labour and capital on a transnational level (De Genova, 2013:1190). This research will investigate how these conflicts are reproduced in the daily lives of migrants who are living and working in precarity in London.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Research approach

To address the aforementioned research questions I planned to conduct semi-structured interviews with a sample of ten Latin American migrants with Spanish passports who have been living in the UK for less than two years. A qualitative method was the most promising in addressing the questions asked above. The purpose of my qualitative research was not to simply examine a predefined hypothesis on a sample group in order to represent the whole population, but to assess the personal thoughts and judgments of participants through their everyday experiences. Crucial in this was to ask open questions which allowed participants to discuss issues which were most important to them rather than being dominated by my interests. Qualitative, unlike quantitative research, cannot answer questions such as "how many" and "what are the causes" (Barbour,2013:13) , however it can, in this case, analyze the experiences and processes which led to participants' precarity. Through qualitative research I am able to unearth the mechanisms which link particular variables through the experiences described by participants (ibid) , such as the relationship between anti-social work hours and access to social capital.

The Indoamerican Refugee and Migrant Organisation (IRMO)

 I approached interviewees through the Indo-American Refugee and Migrant Organisation (IRMO), a migrant-led organization based in Brixton, South London. IRMO provides immigration and welfare advice, youth and children's projects, parental support and English classes to Latin American migrants "to empower community members to enable them to build a stable life in the UK" (irmo.org). When IRMO was founded in 1974 it was originally called "Chile Democratico" and was set up around the time to provide a support to exiles who escaped the Chilean coup (BBC, 2013). Later, as the demographics of the Latin American community changed the organization changed its name to IRMO to address the wider needs of the community. Economic migration is now the main reason for Latin Americans coming to the UK (McIlwaine et al 2011: 12). Particularly since the crisis, many of the clients coming to IRMO are secondary migrants from other European Union countries . I had been volunteering for IRMO for two and a half years and was a member of

the management committee at the time, therefore the staff at the organization were encouraging of my project.

Approaching interviewees

I approached most of the participants through the English classes and welfare support services at IRMO. Approaching people in this way lead to a snowballing sample technique as some of the clients introduced me to other clients at IRMO, which opened the door to approach others within the same group. A positive aspect of snowballing technique is that the sample includes "relations among individuals" where the researcher is like "a good reporter who tracks down leads from one person to another" (Coleman 1958:29). However, according to Atkinson and Flint (2001) snowball methods breach the principles of sampling, as the sample can be representationally biased towards the choices made by the first respondents who gave their contacts. Another issue is that snowballing can be biased by only including participants who are connected to a particular social network (Van Meter, 1990). However, the contacts introduced to me were all clients at IRMO, therefore I had not tapped into an external social network but had maintained the sample group within IRMO itself. Furthermore the research aimed to provide an in depth analysis of the sample group's experiences, and not to be a representation of the community as a whole.

Some of the interviewees already knew me from around the office or from community events and I had personally accompanied two participants as an interpreter on various occasions. This meant that I had already established a good rapport with participants, which perhaps made it easier for them to share their stories. On the other hand it seemed that some interviewees assumed that I already knew their situation and did not feel the need to explain it to me , for example an experience with a school appointment which I had also attended as an interpreter. In these cases I had to make sure that I asked enough questions to hear the whole story. The issue of the researcher being an insider or an outsider of the research groups is important here. Being an insider researcher can foster a deeper understanding of the group and can encourage participants to open up more, however there are questions as to how objective an inside researcher can be (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). Although I cannot claim to relate to, or fully understand the situation of the

interviewees and I do not share an identity with them, I did speak their language which gave me more legitimacy and helped to build trust.

Sample group

The participants that made this sample were chosen because of their migration history. All respondents had migrated to Spain from Latin America and had then been naturalised in Spain. All interviewees had arrived from Spain in the last two years and were living in the surrounding borough of Lambeth, which has one of the highest Latin American populations in London (McIlwaine et al 2011). One problem which I faced in selecting my sample group was recruiting women to do interviews with me, as there was a disproportional amount of men in the English classes, which many clients attend. This may be because women are more likely to stay at home with the children, or because men often arrive to the UK before their partners. Therefore I particularly approached women when looking for participants. Colombians are one of the largest Latin American national groups in London (McIlwaine et al 2011) which is reflected by the fact that most participants were Colombian. All interviews were undertaken in a private office in IRMO, which was a neutral space and made it easier for people who were coming for English classes or other services. Interviews were guided by interview questions (see Appendix 3), however after all these questions were asked interviewees tended to continue telling their stories and experiences and different questions came up. All interviews were conducted in Spanish and were recorded. Interviews took between 40 minutes to one hour and were conducted between November 2014 and February 2015. While listening to the interviews I would separate them into smaller sections and summarise each part. When looking back at the summaries I would identify the parts which were of interest and re-listen and transcribe them. In this way I was able to have an overview of the whole interview while also saving time by only having to transcribe the parts which were relevant. Summarising and transcribing the interviews also helped me to think about common themes between interviewees. While many points came out which were not directly related to my questions they contributed by bringing new aspects to the research. The themes of the analysis were then based on the key themes which came out from the interviews based on the literature.

Chapter 4: Analysis

The analysis involves interviews with ten Latin Americans with Spanish passports who have arrived to London in the last two years. Pseudonyms are used to protect their identity. Drawing on the academic literature of chapter two and the research questions presented in the introduction I will explore their experiences of precarity, examine the factors which influence their structural vulnerability, and how these contribute to a migrant division of labour. Findings will be presented in six sections: employment status, housing, access to welfare support, access to public services , language, social capital and deskilling and social mobility. Table 1 (below) provides an overview of the country of origin and employment status of the sample group to give a greater understanding of the analysis.

Table 1: Participants' country of origin and employment history.

Name	Country	Previous Work	Current Work
Andrea	Ecuador	Cook	Stay at home mum
Carlos	Peru	Cook	Cook
Fran	Colombia	Clothes shop assistant	Cleaner
Gabriela	Ecuador	Nurse	Cleaner
Ana	Colombia	Farm Veterinary	Cleaner
Ludivia	Colombia	Estate agent	Cleaner
Ivan	Colombia	Wind energy technician	Cleaner
Mary	Colombia	Nurse	Unemployed
Isabel	Colombia	Elderly carer	Cleaner
Frank	Ecuador	Electrician	Cleaner

Employment Status

> *"London is a place of opportunities, but you must know how to find them...*
> *not everyone has access to these opportunities"*

In the above quote Ana, a mother from Colombia, describes how different groups living in London have unequal access to employment opportunities. This observation is consistent with the notion that we now have a clear "migrant division of labour" in London with the low skilled employment sector driven by a flexible migrant labour force (May et al, 2007:152). Those in precarious employment often have to work multiple jobs to reach an income which sustains them, and cleaning jobs are notorious for giving only a few flexible work hours (ibid). All interviewees who were working were employed in cleaning jobs, apart from Carlos who is a cook. All interviewees earned no higher than minimum wage and stated that they had little savings. Seven interviewees worked more than one job. This section will examine the experiences of interviewees who have taken up precarious jobs in London, and what led them to enter this sort of work .

