INTRODUCTION

The aim of this paper is to establish a new understanding of Polish migrants in the UK based upon contemporary research undertaken in the greater Glasgow area, focusing on Entrepreneurs within this community. The analysis of this specific population is interesting for the following reasons. First, life trajectories comprising the decisions to emigrate and subsequent long-term settlement are not particularly well understood within this recent wave of migration from Poland. These trajectories are exemplified by business start-up decisions taken by some Polish migrants and their families. Therefore, the research attempts to address the issue of business start-ups as part of a long-term settlement strategy; and why and how this decision occurred. Second, the analysis of relationships between Polish Entrepreneurs and the Polish Community contributes to the academic debate on migration networks, and their role in this immigrant population.

The paper will explore the background of recent waves of migration from Poland to the UK from 2004 following recent European Union enlargement. Following a brief review of the literature on Ethnic Minority Entrepreneurs, the analysis will then consider the importance of social networks for Polish migrants. Then, the qualitative methodology employed for data gathering will be outlined. Based upon this methodology and data collected, and a description of the case studies conducted, will enable a ‘portrait’ of the Polish Entrepreneur to be drawn. Third, findings focusing on the individual’s (and household) migratory strategies will be examined. This analysis will highlight the trajectories of migration observed amongst Polish Entrepreneurs, comprising the decision-making processes leading up to emigration, their experiences on arrival in the UK, and their relationship with established and new Polish migrant networks. Fourth, the paper will highlight the incremental business and settlement strategies pursued by Polish Entrepreneurs. Finally, the paper will focus on the Polish Entrepreneurs’ social and business relations within the Polish Community. The analysis concludes with a discussion of how Polish Entrepreneurs primarily serve co-ethnics, using the community as a
market, and the emergence of Polish enclave-markets where Polish Entrepreneurs play a key role.

The research findings will be summarized by discussing the Polish Entrepreneurs Life Processes paying particular attention to a range of issues that emerged from the research including: relationships with the ethnic and wider community, recruitment and employment agencies, fellow citizens, and existing networks, business strategies, and the importance of households in settlement decision making.

BACKGROUND: A NEW PATTERN OF MIGRATION

Although there is a growing body of literature on Polish migrant workers in the UK, this has tended to focus on economic factors with little if any research considering the new phenomenon of businesses being established by Polish migrants in the UK. In May 2004, Poland became a member of the European Union (EU) along with seven other countries (often referred to as the A8 countries). A major element of the EU is the Single Market that allows the free movement of goods, services, capital and labour between member states. Consequently, Poles and citizens from other new accession economies could move freely within the EU. However, most EU economies placed temporary restrictions upon the flow of labour since they anticipated extensive east-west migration. The UK was one of the few countries that did not place any conditions on the flow of labour, so Polish nationals were legally entitled to enter the UK in search of employment. Since then the UK has witnessed an influx of Polish migrant workers that has exceeded the numbers forecast by UK government officials. Despite a paucity of accurate and reliable data on the magnitude of outward migration from Poland after May 2004, there is some evidence to support the significant scale of this westward movement of Poles following EU accession (see IPPR, 2010; and Pollard et al., 2008). This argues strongly that migration from the A8 countries to the UK has been one of the most important social phenomena in recent years. An estimated one million workers have arrived from the A8 countries and Poles have gone from the 13th to first largest foreign national migrant group in the space of four years (Pollard et al, 2008). It may prove to be one of the most concentrated voluntary migrations in the world; and while the scale of the migration is undoubtedly important for the host countries, so too are its impacts on those who are migrating. Recent media reports highlight the fact that Poles are now returning home due to a combination of tightening economic conditions in the UK, and a comparatively weak pound coupled with an unprecedented surge in the Polish economy (Mostrous, 2008). However, large numbers of Poles remain and have settled in the UK. Therefore, this is a rather unique migratory phenomenon and this paper seeks to address the
gap in our knowledge of this significant minority group; explore their propensity to start businesses in Scotland; and examine the impact of starting-up on their migratory strategies.

WHY AND WHERE DO POLES EMIGRATE?

The present research focuses on migrant workers who have arrived in the UK since May 2004. The term migrant worker has different official meanings and connotations in different parts of the world. For the purposes of this study, the United Nations (1990) definition will be used which is very broad, essentially including anyone working outside of their home country. The United Nations Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families defines a migrant worker as “a person who is engaged or has been engaged in a remunerated activity in a State of which he or she is not a national.”

Polish migrants have dispersed to a larger number of different areas of the UK than have any previous group of migrants (Pollard et al, 2008). This indicates that Poles’ overwhelming motivation for coming to the UK is to work. One of the reasons for migration in 2004 was the desire to improve a migrant’s living conditions and standard of living, especially when the migrant comes from a deprived region (Kaczmarczyk and Okolski, 2005). The role of household based decision making is enhanced by the micro-economic perspectives and freedom of choice (stay or emigrate) within the transition context. Therefore, this present wave of migrant workers poses a unique set of characteristics, and represents a different body of migrants to those who had previously arrived from Poland. There are diverse groups and typologies of Polish migrants shaped by at least three generations of migratory history between Poland and Great Britain. They are characterized by multiple patterns of mobility and diverse diasporic identities (Garapich 2007). Smith and Eade (2008) identified four clear historical categories: post-war refugees, Communist regime émigrés, pre-2004 transit migrants, and EU accession migrants. The trans-national activities of post war refugees and post EU accession migrants are quite different. The main line of division is a rigid boundary that can be drawn between ‘political’ migrants which characterizes the majority of pre-1989 migrants, and the recent ‘economic’ migrants (Smith, 2001).

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF POLISH MIGRANTS

It is difficult to estimate the total number of migrants, not only because of gaps in available statistics, but also because of the dynamism and circularity of these flows (Garapich, 2007). The Home Office (2009) reports that 505,300 Poles
arrived between 2004 and 2007, with unofficial estimates putting this figure as in excess of 700,00. Bearing in mind the seasonality of these flows, generally more in summer and less in winter (see Accession Monitoring Report (AMR), Home Office 2006), and the recent waves of return migration, the overall numbers of Polish nationals in the UK hover around a half a million. While the reliability of the statistics is debatable, the socio-demographic picture of recent Polish arrivals is more quantitatively accessible. Eighty percent of them are below 34 years of age; most are single and, according to the AMR (2006), work in lower segments of the labour market as well as filling in gaps in health services, education services, and finance. The top five sectors in which Polish immigrants registered to work between May 2004 and December 2007 were administration, business and management (39%), hospitality and catering (19%), agriculture (10%), manufacturing (7%) and food, fish and meat processing (5%) (Home Office, 2009). Certainly, a range of survey data suggests that as a group they are highly educated (Pollard et al., 2008). Therefore, there is a considerable discrepancy between the high levels of education that many Poles have attained and the low-skilled and poorly paid jobs in which the majority are employed. A survey of migrants who had returned to Poland found that educational attainment has no significant impact on respondents’ earnings, and that those with vocational skills are more able to find work in skilled trades (Pollard et al, 2008).

With regard to Polish migrants’ intention to stay, White and Ryan 2008 observe that in London there is actually little evidence of planned short-term residence as most of the Polish migrants are uncertain about the future. However, household based decision making strategies strongly affect the migrant’s decision of stay. In addition, migrants are acting in a social context and take into account their incomes in comparison with their closest networks (Kaczmarczyk, Okolski, 2005). Therefore ‘migration can be perceived as a strategy driven by an intention to change position in a reference group or to change the reference group’ (ibid. p15).

DEFINITIONS AND CONCEPTS

This literature review aims to present the major themes concerning both Polish migrations and the main concepts around EMEs. Immigrants are rooted in a new environment, and their economic activity is deeply embedded in a structure of social relations within the migrant community (Granovetter, 1985; Coleman, 1988; Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993). It also allows the development of structures of opportunity as an alternative path to social mobility and inclusion.

1 Most economic behaviours are closely embedded in networks of interpersonal relations that influence economic action.
Polish Entrepreneurs in Scotland: life trajectories, social capital and business strategies within the wider mixed embedded context (Zhou, 2004). Moreover, as confirmed in the case of Polish Entrepreneurs, Ethnic Entrepreneurship acts as a deepening mechanism for the community’s economic infrastructure, and its social networks (Duvell 2004).

THE ETHNIC MINORITY ENTREPRENEUR (EME)

The definition of an EME used in this analysis will cover a large number of types between the Serial-Entrepreneur, and the Small Business Owner. Concerning the definition of ‘ethnicity’, our attention will be focused on the nationality of the immigrant rather than on ethnic origin. In this respect, the analysis focuses on business solely owned by a Polish person. The literature on Ethnic Minority Entrepreneurs (EMEs) has identified different ‘ethnic’ Entrepreneurs or ‘immigrant’ Entrepreneurs. The immigrant Entrepreneur belongs to a communal solidarity network in an alien new society. The migrant is a group-insider by virtue of shared identity (Rams, Jones 2007) and members of this social network share ethnic resources (Light and Bonacich, 1988). The issue of access to specific resources depends on the nature of the links with the community, i.e. social capital.

PUSH AND PULL FACTORS TO ENTER SELF-EMPLOYMENT

The literature often refers to ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors in order to explain the decision to start-up a business (Deakins and Ram, 1995; Freel, 1998). The analysis of the push factors is crucial because it stresses the role of policy-making in the integration of immigrants into civil society (Hjerm, 2004), the need to fight against discrimination in the labour market (Metcalf et al. 1996) and in enabling access to finance and support (Deakins et al. 2005). As for necessity entrepreneurship, the push factors emphasize the sets of motivation for an immigrant to start-up their own business because of the lack of opportunity in the host countries’ labour market. Obstacles to joining the labour market include: language barriers, lack of knowledge about the institutions in the labour market, and lack of trust in these institutions. These factors may push the immigrant into self-employment. On the other hand, the community networks, the ability of immigrants to spot business opportunities, and the desire to be independent and to “be their own boss” are factors that pull the immigrant into self-employment. Pull factors thus include the

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2 Moreover, “ethnicity is much more contingent than formerly recognised (Ram and Jones 2005)
3 Motivation is the result of an inter-play between these two factors.
identification of new opportunities (as in opportunity entrepreneurship) and self-elected goals of independence (Barret et al, 1996).

To some extent, the immigrant is also subject to an acculturation lag. This is a delayed process of acculturation that enables the EME from a lower-waged country to exploit some opportunities more effectively than local Entrepreneurs (Light, 1972). For instance, Polish Entrepreneurs have identified gaps in the market concerning the needs of the Polish community in Scotland, with evidence of emergent enclave-markets.

ETHNIC OR ENCLAVE ECONOMY?

The field of Ethnic Minority Entrepreneurship must address the debate about the markets in which EMEs operate. There are two main concepts used to explain the strategies of EMEs. First, the ethnic economy designates all ethnic-owned businesses in the economy. For instance, the Polish ethnic economy in Scotland is the sum of all the Polish Businesses in Scotland, regardless their size, their type or the costumer they serve. Second, the enclave economy is a more appropriate concept in order to discuss the strategies pursued by EMEs since it includes the businesses bounded by co-ethnicity and location (Zhou, 2004; Wilson and Portes, 1980). The enclave is thus a specific case of an ethnic economy. The enclave economy also maps onto the ethnic social structure allowing the control of behaviour by co-ethnics (Portes and Zhou, 1992). This cultural component does not appear in the general and neutral concept of ethnic economy. In the case of the enclave economy, the economic activities of the businesses are not solely commercial because of the cultural component underpinning this market, including the construction of networks and of ethnic institutions or associations that mediate economic action. Access to finance, advice or business support as well as ethnic employees are provided through ethnic institutions (Portes and Manning 1986). Last but not least, EMEs operating in the enclave economy initially serve a co-ethnic clientèle (Zhou, 2004). Although Polish Entrepreneurs in Scotland do not meet all the requirements to build an enclave economy, this concept will be developed later. Despite the clear role that culture and co-ethnicity play, and unlike some other communities, there is no explicit or implicit community control over members when it comes to running their businesses (Zhou, 2004; Wilson and Portes, 1980; Portes and Rumbaut 1996; Portes and Zhou, 1992).