All those interviewed expressed uncertainty about their future. For example Sofia, a mother from Colombia remarked ""*In the future I would prefer to stay here in Europe, be it in Spain or Germany. I don't know where I will end up my child*!".". Similarly Andrea from Ecuador stated "*if my husband finds a better job we might stay a year, or a few years".* Gabriela was the most explicit in her uncertainty: *"Here you live by the week".* Gabriela is a single mom from Ecuador and had arrived from Spain to London just two months before. Those living in precarity often don't know what they will be doing or where they will be working in a few months or even a few weeks time (Standing, 2011:7). For example, Gabriela was working at two cleaning jobs, one in the morning at a café which paid her five pounds an hour, and the other with an agency cleaning offices. She expressed her concerns at never knowing where she will in a few days, as she had no job security or savings. Her contract at the cleaning agency could be terminated at any point and her job at the café was informal, "If I don't get paid next week how will I live?"

As Standing remarked, "the precariatised mind is fed by fear" (2011:20). The case of Gabriela shows how a lack of job security leaves those living in precarity in a state of

chronic instability with the constant fear of becoming unemployed or homeless. Unfortunately for Gabriela her worst fears were realized. Three weeks after I had interviewed her she had packed her bags and disappeared with her eight year old son. A friend of hers, Isabel from Colombia explained to me :

> *"The woman where she worked did not pay her…She didn't have anywhere to leave her son, and the woman said she can bring the boy to work. And then the woman said no I'm not going to pay you. She thought it was a joke but the woman said if you denounce me I will denounce you for bringing your child to work and they will take away your child."*

Gabriela's case is a clear example of how precarity leaves migrants particularly vulnerable to workplace abuse. As with many precarious workers (Standing,2011), Irene's contractual cleaning job did not pay enough for her and her son to live off, which meant she had to take on an informal side-job in a café. Despite Gabriela clearly being taken advantage of by the owner of the café, we must look beyond the role of the abusive employer in order to understand her situation as a precarious migrant worker (Anderson, 2010:313). It is important to acknowledge the significance of the labour market liberalisation and regulatory constraints which lead her to take up informal work in the first place. Despite EEA nationals being able to reside and work in the UK legally, their temporariness is structurally rather than legally enforced (ibid). Since the influx of EEA nationals migrating to the UK the Tier 3 visa category for unskilled migration from outside the EU was effectively abandoned in 2008 (BBC, 2014). The assumption was that EEA migrants would take up these "unskilled" and "flexible" jobs. These changes to the labour market have contributed significantly to the vulnerability of EEA migrants working in the UK (MacKenzie and Forde, 2009). Consequently employers have taken advantage of migrants who are socially and economically vulnerable such as Gabriela (MacKenzie and Forde, 2009:147). Furthermore, the case of Gabriela is also an example of how migrants are vulnerable in the workplace due to a lack of language skills and awareness of their employment rights (Sargeant and Tucker: 2009:14). I will go into the issues of language acquisition and access to information further on in the essay. In the above examples we can see that job insecurity is a key aspect of the precarity and unpredictability of the lives of interviewees working for cleaning agencies in an unprotected sector.

Housing

All interviewees experienced overcrowded living conditions. Migrants in the UK often live in the worst housing condition, in slums and run down houses (Castles & Kosack, 2010:31). Migrants are often discriminated against by land-lords and it is unusual for migrants to access council housing , meaning they are left with little options but to pay extortionate rents for terrible housing (ibid). This is exemplified by Andrea's case:

> *"I am living in a horror house, because the landlords don't rent to us with children…we live in a house with 18 people , 6 children. We don't have heating, we don't have hot water. Every few days the house floods, the house has no security, the windows don't close, it gets cold. The walls are damp….I pay £160 a week for a small room"*

Andrea's situation shows how precarious employment can translate into living in inhumane conditions. Migrants are not entitled to council housing, suffer discrimination in the housing market and who often do not have the social networks to find adequate accommodation (McIlwaine et al 2010). The housing policy changes since the financial crisis are part of the on-going neoliberal project in the last three decades to restructure the welfare state. The coalition government has furthered the privatization and marketization of public services and encouraged corporate investment in the private rental sector (Hodkinson & Robbins 2013:66). Consequently, house price inflation, rent de-regulation and the shortage of social housing has made finding affordable accommodation increasingly difficult for low-income families (ibid). For example, Andrea's husband works full time (over 45 hours) as a chef for minimum wage, however his income is not enough to rent an adequate accommodation for a family of four: "*In London it is impossible to rent a house as a mother with children, you need £5000 just for the deposit*!". Similarly Ana described how when she first came to London she was living with her husband and son in a single bedroom, paying £800 a month, *"at least we had a roof over our head!"*. Here we see that the pressure on housing in London has made it almost impossible for migrants on low income to find adequate housing in the private rental sector, due to discrimination and high rental costs , while on the other hand they are also unable to access social housing.

Access to welfare support

As Castles (2011) discusses, the commodification of labour has been coupled with the weakening of the welfare state in the Global North , where entitlements , freedoms and rights are granted on unequal conditions to different classes.

This is seen by the recent reduced eligibility for EEA nationals to access social support, which has left many migrants impoverished or even homeless (Dwyer et al 2011:15). Since 1 January 2014 EEA nationals must have lived in the UK for three months before being eligible to claim welfare benefits (ibid). Additionally, a set of 100 questions, including questions on English language skills, have also made it much more difficult for migrants to pass the habitual residence test (ibid). Since the 1st April 2014 EEA nationals in receipt of Income Based Job-seekers Allowance, (IB-JSA) are no longer entitled to Housing Benefit unless they can prove that they have a qualifying right to reside on another basis (Sibley & Collins 2014:167). EEA nationals now need to prove that they have been undertaking "genuine and effective work" by earning £150 a week for the last three months to be able to access in-work benefits (Sibley & Collins 2014:168).

These changes are clear examples of how employers have shaped the labour market to their interests, with reduced access to welfare benefits and family reunification for migrants (Flynn, 2005). As Flynn (2005:481) notes, changes to labour market and welfare policies have made it a migrant's obligation to first and foremost serve the interests of their employer and then their own. This is clearly exemplified by the words "genuine" and "effective" used by the Department of Work and Pensions to determine which migrants "deserve" social welfare support and which don't (gov.uk, 2014).