\footnote{In our fieldwork, most of the self-employed individuals refer to this crucial factor as “being their own boss”. They can be referred as life-style entrepreneurs (Bolton and Thompson 2004). The pull factors differ on this particular point with opportunity entrepreneurship which is based on rare and innovative actions (Schumpeterian entrepreneur).}
SOCIAL NETWORKS AND SOCIAL CAPITAL: RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE COMMUNITY

The Ethnic Minority Entrepreneur has a multiple set of relationships within the immigrant community, and in the host socio-economic and cultural context. Indeed, the analysis of migrants’ economic actions cannot be understood without paying attention to the wider networks in which the migrants are embedded. Thus, the concept of ‘mixed embeddedness’ provides some leverage for understanding the relationships between these actors and their environment, primarily within the opportunity structure\(^5\) or system (Kloosterman and Rath, 2001; Crozier and Friedberg, 1977). The opportunity structure refers to the specific market conditions, and potential for the ownership of assets. The literature is consistent in the analysis of the role played by networks and the concept of mixed embeddedness. The migrants’ economic activity is embedded in a variety of social networks (Granovetter, 1985; Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993; Waldinger, 1996) such as community, family, and business clubs (Deakins et al., 2007). Their relationship with the opportunity structure encountered in their new environment is also crucial in the case of migrants Entrepreneurs since the EME is looking for opportunities to start-up a business (Kloosterman and Rath, 2001).

SOCIAL NETWORKS

The size and type of social networks that one can access and draw upon (a quantitative measure of social support) are increasingly regarded as important sources of social capital for migrants (Bourdieu, 1986). Micro-social capital is associated with an individual’s links forged through family and friends. Macro-social capital captures experiences within the institutional infrastructure of the country such education centres (Della Giusta and Kambhampati, 2006). Zetter et al., (2006) differentiate between ‘dense’ (family and kinship) ties which coexist with so-called ‘weak’ (institutional) ties. They argue that both types of network ties are equally significant among migrant groups that seek mutual support and engagement with the resources and networks of the host society.

Migrants will have differing abilities to access existing networks or establish new ties in the ‘host’ country. Many Poles who speak no English or who have limited social and economic resources on arrival may be dependent upon the practical support of co-ethnics (Ryan et al., 2006). Ryan and colleagues (2006)\(^5\) See also Williamson and Ouchi 1981 and the issue of trust and malfeasance. The individual is engaged in the pursuit of self-interest but also in opportunism. Here, the malfeasance is averted because clever institutional arrangements make it costly to engage in it. See the commentary by Granovetter 1985.
found that many Polish migrants had to develop some cautious and strategic ties across the ethnic group that provided practical support in order to secure employment and accommodation. Research has shown that the ability to speak the host country’s language can be a key factor in whether migrants receive the information they need, the extent of their social contact with the host population, and how migrants feel they are treated by the host population (Spencer et al, 2007; Finch et al., 2009).

As we will discuss later in our analysis, Polish Entrepreneurs still struggle with English but it appears to be less of a problem when it comes to starting up. First, they are self-employed and sometimes work with one or two (Polish) employees. Second, the paperwork is very easy and they can deal with it using only basic English skills, or alternatively they find other Poles to help them out if necessary. Third, 13 out of 21 businesses studied serve Polish clientèle and do not even need to speak a single word of English. Thus, self-employment is a way to overcome the language barrier in the labour market which otherwise prevents them from reaching a managerial position or a better job.

ACCULTURATION STRATEGIES

Berry (1997) argued that individuals have a choice in the matter of how far they are willing to go in their engagement with the acculturation process. Acculturation strategies are based on migrants’ attitudes towards their culture of origin and towards the host-group. Taking into account these two dimensions four strategies can be defined: assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalization (Berry, 1997). It could be argued that a considerable number of Polish migrants adopt a separation strategy. This is defined as “when people choose not to take on customs and culture of the larger host society, but rather stick to their native culture” (Kosic et al., 2006, p.3). However, a degree of flexibility in this approach is now realized as a necessary development since individuals may seek different levels of attachment to and involvement with their host and native cultures, rather than complete separation (Padilla and Perez, 2003). As we shall argue, Polish migrants who start up their own businesses may follow a separation strategy, but it is more of a negotiated partial separation.

The majority of research tends to find that migrant Poles spend limited time with British people and instead tend to work and live with a diverse mix of recent and settled migrants forming bounded socio-economic environments (Pollard et al. 2008).
METHODOLOGY AND CASE STUDIES: NARRATIVES OF LIFE EXPERIENCES.

The following section will focus on the methodology used during this research. Attention will be paid to data gathering techniques, the advantages and limitations of using a qualitative methodology based on case studies, as well as the reasons underpinning this choice. The second section will be a presentation of the different case studies, and a portrait of the Polish Entrepreneur. The case studies were identified in various sectors of the economy such as delicatessens, hairdressers, IT or garages (see below). Most of the interviewees arrived in Scotland between the last few months of 2004 and the first months of 2005. The median Polish Entrepreneur in Scotland is in his or her 30s (14 men and 8 women); has worked in Scotland prior to starting up a business; has a degree from Poland, but has poor English language skills.

INTERVIEWS AND CASE STUDIES: AIMS AND LIMITATIONS

Although previous Polish migrations have been studied, very little is known about Polish immigrant businesses that have been set up in Western Europe since the latest EU enlargement. In the case of recent immigrant Polish Entrepreneurs in the UK, there is scant knowledge due to the lack of data available; with few official sources of information concerning the Polish community in Scotland. First, the immigrants are classified in the Census under the “other white” category which does not represent phenotypical differences to the indigenous population. Second, the immigrants from EU countries do not need a visa or a work permit to settle in the UK. Thus, research based on case studies and interviews rather than aggregate national statistics was the solution adopted in order to gather data on this population.

Qualitative research was conducted in the greater Glasgow area in 2009. During the fieldwork, 21 case studies were generated from the post-2004 cohort of Polish Entrepreneurs. They were identified by using Polish community portals, newspapers and networks, as well as personal contacts and random encounters.

The population of Polish Entrepreneurs in Glasgow is very difficult to measure and there is a striking lack of data. However, drawing on a variety of sources and fieldwork data, it can be estimated that there are between 30 and 40 Polish businesses in the Glasgow area, excluding self-employed construction workers.

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6See below.

7One key informant spoke about 10 to 20 Polish businesses that started-up each year between 2004 and 2008 but “hardly any in the last 6 months”. Of course, many prospective entrepreneurs avoid formal institution, and others never start-up after contacting them. A vast majority of this population are self-employed construction workers according to this respondent.
A total of 19 case studies from the non-construction sector were compiled and is a representative sample of the population\(^8\). Thus, despite the lack of secondary data on this population, the number of case studies conducted does allow some conclusions to be drawn from the analysis. However, further research on this specific migrant population in Scotland and the UK is required in order to draw a broader picture of the trajectories and strategies of Polish Entrepreneurs.

**INTERVIEW TECHNIQUES AND ANALYSIS**

All the interviews were conducted in Polish, using a full-handnotes technique\(^9\); and five interviewees also agreed to have their interview recorded. The interviews are based on a guide containing sections about various aspect of entrepreneurship including inter alia business start-up, running a business, expectations for the future, and relations with the Polish and wider community. An important part of the interview was dedicated to non directed questions in order to let the interviewee develop freely their views and thoughts. The interview guide did not solely focus on migratory strategies nor did it remain exclusively within the field of Ethnic Minority Entrepreneurship. The different sections of the guide, as well as the open questions, allowed a range of aspects of the interviewee’s strategies to be covered.

The average length of the interview was over an hour, usually followed by an informal discussion\(^10\). The data were coded for analysis with NVivo using both tree and free nodes. In the full-handnotes technique, the interviews are read immediately after the interview and the researcher takes some notes on specific points during the interview. This helps to build the tree nodes containing the most commonly found information emerging from the interview guide questions. These included areas such as relations with the community, prospects for the future, and reasons to start-up a business; whilst free nodes often concern life experiences and arrival in the UK.

**THE CASE STUDIES: BRIEF PRESENTATION**

As mentioned previously, 21 case studies were generated from data gathered from Polish entrepreneurs in the Glasgow area in 2009. In our analysis, we have

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\(^8\) Some other Polish suitable case-study businesses are missing due to a lack of contact details, refusal to participate (especially taxi drivers, and transport companies) or delayed appointments.

\(^9\) Adapted from the qualitative methodology used by the Centre for the Sociology of Organizations (CSO-CNRS in Paris). It aims to understand the subjective views of the individual placed in the context of economic action.

\(^10\) The informal discussions provide other elements that cannot be included as quotes, but could help in understanding interviewees more broadly.
excluded a Polish delicatessen staffed by Poles but run by British or Pakistani owners.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Business</th>
<th>Age, education</th>
<th>Typology/business relations with the Polish Community</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S. computer-shop</td>
<td>30s, P/G degree, 2005</td>
<td>Niche-Market Entrepreneur</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. garage</td>
<td>20s, U/G degree, 2004</td>
<td>Niche-Market Entrepreneur</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. travel agency</td>
<td>60s, University degree, 1970s</td>
<td>Middleman Entrepreneur</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. delicatessen</td>
<td>20s, UK P/G degree, 2004</td>
<td>Enclave-Market Entrepreneur</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U. book-shop</td>
<td>40s, P/G degree, 2006</td>
<td>Enclave-market Entrepreneur</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. hairdresser</td>
<td>20s, Student, 2007</td>
<td>Niche-Market Entrepreneur</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. body-shop</td>
<td>30s, College degree, 2004</td>
<td>Mainstream Entrepreneur</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. construction</td>
<td>30s, Secondary school, 2004</td>
<td>Mainstream Entrepreneur</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. hairdresser</td>
<td>40s, Secondary school, 2004</td>
<td>Mainstream Entrepreneur</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M &amp; I, restaurant</td>
<td>40s, University degree, 2005</td>
<td>Middleman Entrepreneur</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. legal adviser</td>
<td>30s, P/G degree, 2004</td>
<td>Niche-Market Entrepreneur</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. legal adviser</td>
<td>40s, P/G degree, 2002</td>
<td>Mainstream Entrepreneur</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. construction</td>
<td>30s, Secondary school, 2005</td>
<td>Mainstream Entrepreneur</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Hairdresser</td>
<td>20s, U/G degree, 2007</td>
<td>Niche-Market Entrepreneur</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Boxing School</td>
<td>20, Secondary School, 2005</td>
<td>Niche-Market Entrepreneur</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. IT</td>
<td>20s, P/G degree,</td>
<td>Mainstream Entrepreneur</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. garage</td>
<td>30s, Secondary School, 2004</td>
<td>Mainstream Entrepreneur</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Hairdresser</td>
<td>20s, student, 2005</td>
<td>Niche-Market Entrepreneur</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Driving School</td>
<td>Late 40s, P/G degree, 2005</td>
<td>Niche-Market Entrepreneur</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Delicatessen</td>
<td>50s, University, 2006</td>
<td>Enclave-market Entrepreneur</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. IT</td>
<td>20s, P/G degree, 2005</td>
<td>Niche-Market Entrepreneur</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
FIRST OBSERVATIONS: SECTORS AND ENTREPRENEURIAL PORTRAIT

The first observations and inferences from the fieldwork comprising interviews, informal discussions, and observation notes, form the basis for creating an initial portrait of the Polish Entrepreneur in this study. First, Polish Entrepreneurs tend to cluster in specific sectors of the economy such as hairdressing or delicatessens, and in the construction sector. In addition, 13 out of 21 businesses studied serve an exclusively Polish clientele, so the owners did not need to speak any English.

Second, most of the interviewees arrived between November 2004 and November 2005 but did not start their businesses before 2008/2009. Thus, these Polish Entrepreneurs worked during the period prior to starting up a business and saved funds; built social networks, and improved their English language skills.

Third, the Polish Entrepreneur is (mostly) young and educated (college or university degree) but have average/poor English language skills. Despite holding higher education qualifications, there are barriers to entering the British labour market and finding a commensurate and well paid occupation. These barriers remain because of the lack of language skills; poor knowledge of the local labour market, and the reluctance of employers to understand or recognize Polish qualifications.

Fourth, Polish Entrepreneurs are mainly economic migrants, looking either for opportunity, education and/or a secure life-style in the UK. When husbands emigrate first, they bring their family later and usually change their migratory strategies by taking permanent or long-term settlement into consideration. Interestingly, eight of the Polish Entrepreneurs interviewed (two of them working together) are women. Since women have a major influence on the decision to settle in a country (White and Ryan 2008), gender is an important factor to take into account when analyzing household migratory strategies.

Finally, the entrepreneur is embedded in networks of Polish friends rather than participating in established community networks, and is usually married to a fellow Pole. Therefore, their relationship with the community appears to be tangential and ambiguous, and this will be developed later in the analysis.