Three of the ten people interviewed had been in the UK for less than three months and did not fulfill the requirements needed to receive IB-JSA, housing benefit, tax credit or child benefit. Crisis, which works with homeless people, wrote a report on the effects of the new housing benefit policies on EEA migrants "We believe it is inevitable that the regulations will lead to increased homelessness and rough sleeping amongst EEA migrants" (Crisis, 2014). It also stated that homeless EEA migrants who do not receive housing benefit will not be able to seek emergency shelter in a hostel or anywhere funded by housing benefit

(ibid). This situation is illustrated by the experience of Gabriela. After she was not paid for her work at the café she was unable to pay her rented room. Her friend, Isabel explained to me:

> *"They were kicking her out but the council, they didn't move her…despite being alone with a child, she did not meet their requirements. The poor woman, she didn't have help from anywhere"*

Gabriela had been renting a room in a house informally and was planning to use the money earned from the café job to pay for the deposit to rent somewhere formally. Only with a deposit would she have been able to rent somewhere with a tenancy agreement, and only with a tenancy agreement could she claim housing benefit. However, Gabriela also had to have been employed for three months earning at least £150 a week before she was even eligible to apply for Housing Benefit, an amount she was not able to reach doing part time cleaning work as a single mother. Here we see that Gabriela faced multiple layers of vulnerability due to government policies and her precarious employment. These vulnerabilities are also mutually reinforcing as without a stable, well-paid job it was difficult for her to find formal accommodation, and without a well paid job she was unable to earn £150 a week to receive housing support. It is worth noting here as well that for Gabriela, being a single mother entailed an extra dimension of precarity as she was unable to work more than part time so in order to look after her son. Here we see that there is not only a racial aspect to structural vulnerability, but also a gendered one.

Access to public services

As discussed in the literature review, the increasing liberalisation of the labour market since the 1980s has been coupled with the privatisation and outsourcing of public services and the marketization of the NHS (Castles & Kosack, 2010: 155). Austerity cuts since the financial crisis have hit the most vulnerable first, those often being migrants.

Education

Migrant families with children often live in cheaper and more overcrowded areas which have the worst school facilities (Castles & Kosack, 2010: 31). This observation is certainly reflected in the experiences of the parents I had interviewed, all of which had difficulties finding a school place in the area.

Lambeth, the area where most interviewees were living, has a large migrant population and was "the fourth most densely populated local authority in England and Wales" in 2012 with the population forecasted to double by 2020 (Guardian, 2012). "We lost £140m when the new government came in and scrapped the Building Schools for the Future programme" said Lambeth councilor Rachel Heywood commenting on government spending cuts after the last elections (ibid). The Guardian notes that benefit cuts mean that poorer families have to increasingly move to areas where renting is cheaper, which cause overcrowding and a shortage of school places in the area (ibid). This demonstrates that precarity is perpetuated by squeezes to public services (Standing, 2011:171).

As well as cuts to public services, structural circumstances and certain criteria may exclude migrants who are more vulnerable, or who have less access to information (Sabates-Wheeler & Macauslan 2007). This is seen by the difficulties which interviewees had when they arrived to London. Ludivia, a mother of two from Colombia spoke of her experience getting her daughter into school:

> *"She could only enter a Christian school, because I went to Lambeth and they asked so many things of me, but I have been here for two months and don't have anything! They asked me for proof of child benefits, the utility bills... She couldn't even get onto the waiting list. I applied twice and I said I don't have these things and they said I can't"*

Ludivia, was ineligible to receive any welfare support as she had only been in London for two months. Her husband had moved to London a few months earlier and had already informally rented a studio flat for the family of four. On arriving Ludivia could not get her daughter into a state primary school in Lambeth, as they required her to present proof of

receiving child benefits and either a tenancy agreement, a council tax letter, a copy of a utility bill or a driving license, non of which she had. In the end the only schools in Lambeth which were willing to accept her daughter were Church of England schools, which had less entry requirements as long as the family attend church once a week.

Other mothers I interviewed had faced similar problems. Andrea said that she had to wait months before her daughter could enter a primary school "we didn't receive benefits as we had just arrived. They asked for child benefit but we didn't have it!". Isabel also spoke of the difficulties in finding a primary school for her daughter:

> *"She entered school four months after we arrived… we started to apply in different schools, I went personally to Lambeth, I went knocking on doors of different religious schools because they say they don't depend on Lambeth. It took five months for Lambeth to answer but by that time I already found an Anglican school."*

In the cases of Ludivia, Andrea and Isabel the requirements to enter a primary school in Lambeth systematically exclude recent migrants as they do not receive child benefit, and are not yet stable with a permanent registered address. These are clear examples of how government policies push the most precarious workers, particularly migrants, into low income areas where there are less education opportunities, creating pockets of poverty, perpetuating vulnerability and restricting social mobility.

Healthcare

As already discussed, precarity entails insecure working and living conditions. These can have negative effects on health (Abraldo-Lanza et al., 2006). Not only are migrants vulnerable to poorer health conditions, but structural barriers can hinder them from accessing health-care due to cultural factors, lack of information and most importantly access to language support (Jayaweera & Quigley 2010). As the BBC has noted "more funding for interpreting services is desperately needed" (BBC,2010). All interviewees expressed difficulties in accessing health care, primarily due to a lack of translating services. For example Carlos stated : ""*In the GP surgery they don't try to help foreigners.*

When I went there was no translater". Before she left London I had interviewed Gabriela on her experience with the National Health Service and she had also had a bad experience:

> *"I had a case of intestinal obstruction, I was in hospital on Saturday, Sunday, Monday and Tuesday and only on Tuesday did they operate on me…they didn't help me because they didn't understand me. I never would have thought I would nearly die from an easily treated health problem because I didn't have someone to translate for me…this is a problem of health and humanity"*

Gabriela's experience gives an understanding as to how political and media responses to immigration have subjectified migrants, through racialising practices within the National Health Service. David Cameron's comment on the NHS articulates this perfectly: "people who come to our country, who don't have the right to use it, should be charged for it and we're putting that in place" (Independent,2014). Power relations determine who is "deserving" and not "deserving" of health treatment. Presenting migrants as the "other" normalizes their exclusion from healthcare through selective treatment due to language barriers (Erdinc, 2012). As mentioned in the literature review, this is an example of how "governmentality" promotes dangerous ideas of belonging and not belonging , not just on a national policy level, but also in day to day practices. Ludivia also spoke of exclusion on visiting her GP:

> *"It is very difficult, I think this is one of the things that is hardest for me… There are times when they look at you in the face , and they see that you don't speak English and its like they are burdened, they reject you, they don't want to attend to you…they don't want to call the translator. If I ask for a translator they ignore me."*

With Ludivia's comment we see that her treatment as a "burden", suggests she presents a threat to the national order of things by not learning the language, further legitimizing her "undeservingness" to healthcare.