INDIVIDUAL TRAJECTORIES: EMIGRATION AND MISTRUST AMONGST POLES

Why and how did Poles migrate after the 2004-EU enlargement? Concerning the population of Polish entrepreneurs in this study, the push and pull factors influencing the migration decision are not really different from other fellow Poles in the UK. Despite a lack of networks in the UK, little knowledge of the country and its labour market, and poor English skills potential migrants did
find employment. According to most of the interviewees, they were recruited by employment agencies based in Poland that were looking for construction and factory workers, security guards, or butchers to work in the UK. Also, new migrants frequently relied on co-ethnics, but experienced various degrees of success in these relationships.

EMIGRATION AND THE ROLE OF POLISH RECRUITMENT AGENCIES

The fieldwork data highlight the importance of economic factors in pushing and pulling Poles to the UK. However, Polish Entrepreneurs were not unemployed in Poland. They were either recent graduates or were involved in struggling businesses. Moving to the UK was perceived as a great opportunity to increase their income and improve their standard of living. In addition, male migrants brought their families over after a couple of months of work in the UK. Hence, economic factors include the migrant’s desire for a more ‘secure’ and higher standard of living; and this theme will be developed later, as it plays an important role in the decision to start-up a business when these expectations are not met.

The decision to migrate was influenced by economic factors since the economic situation in Poland was difficult in 2004/2005; but there was little prior knowledge about the UK:

“I could not place Scotland on a map. I have contacted this agency. It had a good reputation in Poland on the market. My girlfriend and I have received a job. They told me to fly to Scotland” P. body-shop.
“It was random, by accident that I happened to come here in Scotland. My wife knew a friend who was working in an agency. There was neither work nor money in Poland. It was a bomb in 2004 with the opening of the borders. This agency, the one I was working for had numerous offers in Ireland, England, Scotland. I left with a team of four. A construction team. I have worked for this agency, with a bit of security but then I wanted to be independent. I had nothing, I was starting from zero” A. construction, self-employed, kiosk-keeper in Poland.

The feeling of trepidation amongst Polish migrants who have to start from scratch in the UK is a recurrent theme in the interview data. The recruitment agencies in Poland act as gatekeepers to the UK labour market and its anticipated opportunities. Due to this mediating role, employment was secured whilst these entrepreneurs were still in Poland, and this prospect encouraged them to emigrate. This is a powerful pull factor influencing their decision to emigrate as they did not have to look for a job; thus avoiding uncertainty and high risk decisions. It
also enabled the new migrants to overcome barriers to entry into the UK labour market. Therefore, an important factor in securing employment prior to migration was the rapid development of a network of recruitment and employment agencies located in Poland, some of which acted on the behalf of UK employers seeking higher productivity based on the lower labour costs of migrant labour. This is clearly evident in the interview data:

“When I arrived, I had a job. There was an agency, back in Szczecin. They secured jobs here for Poles. There was a job for me in Liverpool. I worked there for one month and then they told me, there was another job free here in Bathgate. I did not have to look for anything at all; I already had somewhere to sleep”.

M. Driving School, first job as a security warden.

“Its name was Advance... various professions. For me it was Advance security. They were dealing with various things but mostly about butchers.”

M. Driving School.

“They found a flat for me and they gave my National Insurance Number. I looked for a job from Poland, I was looking for work in the UK. At the very beginning... Everything was in Poland, I had my job interview in Poland”

A, School of Fighting, first job as a butcher.

The importance of these agencies also lies in the unintended part they played in the process of business start-ups for Polish Entrepreneurs. Migrant Poles did not have to look for a job in a foreign country since the first job was secured from Poland.

SOCIAL SUPPORT VS. MISTRUST AMONGST POLES

Arriving in the UK is not a simple process because the immigrant must engage with a new cultural and economic environment. The presence of social support is important and plays a key role in ensuring a decent livelihood for the migrant. Whereas the recruitment agencies in Poland acted as a gatekeeper for emigration to the UK, and reduced the uncertainty of employment on arrival, the migrant community also played a role in providing some social support for the new migrants. However, there is little evidence of strong support provided by the established networks in Glasgow for new wave migrants. Rather than relying on the Polish community, migrants found support in personal networks, either from strong or weak ties. Concerning information and practical support (White
Polish Entrepreneurs in Scotland: life trajectories, social capital and business strategies

Polish informal networks for new migrants such as emito.net, glasgow24.pl provide information for new immigrants and an advertising platform for Polish businesses.

“Yes, of course I do have contact with the Polish community… Actually not really. All my contacts are private. We could say I have contacts with friends. They do not have any meaning for my business. There is also emito.net. Polish people are running it, the advertising is conducted by polish people.” K. hairdresser.

Rather than slotting smoothly into existing networks, new immigrants make considerable use of fellow new migrant and personal networks; often as a result of random meetings and acquaintances.

“I went to the Polish Klub once or twice I think […] I have a lot of contact with Poles from my work before or just friends of friends. I also met a lot of Poles on emito.net or on glagow24. We play football together sometimes but I also use it to find spare pieces for the cars.” R, garage.

“It [the Polish Community] was really helpful at the beginning. I did not know anyone here and I met people who helped me a lot, they told me where to go, where to find a job, where to find books, where to learn English. These are people I met at the very beginning. I was surprised, even more because of the image I had from Polonia. For me they were like strangers but they helped me” D, book-shop, poor English skills.

“I received some help from a friend in London, he explained me everything. In Polish it helps. A, construction, came with an agency.

However, as many new migrants experienced, their first few days in Scotland were difficult due to a lack of English language proficiency, feelings of isolation, and also because of negative experiences with local state agencies or co-nationals.

“I flew to London, I had seen an advertisement in the papers in Poland and this Polish girl told me she could help me when I will arrive. She would help me for £200 and the same amount to book a room for me. I had nobody abroad. I did not speak a single word of English. Of course, in theory I had learnt English at school but… She gave me an appointment at the airport. I have waited for 3 hours. Nobody came.” M, garage, in a survival strategy.

Furthermore, most of the entrepreneurs did not seek out any immigrant community support, apart from socialising with Polish friends.
“I have such people, they are good people. We meet, there is a good contact between us. I know that some people are not happy of the Poles. But at the beginning, nobody helped me. I have done everything by myself”. P, body-shop.