Language

The influence of language on migrant integration and segregation is important to take into account when thinking about disparities in "occupational attainment" and income between ethnic groups (McGovern, 2007:232). EEA Migrants are often disadvantages by their lack of English language skills (McDowell et al, 2009:8). Language and vocational training are rarely provided for migrants by employers or at affordable prices (ibid). Additionally, ESOL funding changes were introduced in August 2007 , ending automatic fee remission (DIUS, 2008:9). All interviewees had little to no knowledge of the English language, and many of them experienced exclusion and disadvantage in the job market as a result. For example Frank spoke of his difficulty in finding a better paid job: *"If I would speak the language I wouldn't have any problems"*. Similarly Ivan mentioned that without speaking English he cannot work in anything related to his profession *"without the language this kind of work doesn't exist for me"*. Therefore, due to a lack of English interviewees were "stuck" in low skilled, precarious work, which did not require any language fluency. In the current unregulated labour market migrants are particularly vulnerable, usually working for agencies without collective agreements. Migrants who don't speak English are more susceptible to discrimination and are often taken advantage of due to their lack of language skills*.* Many clients come to IRMO with issues regarding problems with bills, banking, work payments, and hospital appointments, which they do not understand. Mary's statement suggests that a lack of motivation is not the reason for not learning English : "*I would love to integrate and learn the language, but it is difficult*". Without being able to speak the language making new contacts and networks is very difficult, which can lead to isolation and a lack of job opportunities*.* All interviewees expressed difficulties in registering for a national insurance number, opening a bank account and registering with their GP due to a language barrier. When asked why they had not been able to reach a good level of English interviewees gave varied responses.

Five interviewees cited their work as the main obstacle to learning English. Ivan, who had been living in London for a year an a half stated:

> *"Well, because when you arrive you enter an environment where it is very difficult to study. Because you need money you need to work, you are tired , you have irregular hours"*

The fact that Ivan worked irregular, long hours was a key factor which hindered him from picking up the language. Similarly Sofia commented: *"With what time? I have five minutes to eat while I am running to catch buses"* Clearly her work hours, travelling from one shift to another gave her little time to study.

For three people the cost of Language courses was deemed the main barrier to learning the language. As Ludivia stated :*"we thought about going to a language school but they are expensive, like £200!... They said you can go for free some places if you are on benefits, but we don't receive benefits!".* You need to be receiving IB-JSA to receive free ESOL schooling (bury.gov). This automatically excludes many EEA migrants, as many do not receive IB-JSA as they would be ineligible to receive housing benefit. Most people cannot afford to rent on low income while receiving a maximum of £72.40 of IB-JSA a week and therefore choose to work longer hours and supplement these with housing benefits. Ludivia went on to explain the difficulty in getting her 18 year old son into college due to a lack of English *: "To get into the college you need to have ESOL, it might be possible they say no, study more English."* These factors demonstrate that structurally, EEA migrants have less access to free ESOL courses, despite the fact that they are often in primary need of them and are unable to afford normal rates. Additionally, as Ludivia stated, without an ESOL certificate proving his level of English, her son is unable to enter college. This creates a vicious circle, where not accessing ESOL courses means not being able to further your education and your future employment prospects.

Lastly two respondents mentioned that not having any English friends was the main reason. For example Frank , from Colombia, who moved to London from Spain two years ago stated;

> *"I don't have many friends that speak English. It is a separate world. I speak a bit with the poles in English, but with English English people, there are none at work...nobody has introduced me to an English person who could introduce me to another English person."*

Here we see that little knowledge of the English language and a lack of English speaking friends are mutually reinforcing as a language barrier makes it difficult to meet English

speaking people, however without English speaking friends it is difficult to improve on language skills. Additionally, English classes were regarded as too expensive and long hours meant respondents had little time to study anyway.

Social capital

One explanation for why interviewees had less access to opportunities for employment and social mobility seems to be a lack of social capital. As Behtoui & Neergaard argue social capital is important as it can be translated into power (2010:762). First of all immigrants' lack of engagement with union politics and their separation from the indigenous community can make them more vulnerable to employers (Castles & Kosack 2010:39). This is reflected by Frank's experience when speaking to his co-workers at his cleaning agency about the living wage campaign.

> *"I wanted to have a meeting with all my work colleagues to speak about the 9 pounds and the say no, because they will fire us . They are full time, not me, if you have a fixed contract they cannot fire you because you say , hey can I earn 9 pounds? …They didn't know that the living wage exists, or unions. Its because they are very scared, that is the problem."*

Frank's comment confirms the argument that migrants may find it difficult to organize either due to a lack of networks, apathy or fear (Castles & Kosack 2010:39).

Precarious workers often work in multiple job holdings at anti-social hours to sustain a living (McDowell et al 2009: 5). All interviewees mentioned that they had next to no time for anything other than work. Sofia, from Colombia, moved from Spain to London last year with her husband and seven year old daughter. She works three part-time cleaning jobs to manage to make ends meet.

> *"I have to wake up at 3.30 everyday for two hours of work to earn 12 pounds. Unjustifiable right?... I work another two hours at midday, and Mondays,*

Wednesdays and Fridays another two hours in the evening. I have to bring my

daughter because I don't have anyone to leave her with"

Here we see a clear example of how precarious unemployment translates into short and anti-social hours (Anderson, 2010:305). This leaves little time for a social life and to form social networks. When asking Sofia how much free time she has to socialize she responded;

"I don't have time for anything... We are more out of the house than in the

house, we should live in a park!"

Sofia's remarks support Anderson's (2010) argument that for precarious workers, households are often used as temporary accommodation rather than "social units". Sofia's situation was found to be similar to many others who were interviewed. All of those working for cleaning agencies were working two to three jobs at anti-social hours, in the early hours of the morning or at night. Lack of free time was therefore a key factor which hindered them from socializing and meeting new people.

Migrants' access to personal networks and social capital can strongly influence their work opportunities and income (Kilduff and Tsai, 2003). Social networks and friendships can assist people to migrate (Ryan, L 2011:709). They can also help people to find accommodation, employment and to access general information which can help to build a new livelihood (Boyd, 1989). For example, Ludivia echoed this point in explaining the importance of knowing other Colombians who helped her find work:

"luckily we know many Colombians who have been here for a long time and

they always help us. They say come with me , I will help you to find an

interview. The people who helped us most were Colombians."

However, as Putnam (2000) argues, a tight social network can provide support but does not encourage bridging connections with other groups, which can increase social capital, integration and employment opportunities. The fact that Ludivia relies almost solely on information from fellow Colombians reflects the fact that she has limited access to social capital as all her information and contacts are within one social group. Here we can draw

on Granovetter's 'Strength of Weak Ties' theory (Granovetter, 1973) which argues that loose social networks can actually have a positive impact on people's employment. Through weak ties people are able to access different kinds of information and resources, whereas in tight social circles it is difficult to form "bridges" to new circles and opportunities for employment and social mobility (Granovetter 2005).

Precarious workers often do not belong to a community with close or trusting relationships (Standing, 2011:23). David, a cook from Peru who migrated from Spain a year ago discussed his difficulty in forming relationships with the English community:

> *"English people are very closed with their lives, with their personal relationship and social circles."*

Kilduff and Tsai (2003) claim that it is a lack of broad networks and social capital within the workplace explain migrants' lower wages compared to indigenous people. Therefore without bridging with other social groups it is difficult for people such Ludivia, Frank, David and others to access other opportunities for employment and social mobility.

Deskilling and social mobility

Most of those interviewed were working as "unskilled" labour in the cleaning industry. It is important to note however that the term "low skilled" is not appropriate to describe most interviewees as all of them held secondary or tertiary level qualifications and most had previously worked in a "skilled" job sector (see table 1). The fact that many migrants take up precarious and low income jobs is not necessarily related to a lack of human capital and qualifications but a lack of recognition of previous employment and qualifications (May et al 2006). As Ryan put it, "skills, qualifications and class positioning are all complicated through migration" (2011:711). This is seen by Ivan's case. Ivan, of Colombian origin, worked for many years as a hydropower electrician in Spain and now works as a cleaner, "Its that my qualifications still aren't recognized so I cannot work in my profession".

Similarly Frank stated:

> *"My qualifications as an Electrician from Spain are not recognized. It is so expensive, £3000 to validate them in the UK. If I spend £3000 and then I don't earn anything because my English isn't good, why should I do it?"*

Ivan and Frank's examples demonstrate that structural barriers are a key factor preventing migrants from validating their qualifications and working in their profession. All interviewees experienced some degree of downward social mobility, not just through the "loss" of their profession but also a loss of identity and status. For example Ludivia spoke about her life in Spain:

> *"I could study and be on another level. We opened our own travel agency, we had our own house, two cars… I felt part of the community"*

Similarly Sofia reminisced of her life back in Spain:

> *"In Spain you are not so limited, I could spend all my money on partying and clothes. I lived in a big house with a swimming pool, a garage, a car and motorcycles. It was a rich area"*

Consumption patterns can form identities and market a person's class (Kelly, 2012:155). For example Ludivia's feeling that she was on "another level" in Spain suggests that her social status was higher than in the UK. Similarly Sofia put a lot of emphasis on her ability to consume and shop in order to uphold an image of wealth and belonging to a certain class, something she is no longer able to do on her relatively low income.

Precarity as a lack of emotional and social stability is deeply embedded in class relations (Standing,2011:23). Social circles are a strong determinant and symbol of one's social status. For example David notes that his social situation is clearly defined by his class:

"There are certain differences between social classes, ethnicities and different boroughs in London…To say that you live in Brixton is to say that you live in an area where there are lots of migrants, but where I work (in Piccadilly) there are people with lots of money. You see this contrast. Behind the image of a high quality restaurant, which gives a first class service there are the workers. We don't agree with the quality of our work and the way the owners treat us"

Despite the fact that David is working on a zero hours contract and acknowledges that *"they can fire me in any moment"* he seemed to be more concerned about his position within the social hierarchy in London than his job security. His observation that class differences are not just related to income but also ethnicity and migration status supports the view that there is a division of labour within the working class which has lead to the inferior social and economic conditions of migrant workers in London (Castles& Kosack 2010). Carlos also acknowledges that living in a specific area in London can mean that you enter a particular class community. This is another explanation for why precarity means migrants "have little prospect for upward social mobility" (Standing, 2011:23). Therefore the precarity faced by Latin American migrants in London is not just based on their employment status or class but also their social status as a migrant.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

Karl Polanyi argued that the continued commodification and marketization of human beings will lead to the end of human society (Polanyi, 2001). While it is the working class which historically fought for the welfare state , the weakening and de-organisation of labour has been coupled with the roll back of the welfare state. Through this process the interest of capital has prevailed over labour , feeding the expansion of the neoliberal socio-political and economic project, and consolidating the current exploitative mode of capital accumulation. As this research has illustrated, migrants are among the principal victims of the deterioration of the welfare state and the liberalization of the labour market, forming a disposable industrial reserve army. This study found that despite having equal rights to reside and work in the UK and equal access to public services and education as British citizens, Latin Americans with Spanish passports living in London face numerous structural barriers and difficulties. These barriers intersect and overlap to reinforce their precarity, and create a migrant division of labour within the working class.

Precaritisation is not a natural process where migrants "start from the bottom" by taking up the lowest paid jobs. It is the inclusion of migrants *through* their subordination which actually creates job markets which depend on their cheap and flexible labour (McDowell et al, 2009). In this way the most precarious work spaces and sectors often employ people along racial and ethnic lines (ibid). All interviewees, apart from Carlos, worked part time for one or more cleaning agencies. None of the respondents earned above minimum wage and all of them were employed on temporary, insecure contracts.

What this research also found was that employment precariousness had a domino effect which resulted in a general precariousness of life (Waite, 2009) which also involved emotional and social precarity (Standing, 2011). The study established that various factors influencing interviewees' precarity were inextricably interlinked in direct and indirect ways, and were structurally enforced by state policies. First of all, earning minimum wage made it almost impossible for interviewees to rent a reasonable accommodation, save and plan for the future, while their insecure contracts could be terminated at any point. Therefore, they had little safety nets to fall back on in the case of an emergency or losing their job, increasing their vulnerability, as seen with the case of Gabriela (Chambers, 1989).

Welfare reform has excluded EEA migrants from many benefits entitlements, which, as demonstrated through interviewees' experiences, pushes low-income families, and particularly single parents, into further poverty. The fact that some respondents, such as Andrea, did not earn enough to save for a deposit to rent somewhere formally, meant they did not have a tenancy agreement. This consequently created difficulties in applying for schools and also left them ineligible to apply for housing benefits. Additionally, the fact that none of the respondents were on IB-JSA due to the recent changes to benefit entitlements, meant that none were entitled to free ESOL classes, which they could not afford otherwise. Furthermore, as most respondents worked irregular and anti-social hours they had little time to form networks and interact with English speaking people. The combination of these factors left them in a circle of closed networks with little social capital and prospects for social mobility and improving their language skills (Granovetter 2005). Lastly, the study found that the precarity experienced by Latin American migrants with Spanish passports was strongly linked to their social status within society as a migrant. As Carlos stated "*There are certain differences between social classes, ethnicities and different boroughs in London*" (p29). This demonstrates how policies have created a hierarchy between the indigenous and migrant population, not just based on class but also ethnicity (Castles& Kosack 2010). EEA migrants' exclusion from the welfare state, and public service contradict the ideals of democratic citizenship and universal rights. At the same time notions of who belongs and does not belong, or who is deserving or not deserving become entrenched into people's everyday conduct, as seen with the rejection which interviewees faced when visiting their local doctor or hospital.

This study did not aim to be representative of all EEA migrants in London, nor of all Latin Americans with Spanish passports. However it does offer an understanding of how, despite having the right to reside and work in the UK, this group of migrants face structural vulnerabilities which perpetuate their precarity. While the topic of precarity in general has been increasingly analyzed in recent years (Standing, 2011, Vosko, 2006, Neilson & Rossiter 2005, Anderson, 2010) less research has been undertaken to understand the processes which produce European migrant precarity despite their legal status.