The desire for independance is another recurrent theme in the Entrepreneurs’ discourse.

„We did not look for help. Because we do not have family or friends here when we arrived” B. Delicatessen, family business.

The Polish networks in which potential Entrepreneurs are embedded are more likely to provide emotional support, as friends would do in Poland.

„We have friendly contacts. We meet, we go out, we go for some dinner, for a party [...] I did not receive any help, I rather help for all those things such as finding flat, local but I do not ask from others” K, IT, high English skills.

Finally, the family and household factors played a key role in the migration decision, and its influence is even stronger concerning the length of stay.

“Our husbands were the first to arrive here and then we came, we found a school for the children, a Scottish school. It was haphazard that it was in Scotland” M&I, restaurant.

MIGRANT EXPERIENCES AND CRITICAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS POLES

Interestingly, interviewees though proud to be Polish also adopt critical attitudes and discourses about their co-nationals. This point also appears in the research literature [Duvell 2004] as illustrated below:

“A Pole is a wolf to Pole [...] I am really proud to be a Polish person, I meet them all, I help them” L., lawyer for Poles, arrived 2002.

The Polish identity is strongly present in the discourse, and only one of the respondents chose not define himself as Polish or proud to be so. Hence, emotional support and link to ‘Polishness’ is provided by Polish friends and acquaintances as well as by the migrant’s family.

“I arrived on March 28th, my wife in June. Three months without my family were really hard. Hopefully, we could talk every evening with skype. We could be in contact.” D.book-shop, lack of English skills.
“Pole forever! (laughs). I will not pretend that I am someone I am not. I am Polish, I eat Polish food, I have Polish friends and I watch Polish TV”

A, construction.

All interviewees consider that it is easier to become an entrepreneur in the UK than in Poland. This mainly because there are fewer regulations, controls and taxes; but also due to the more positive attitude about self-employment in the UK; rather than the off-putting negative image projected of the Entrepreneur in Poland.

“Here, anyone can have its own business and you are still a normal person [...] In Poland, they think, how to say, its “wow” and at the same time they think you “kombinujesz” (to combine, not really legally). A, Boxing School.

Therefore, Polish immigrants arriving in Scotland in late 2004 or during the early months of 2005 constitute the largest cohort of the new wave of migrants following the 2004 EU enlargement; and the interviewees have followed similar paths of migration. Polish Entrepreneurs left Poland for the UK primarily for economic reasons utilising recruitment and employment agencies to find them their first job, and sometimes with accommodation. Polish Entrepreneurs in the Glasgow area did not rely too much on pre-existing Polish networks for support. They have confined their personal contacts to friends and close relatives; and used new migrants’ informal contacts in order to access information and obtain practical support11. These new networks, based on weak ties and on-line resources are responding to the needs of new migrants. Interestingly, very few interviewees mentioned the role of well established Polish associations in the wider community12.

Finally, their employment was crucial in providing small amounts of start-up capital for potential Entrepreneurs, and the unsatisfactory nature of the job and growing personal aspirations for a better standard of living, acted as push factors into self-employment.

FROM MIGRANT-WORKERS TO ENTREPRENEURS: AN INCREMENTAL STRATEGY

Despite employment in the UK, nascent Polish Entrepreneurs were usually dissatisfied with their job. Fieldwork results identify two main sets of reasons

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11 They have also advertised their business and hired employee from these new networks.
12 There is a real gap between the older generation with its well established networks and social institutions, and the new generation of Polish migrants. Newcomers hardly mention the pre-2004 immigrant community, while older members of Polonia do not have many acquaintances amongst the new migrants: “Of this Polonia there is not any more [...] Now they are more self-centred, they only think about themselves, they think that the world is theirs, whereas, before, Polonia was their family”. L, 35 years in Scotland
underlying this situation. First, the jobs were low-skilled and perceived as unsatisfactory given the skills and educational levels of the migrant worker. Second, these potential Entrepreneurs had high expectations about life in the UK because of their motivation to fulfil greater career goals, or to follow a self-elected goal such as independence (Barret, Trevor, McEvoy 1996).

Prospective Polish Entrepreneurs were dissatisfied with the physical nature and conditions of their jobs in factories or on construction sites. Amongst the interviewees, 14 out of 21 had graduated from University or College in Poland; and two of them had graduated from a Scottish University. Furthermore, the ones who had worked in Poland prior to emigration have seen their job status decline in the UK. The reasons behind this are the barriers faced by Poles and other immigrants when entering the UK labour market. These include language barriers, lack of awareness of job opportunities, refusal to recognise foreign qualifications, lack of social capital, or weak social networks. The barriers to entering a host country’s labour market and discrimination at the workplace have been largely documented in the literature on EMEs (see for instance Aldrich et al. 1981, Bonacich 1973, Deakins et al. 2005, Granovetter 1985, Light 1972, Portes and Rumbaut 1990, Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993, Waldinger 1996, Zhou, 2004,). In addition to working in lower-skilled and more physically demanding jobs than they had in Poland, interviewees also felt undervalued because their jobs did not match their expectations or skill levels.

“There in Poland, I was like the queen and here a cleaner.” M. Delicatessen, manager of a large office in Poland.

“I have worked during one year and a half in a factory. The work was really hard, really monotonous. I was doing parts for fridge. It was a whole thing: it was a new experience in life, despite hard work. It is here in Scotland that I have taken the decision to start-up. When we left Poland with my wife, we did not have any specific plan to establish a business. Nothing special in mind. We have decided during this year. The work at the factory was really exhausting. I had never worked in a factory, at the beginning it seems ok but then it becomes so exhausting to go every day.” D. book-shop.

A person with higher education qualifications working in a factory also faces barriers to entry in the wider labour market. Considering their aspirations for improvement in their standard of living and employment prospects, the expectation in term of occupational level can be lower in the UK than in their home country. Therefore, the immigrant may want to leave their current employment when he or she becomes more familiar with the host country, or when the family has
Polish Entrepreneurs in Scotland: life trajectories, social capital and business strategies

joined him or her. At this moment, the decision to create a business can be an exit strategy from this low status employment into self-employment; thereby fulfilling the desire to improve their standard of living and social status. To some extent, the immigrant is pushed into self-employment because of the disparity between his or her high expectations in the host country’s labour market, and the actual conditions they experience during the initial period of settlement and acculturation. The second push factor is the standard of living expectations held by the Polish migrant\textsuperscript{13}. Since this standard has not been achieved whilst in employment following arrival in the UK, self-employment is envisaged a way to regain dignity, pride, and motivation to succeed.