By analyzing the precarity of the migrants interviewed we can see the everyday struggles between capital and labour (De Genova, 2013 :250). The state, as the mediator between labour and capital implements laws and structures to determine the conditions under which migrant labour can enter. As discussed in this study, the inclusion of European migrants involves their systematic subordination, ensured through their exclusion (De Genova, 2013: 1181). Their separation from the indigenous labour force, and their political subordination is presented as a natural economic process, when in reality the state is producing racialized inequalities (De Genova 2010b). Therefore, we can find many parallels between the conditions of Latin American migrants with Spanish passports and those that do not have European passports, as both are excluded and exploited along racial lines for their labour power. In other words, this illustrates the fact that migrants with the right to freely work and reside in the UK face similar restrictions and racial subordination as deportable migrant labour (De Genova, 2013: 1193).

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Appendix 1:

Research Ethics Screening Form, Ethical Approval email notification and Risk Assessment
Form

3   RISK ASSESSMENT FORM AND ASSOCIATED DOCUMENTATION

After reading through ALL risk categories, please select RISK TYPE A or B below.

RISK TYPE A

You are only eligible for RISK TYPE A if all of the following are true:
- **Your work takes place within: college premises or home or within organizations/premises that have their own clear risk assessment in place.**
- **Your work involves ONLY library/archival data or existing on-line/other data.**
- **Your work WILL NOT expose you to risks greater than in everyday life.**

DECLARATION: I have considered ALL categories in this form (see page 4 onwards) and I declare that I am undertaking a student project/dissertation where: a) NONE of my research will be outside of college premises or home or organizations/premises that have their own clear risk assessment in place; and b) it does not involve ANY of the risks identified in ANY of the categories of this risk assessment form. Should my research project change, such that there are now risks involved, then it is my responsibility to resubmit this form after completing an assessment for Risk Type B.

SIGNATURES OF PERSON FILLING IN A RISK ASSESSMENT AND COUNTERSIGNATURE.
A. Person filling in this risk assessment
Signature (TYPE YOUR NAME AND STAFF OR STUDENT ID IN PLACE OF A SIGNATURE):
Date:
B. Countersignature and date. I sign to indicate that I have read this and consider it an appropriate assessment. (Students – Research Supervisor; Research Staff – Project Leader; Academic Staff – Head of Department)
Signature (TYPE YOUR NAME AND STAFF OR STUDENT ID IN PLACE OF A SIGNATURE):
Date:

RISK TYPE B

Fill out THIS PAGE and ALL OTHER PAGES in this form.

DECLARATION: I have considered ALL categories in this form and have indicated which risks apply to me that are greater than in everyday life and normal activities (writing yes/no for every section). Where I have answered 'yes' then I have also indicated the degree of risk from 1–5 (1=low, 5=high) and, where appropriate, added notes or comments relating to the level of risk. I have identified and added any additional risks not explicitly covered by this form in the final section.

SIGNATURES OF PERSON FILLING IN A RISK ASSESSMENT AND COUNTERSIGNATURE.
A. Person filling in this risk assessment
Signature (TYPE YOUR NAME AND STAFF OR STUDENT ID IN PLACE OF A SIGNATURE): *Amphn 1264 692*
Date: *23/03/2015*
B. Countersignature and date. I sign to indicate that I have read this and consider it an appropriate assessment. (Students – Research Supervisor; Research Staff – Project Leader; Academic Staff – Head of Department)
Signature (TYPE YOUR NAME AND STAFF OR STUDENT ID IN PLACE OF A SIGNATURE):
Date: *23 Mar '15*

Department of Geography Research Ethics Screening Form
King's College London

Please Note: Filling out this *Geography Research Ethics Screening Form* does NOT constitute *College Ethics Approval.*

This *Geography Research Ethics Screening Form* will help you to determine if you must submit a *College Research Ethics Application* to the *College Research Ethics Committees* before starting your research, under the guidelines for working with human participants set out by the Social Sciences, Humanities & Law Research Ethics Sub-Committee (SSHL RESC), and the Geography, Gerontology and Social Care Workforce Research Unit Panel (GGS REP).

In order to complete this process, please
(a) Familiarise yourself with the professional research ethics guidelines of *The British Sociological Association*: http://www.britsoc.co.uk/equality/ (Statement of Ethical Practice)
(b) Read "Which kinds of research require ethical approval through the KCL Research Ethics Committees?" (p. 2 of this form).
(c) Answer the questions in Table 1 below, sign the form and also obtain the signature of your supervisor.
(d) Return the signed (by both you and your supervisor) *Geography Ethics Screening form* to the Geography Department office and KEEP A COPY which you will place in Appendix 1 of your IGS/dissertation.
(e) If ethics approval is needed (answering 'yes' to question 2 in Table 1), you must apply for college ethics approval through the appropriate *College Research Ethics* committee, and **not start ANY research (including preliminary 'trials')** until ethics approval has been granted in writing.

Table 1. *Department of Geography Research Ethics Screening Questions.*

1) Have you read and familiarised yourself with the professional research guidelines of *The British Sociological Association*?	☒Yes ☐ No
2) Does your research "involve human participants" and/or "raise other ethical issues with potential social or environmental implications"?	☒Yes ☐ No

If you answered 'No' to question two, you do not need to submit your research for ethical review. If you answered 'Yes' to question two, please use the flowchart on http://www.kcl.ac.uk/innovation/research/support/ethics/about/index.aspx to establish your risk level and where you need to apply (see Table 2).

Table 2. *Three levels of risk for project types, and how to obtain College Research Ethics clearance.*

Project type	How to submit?
Low risk:	Can be reviewed using an on-line process. The process includes guidelines and prompts to help ensure your project is low-risk: http://www.kcl.ac.uk/innovation/research/support/ethics/applications/lowrisk/index.aspx
Moderate risk: Uncertain risk:	Should be submitted to the Geography, Gerontology and Social Care Workforce Research Unit Panel (GGS REP): http://www.kcl.ac.uk/innovation/research/support/ethics/applications/apply.aspx
High risk:	Should be submitted to the Social Sciences, Humanities and Law Research Ethics Sub-Committee (SSHL RESC): http://www.kcl.ac.uk/innovation/research/support/ethics/committees/sshl/highrisk.aspx

In all cases, even if 'no' risk, you **MUST** sign and return this *Geography Research Ethics Screening Form* to be kept on file with the Department Office, and if an Undergraduate or Masters student, submit a copy of this at the end (as part of Appendix 1) of your IGS or Dissertation. In cases where there is low, moderate or high ethics risk, **you MUST complete the *College Research Ethics Application* at least one month before you intend to start your research** and obtain written approval from them **BEFORE carrying out any research.**

Carrying out research without ethical approval by the College Ethics Committee may result in a charge under misconduct regulations as "*action that deviates from accepted institutional, professional, academic or ethical standards will be regarded as misconduct and an infringement of these regulations*" "Academic regulations, Regulations concerning students & General regulations" B3 – 1.1, King's College London. You should note that your research will not be covered by the College's insurance until you have completed the College ethical review process. This means that unless you receive ethical approval for your research, if a participant makes a legal claim regarding the research, then you would be personally liable. It is your responsibility to submit your research for *College Ethical Review* in good time to carry out any research.

Provisional IGS/dissertation title: ___ Migrant precarity in London: the case of Latin Americans with Spanish passports
_____

_____

Student Name: ____Anna Joelle Baum_____Student Card No: _ 1264692._____

Student Signature: _____ Date: ___18/03/2015_____

Supervisor Name: _____Nicholas De Genova_____

Supervisor Signature: _____ Date: ___18/03/2015_____

Last updated 6 March 2013

Research Ethics Office
King's College London
Rm 5.2 FWB (Waterloo Bridge Wing)
Stamford Street
London
SE1 9NH

28 July 2014
TO: Anna Baum
SUBJECT: Approval of ethics application

Dear Anna,

KCL/13/14-1098- Investigating how the livelihood opportunities for Latin American migrants in South London have changed over the last 5 years

I am pleased to inform you that full approval for your project has been granted by the **GSSHM** Research Ethics Panel. Any specific conditions of approval are laid out at the end of this letter which should be followed in addition to the standard terms and conditions of approval, to be overseen by your Supervisor:

- Ethical approval is granted for a period of **one year** from **28 July 2014**. You will not receive a reminder that your approval is about to lapse so it is your responsibility to apply for an extension prior to the project lapsing if you need one (see below for instructions).

- You should report any untoward events or unforeseen ethical problems arising from the project to the panel Chairman within a week of the occurrence. Information about the panel may be accessed at:
  http://www.kcl.ac.uk/innovation/research/support/ethics/committees/sshl/reps/index.aspx

- If you wish to change your project or request an extension of approval, please complete the Modification Proforma. A signed hard copy of this should be submitted to the Research Ethics Office, along with an electronic version to crec-lowrisk@kcl.ac.uk . Please be sure to quote your low risk reference number on all correspondence. Details of how to fill a modification request can be found at:
  http://www.kcl.ac.uk/innovation/research/support/ethics/applications/modifications.aspx

- All research should be conducted in accordance with the King's College London *Guidelines on Good Practice in Academic Research* available at:
  http://www.kcl.ac.uk/iop/research/office/help/Assets/good20practice20Sept200920FINAL.pdf

If you require signed confirmation of your approval please email crec-lowrisk@kcl.ac.uk indicating why it is required and the address you would like it to be sent to.

Please would you also note that we may, for the purposes of audit, contact you from time to time to ascertain the status of your research.

We wish you every success with this work.

With best wishes

Appendix 2

IGS-Original research proposal

1. Question:

 How have livelihood opportunities for Latin Americans in London changed over the last 5 years? Which problems do newcomers face which previous migrants before the financial crisis did not?

2. Sample size and the characteristics of the proposed sample;

I have been working for two years at a Latin American organisation called the Indo-american Refugee and Migrant Organisation (IRMO). In the past few years IRMO has seen how the Latin American community in London has had to face ever more obstructions and difficulties in integrating into society and creating a sustainable livelihood due to government polices and a growing xenophobic sentiment in the UK.

IRMO reached over 5000 members of the Latin Community in the last year through its projects and services and has an extensive database of client's details which includes information on their employment status , their housing status and whether they are receiving welfare support or not.

Quantitative data :

This database will allow me to get an overview of the community in terms of what situation they are in economically, and difficulties they are facing in creating a livelihood. The age range of my sample will be people aged 18-65

I will include references to reports on changes in social policy and immigration policies which affect migrant communities such as Latin Americans. For example the housing benefit Amendment Regulations which came into affect on the 1st April 2014 has made access to Housing Benefit for European Economic Area jobseekers much more difficult. The

impact of this legislation will become apparent through interviews and statistics on the housing situation of the community.

Qualitative data:

Through conducting interviews with clients at IRMO and Latin American house I intend to include some case studies of people who have lived in London for many years and some of people who have recently arrived in the UK, in order to evaluate how policy changes have affected people's lives since the financial crisis.

Interviews will be held in the IRMO and Latin American house offices. After the client agrees to answering question it will be made clear that personal information will remain confidential and names will be changed in each case study.

Determining the general topic;

The general topic is to look at how the politics of citizenship and immigration in London (UK) since the financial crisis have hindered European migrants' ability to integrate through sociopolitical and legal processes of inclusion through exclusion.

Problem statements

- As the political discourse in the UK has become increasingly xenophobic and austerity measures have become increasingly tough particularly on low income populations how have these affected immigrants' ability to integrate into UK society? How have policies changed towards immigration?
- How have policies affected social service accessibility?
- What kind of support do migrants receive to help them integrate, e.g English classes, vocational training, translation services.
- What measures are taken to ensure that migrants are not discriminated against in public and work places?

4. Literature review on the topic;

Ager, A & Strang. A, (2008), 'Understanding Integration: A Conceptual Framework' Journal of Refugee Studies, 21, (2): 166-191

Ager, A & Strang. A, (2008) specify ten core domains that shape understandings of the concept of integration. The domains cover achievement and access across the
sectors of employment, housing, education and health; assumptions and practice regarding citizenship and rights; processes of social connection within and between groups in the community; and barriers to such connection, particularly stemming from lack of linguistic and cultural competences and from fear and instability. Employment is identified as a particularly key factor which promotes economic independence, planning for the future, meeting members of the host society, providing opportunity to develop language skills, restoring self-esteem and encouraging self-reliance.

However it must be noted that ''integration'' is a chaotic concept, a word used by many but understood differently in different contexts. (Robinson 1998, 118)

Berry, J. W. (2005). Acculturation: Living successfully in two cultures. International journal of intercultural relations, 29(6), 697-712.

Berry (2005): The process of assimilation seeks to eliminate diversity. According to Berry (2005) it can be understood as a form of acculturation, when two groups of individuals from different cultures come into contact leading to changes in the original cultural patterns of both groups. This can be through enforcing cultural change by the dominant group or by the minority group seeking to be absorb into the dominant culture and leaving behind their cultural heritage. The process of assimilation is amongst other processes of acculturation a quite stressful process since it requires lots of changes in cultural patterns

Agamban, Giorgio (1995) "Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life" Stanford , CA: Stanford University Press.

Agamben's (1995) theory of the "exclusion of the included" describes how the state of "bare life", where a person is on the margins of political life, and the state of "polis" , where rights and formal liberties are granted , become indistinguishable when the state of bare life becomes the rule rather than the exception. The anti-immigrant sentiment which is taking hold across Europe ensures that those migrants who are "included" for the subordination of their labour are subject to exclusionary and racist campaigns. "Therefore inclusion itself becomes a form of subjugation". (De Genova 2013).