**EASY BUSINESS START-UP IN THE UK**

The interviewees also emphasised the ease of the start-up phase in Scotland, as well as the small amount of paperwork required. This acts a factor pulling them to self-employment. All the interviewees made this observation:

“Yes, it is straight forward. At the beginning, there is only the language barrier. Only the language barrier has prevented me from starting-up earlier or doing it faster.” I. Hairdresser, Entrepreneur in Poland.

“It was really easy. Generally it is straight forward. I am self-employed which makes it even easier. Registration is done through the Internet, it is far easier from what I have hear about it in Poland.” P., IT, the father is an Entrepreneur in Poland.

The case studies confirm the reluctance of immigrant Entrepreneurs to access and/or contact local institutions and formal sources of support and advice in the host country, as reported in previous research (Deakins et al, 2005; Barret, Trevor, McEvoy, 1996). First, there is the problem of agency accessibility due to a lack of skills, local knowledge and language barriers faced by the ethnic Entrepreneur. Second, there is a lack of knowledge about what resources these institutions can provide for a start-up Entrepreneur. Third, there is a marked reluctance to use formal sources of support and advice as Polish Entrepreneurs usually find it time consuming and fruitless considering the small amount of funding needed

\textsuperscript{13} Polish Entrepreneurs in Scotland have been pushed into self-employment by these factors, rather than being pushed by unemployment as commonly experienced by other migrant communities. The research found no evidence of ‘necessity entrepreneurship’ amongst Polish Entrepreneurs in Scotland. One may also argue that Polish Entrepreneurs as well as Polish workers have an easy ‘exit’ route available in the case of failure due to the freedom of movement of labour in the European Union; they can easily go back to Poland as noted earlier (e.g. pendular migrants).
to start-up. Therefore, given their self-elected goal of independence, most of the interviewees prefer to rely on their personal savings to start-up\textsuperscript{14}.

"Around – 4500 and that was enough for a start. I have done everything all by myself, I had the money, I do my own business, my own bills, I am independent. I know that there is something called Business Gateway, I know there are such organisations but I do not know really what they do." A. Boxing School.

Fourth, unlike other immigrant communities, Polish Entrepreneurs do not borrow money nor seek advice from co-nationals. Thus, these results contribute to the existing literature on Ethnic Minority Entrepreneurs that emphasises the role of the community in business start-up and small business management. Polish Entrepreneurs in the Glasgow area rely solely on personal savings and their own ideas rather than on resources from the co-ethnic community for finance and advice; thus making very little use of ‘social capital’. Furthermore, as the quotes below indicate using social capital could have a detrimental effect:

"Poles are like a knife on your throat, they spend their time gossiping. As long as you work at the factory with the others it is fine but as soon as one is doing better, or is succeeding to achieve something, they are just like [unreadable word], they attack. As soon as someone has some success, or someone has a house."

M, Driving School.

The ease of the start-up process and the small amount of finance required\textsuperscript{15} partially explains why unhappy factory workers, or as in the case of the latter example, a person who has been unemployed for just a day, can start-up a new business venture as a solution to low job satisfaction. Entrepreneurs themselves tend to articulate this decision as an ad hoc matter based upon luck and ‘flair’, rather than a fully documented process. Thus, the start-up phase is easier in the UK than in Poland since there are less painful bureaucratic requirements and procedures. In addition, despite low levels of access to formal sources of finance and advice, and avoidance of using co-ethnic community social capital or finance, starting-up is described as straight forward by the Polish Entrepreneurs interviewed. The amount of capital needed is small enough to permit this strategy to succeed, as

\textsuperscript{14} The businesses identified and studied comprise micro-firms or self-employed people, mostly in the service sector (e.g. hairdressers, IT, delicatessens) that require low levels of financing. Thus, these types of businesses are clearly suited to the ad hoc nature of the strategy and can operate within the co-ethnic community at relatively low risk. The decision to start-up is opportunity based and mostly spontaneous, and is usually a sudden decision influenced by various push and pull factors. It could be termed initially as haphazard Entrepreneurship which then pursues incremental strategies to develop the business through later phases.

\textsuperscript{15} Between £4,000 and £10,000 for start-up in all the case studies.
funds can be provided by savings from employment. As we have argued, ‘pull factors’ (Barret, et al., 1996, Deakins and Ram, 1995; Freel, 1998) do not operate in the same manner in the case of Polish Entrepreneurs than for other immigrant Entrepreneurs. The research findings underscore the importance of incremental strategies amongst Polish Entrepreneurs. Having worked in the UK prior to their business start-up initiative, prospective Polish Entrepreneurs accrue funds from paid employment. They have developed a business idea, usually predicated upon a community-based niche market; but the opportunity spotted in this niche market is rarely identified in a business plan, or even benchmarked. Thus, the Polish Entrepreneur’s decision to start-up is quick and undocumented; and often the opportunity is the outcome of a hunch or entrepreneurial ‘flair’.

FROM SOJOURNER TO SETTLERS?

The findings from the fieldwork highlight the decision-making by Polish Entrepreneur concerning the length of stay as well as the reasons underpinning this choice. Starting-up is an opportunity for an individual to ensure a decent income, and, as noted earlier, to meet life standard expectancies in a more interesting and qualified job than having a routine occupation in a factory. During the fieldwork, there is strong evidence of both open-ended and permanent settlement strategy. There is strong evidence that migrants who came as sojourner now plan to stay longer.

“For my future, I see Poland. I will go back to Poland, I can see my house on the seaside. I think that I will go back in four or five years. My daughter is already five. I need to decide if we stay or not.
This exemplifies the change from a sojourner strategy to open-ended settlement. Migrants’ plans change overtime as their relationship with the home country become weaker and ties with the host country strengthen. The key factor in this shift is the immigrant family unit, once they have been re-united in the UK. Household rather than individual strategies are developed and these strongly affect the migrant’s decision to stay (White and Ryan, 2008). The same interviewee commented on the change to his migratory plans:

“It is because of school. Next year, my daughter will start school” A, construction

The importance of household is underlined by the key role played by women in the decision making process. As presented below, women have had firmer plans for settlement from the beginning.
“We are not going back to Poland. We have a house and our children are now better in English than in Polish, they can write better in English. Here we bought a house and here we will stay. From the beginning I was sure that we will stay, yes” M, delicatessen, woman entrepreneur.