Malkki, L. H. (1995). Refugees and exile: From" refugee studies" to the national order of things. Annual review of anthropology, 495-523:

Malkki uses the term 'national order of things' to refer to 'nationalism'. In her article, Malkki argues that nations and cultures are arborescent and are metaphysically rooted to land. This assumption is linked to the concept of sedentarism, which results in what she calls the national geography, the segmentation of the world order. According to Malkki, in the national order of things, the rooting of people is not just something naturalized but it is spiritually needed; language and social practices are naturally sedentary and hence cultural and national identities are territorialized. Malkki argues that due to generalized sedentarist metaphysics, rootless people are not considered trustworthy citizens and hence they present a problem to nations. According to sedentarism, refugees and migrants pose a challenge to the national order of things, not just to the host country but also to their own sense of identity. Sedentarism leads to xenophobia and anti migration sentiments, and gives rise to nationalism and racism. The idea of cultural and national identities being territorialized gives 'natives' a sense of natural entitlement to 'the nation' or 'the people'.

De Genova: Spectacles of migrant 'illegality': the scene of exclusion, the obscene of inclusion

Related to this perceived threat of migrants and refugees to the "National order of things" is the sociopolitical production of migrant 'illegality'. The illegality of migrants has become naturalised and unquestionable , and this anti-immigrant sentiment ensures that those migrants who are "included" as subordinated labour are subject to exclusionary and racist campaigns. "Therefore inclusion itself becomes a form of subjugation" (De Genova) . This

situation of the "exclusion of the included" is evident in the Latin American community which endures considerable hardship, discrimination and social exclusion in the UK.

Queen Mary University, "No longer invisible report" (2011) :

The most comprehensive study on Latin Americans in London, the "No longer invisible report" which surveyed over 1000 Latin Americans mainly based in London found that around a quarter mentioned housing and accommodation abuses, educational disadvantage, hostilities on the part of the police, abuse in public places and on public transport and disadvantage in relation to the health service. More than half (58%) of those surveyed identified language difficulties as their main problem.

M. Foucault; Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison (1979)

Michael Foucault's term "governmentality" describes two sides of government, one being governing objects and borders, and the other being maintaining power relations and subjectification through modes of thought. This control of the state according to Foucault also includes guidance for families, children, the management of the household and even the soul. He defines government as conduct, or, more precisely, as "the conduct of conduct" and thus as a term which ranges from "governing the self" to "governing others". Foucault's idea of governmentality is that governments produce citizen which are best suited to fulfill their policies through the "organized practices (mentalities, rationalities, and techniques) through which subjects are governed" (Foucault, G., & Lemke, T, 1999)

Michel Foucault's concept of the Other, gives a theoretical framework to understand how the host society perceives foreigners as a direct threat to its own security. It is important to recognize however, that this fear is not 'natural' and inherent, but politically and socially constructed. This becomes apparent when looking at recent UK politics where fear is directed towards "eastern Europeans" who will supposedly steal British people's jobs. This paradigm dictates that, in order to optimize the life of its citizens, a government needs to govern different antagonist forces, one of them being migration (Foucault, 1976:184). It is out of a discourse of fear that necessity to kill that the Other emerges and that boundaries are created (Zembylas, 2010:33). Agamben's elaboration on Foucault's concept of bio-

power applies in this context, because for the 'Other' being a migrant, political life is not accessible and their political and biological existence is threatened. (Zembylas, 2010:34).

Bigo , Didier "Security and Immigration: Toward a Critique of the Governmentality of Unease" (2002)

Why does the articulation of migration as a security problem continue? Why is it associated with unemployment, terrorism and crime rather than integration, freedom of movement, cosmopolitanism and economic opportunities for growth? The politicization of the mobilization of groups and technologies enables some agents to create a "truth" about migrants being linked to crime, unemployment and terrorism. The securitization of the immigrant as a risk is based on our conception of the state as a body or a container for its people and the symbolic control over territorial boundaries. The unease which society feels is not physiological but is structural as part of a neoliberal "risk society" where freedoms are limited due to perceived "dangers" (see Foucault)

Appendix 3

Interview questions

<u>About you- past mobility</u>

Where are you from?	De dónde eres?
(Where were you born?)	Dónde naciste?
Are you married?	Estas casado/a?
Do you have children?	Tienes hijos?
When and why did you leave x country?	Cuando y porque te fuiste de X país?
What did you work as in x?	En que trabajaste en x?
Which level of education or qualifications do you have from x?	Que nivel del educación o calificaciones tienes de x?
Are they recognised in the UK?	Están reconocidos en el Reino Unido?
How would you describe your quality of life in x?	Como describirías tu calidad de vida en x?
Which other countries have you lived in apart from England and X?	En que otro países has vivido aparte de X y Inglaterra?
If so, Where?	Dónde?
Why did you move to Y?	Porque te mudaste a Y?
For how long?	Por cuanto tiempo?
How did you feel? Did you feel accepted?	Te sentías integrado/a y aceptado/a?
Why did you leave Y?	Porqué te fuiste de Y?

<u>Life in the UK</u>

How long have you been living in England/UK?	Hace cuanto que vives en Inglaterra/Londres?
What expectations did you have on coming to the UK?	Que expectativas tenías antes de venir a Inglaterra?
Were your expectations reached?	Se cumplieron tus expectativas?
How did you establish yourself on arriving to the UK?	Cómo te estableciste cuando llegaste?
Did you have savings?	Ahorros?
Contacts?	Contactos?
Was it easy to find a house , a job?	Fue fácil encontrar una casa, un trabajo?
What's your job?	En qué trabajas?
Did you expect to work in this job when you arrived?	Esperabas hacer este trabajo cuando llegaste?

How many hours do you work?	Cuantas horas trabajas?
How do you get to work?	Como llegas al trabajo?
London living wage?	Pago?
Do you have family here?	Tienes familia aquí?
Who?	Quien?
How many people do you live with?	Con cuanta gente vives?
In what condition is the house?	Como son las condiciones de la casa?
How much income does the household live of ?	Cuanto es el salario de la familia?
	Pueden vivir de lo que ganan ?
Can you live from what you earn?	
Have you ever received benefits or support from the state?	Has alguna vez pedido ayuda del estado, beneficios?

Engagement and integration

How much free time do you have to socialise?	Cuanto tiempo libre tienes par salir?
Do you speak English?	Hablas Ingles?
Do you spend time with English speakers?	Sales con gente que habla Ingles?
Do you read the British news?	Lees las noticias británicas?
-listen to (British) radio?	Escuchas la radio británica?
-watch British tv?	Ves la televisión británica?
How often?	Con qué frecuencia?
Are you a member of an organisation, club or union the UK ?	Eres socio de alguna organización, club o sindicato en el Reino Unido?
Are there any specific political issues that concern you?	Le preocupan algunos temas/cuestiones políticas especificas?
	OR (Cuales son las temas/cuestiones de política que mas te preocupan?)
Eg housing, minimum wage, immigration policy, school/education quality,	Vivienda, salario mínimo, política de inmigración , calidad de educación
How do you find life in London?	Cómo te parece la vida en Londres?
Have you ever experienced discrimination?	Tienes experiencia de discriminación?
Do you plan to stay permanently in the UK? (or to go back to X or live somewhere else?)	Tienes la intención de quedarte permanente en Inglaterra? (o de volver a X, o ir a otro país?)
Where do you want to live when you retire?	Dónde quieres vivir cuando te jubiles?