Another reason for change in migratory strategies is the anticipation of a more secure and stable standard of living, and improved life-style in the UK.

“It is easier to live here. Everything is easier. It is more secure, either from a personal and from a business perspective.” K, hairdresser

POLISH ENTREPRENEURS AND THE COMMUNITY

The following set of findings concern the relationships of the Polish Entrepreneurs with the Polish Community from the business’ point of view. First of all, Polish Entrepreneurs tend to focus on ethnic niches by serving the community on products and services. They are using the Community as a market. Secondly, Polish Entrepreneurs in the Glasgow area play a social and an economic role in the construction of Polish-enclave markets.

SERVING CO-ETHNICS

The Polish Entrepreneurs in Glasgow tend to serve their own community for cultural “proximity” reasons. First, they share a common language and this removes an important cultural barrier for migrant consumers. Second, it is easier for a new Entrepreneur to trade within their co-ethnic community since they have a better understanding of its needs than their British competitors. However, in some cases, Polish businesses do face competition from other ethnic minority run businesses e.g. Pakistani delicatessens employing Polish People to sell Polish goods. Nevertheless, successful start-up businesses need to develop, either by breaking out into the mainstream market or by extending the enclave. In other words, initially Polish Entrepreneurs see the community as a market. They are able to spot opportunities within this niche market before they eventually pursue diversification strategies.

COMMUNITY AS A MARKET

For a large majority of the business studied, the Polish community is the primary, or even, the only market targeted by a new business venture. Although

16 Though most Polish start-up ventures are ‘co-ethnic serving’, seven of the businesses studied began as mainstream. Five of them are located in the service sector, and two in construction.
there are local clients, the businesses studied strongly rely on the Polish community as customers. Most of the Entrepreneurs serve the enclave Polish community with ethnic goods (such as food, Polish computer programmes), or mainstream products and services (e.g. legal advice, car repair, hairdressing). In addition, all the interviewees advertise their businesses on the Internet via Polish immigrant websites such as emito.net or Glasgow24.pl. The Polish Entrepreneur is more likely to identify enclave-market opportunities and fill perceived skill gaps than a local business or Entrepreneur17.

“I could see that there was a lack for a Polish Computer shop” S, IT.

Polish businesses serving the community are represented in our typology by the concepts of ‘serving co-ethnics’ and ‘niche-entrepreneurs’. First, the Entrepreneurs serving co-ethnics sell Polish goods to the Polish community. The delicatessens are included in this category since they mostly serve Poles. Once they begin to serve a significant local client base, they come under the concept of middleman Entrepreneurs. This involves an extension in the range of products or services to the community, i.e. horizontal and vertical integration. Second, niche-entrepreneurs represent 12 out of the 21 case studies. They serve the Polish community with mainstream goods or services such as IT, hairdressing, or leisure activities; and their opportunities for further development lie in serving local clients.

FURTHER BUSINESS DEVELOPMENTS

Polish immigrant communities provide co-ethnic Entrepreneurs a range of business opportunities in a niche market. Nevertheless, staying in the ethnic or niche market18 can lead to survival strategies (Ram and Jones, 1998, Curran and Blackburn, 1993; see also dead-end thesis, Metcalf et al. 1995). Since an enclave-market is bounded by the size of the community, there is a demographic constraint on further development. Given the limited depth of the Polish Community, EMEs need to develop strategies in order to deal with competitive pressures and market saturation by reaching the mainstream market19. The future of these businesses lies in a more incremental diversification process as well as extension of the enclave-market adding a transnational dimension to the business. Indeed, by adding a

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17 Although there are Polish delicatessens run by Czechs, and Pakistanis.
18 Ethnic Market: serving ethnic clients with ethnic products. Niche market: serving ethnic clients with mainstream products or services.
19 See Annex II. As there is in the case of Polish Entrepreneurs in Scotland no evidence of direct breaking-out strategies.
transnational dimension to the local ethnic enclave, an Entrepreneur can extend the range of products or services.

“We use to order our products from a Polish trade company but now we do our own transport. We order directly from Poland. We deal directly with the producers in Poland and we order.” B. Delicatessen, serial entrepreneur, enclave-market entrepreneur.

Most of the Entrepreneurs serving co-ethnics and niche-entrepreneurs try to attract local customers. The data suggests that Entrepreneurs do manage to attract local customers as language barriers are increasingly overcome; but so far this is far from a fully developed business breaking-out strategy.

“Almost all our clients are Poles. I think it is because of the language barriers. Sometimes I have to ask three or four times to understand a question with the locals [...] We are trying to reach more and more locals with the advertising, the flyers.” M, garage, niche-entrepreneur.

SELF-PERCEPTION OF POLISH ENTREPRENEURS

The fieldwork data provides evidence of pride taken in work amongst Polish Entrepreneurs. Poles see themselves as ‘cheaper’, ‘faster’, ‘more reliable’ and ‘serious; and these are now common terms used when defining their own activities in comparison to their Scottish competitors.

“We have a reputation. ‘the Polish builder’, you can see it on every advertisement, Polskie Solidnosc (Polish solidity). Our prices are good as well, the work is done faster by Poles than by Scottish companies” A, construction.

This high reputation achieved by Polish immigrants is a major reason for starting-up in the niche market.

THE SOCIAL ROLE OF POLISH BUSINESSES

At a first glance, it is difficult to talk about a UK Polish enclave economy in the same way as it is described in the literature concerning the Puerto Rican or Latino communities in the USA (Portes and Rumbaut 1996). Unlike these communities there are no coercive restrictions placed by the community upon Polish Businesses. In addition, Polish Entrepreneurs are self-funded and do not rely on the community for advice or support. Nevertheless, there is strong evidence that they use the co-ethnic based local labour market for hiring staff.
“I have Polish employees. I trust them more than Scottish ones. It is also for the fact that they show more motivation at work. Really that’s the main reason.”

K, IT, good English skills.

Second, and more importantly, the economic activities of the businesses are not solely commercial because of the cultural component underpinning this market, including in this case sharing information and emotional support amongst the Poles. The social role of Polish Businesses in Poland has mostly being observed and discussed during the informal talks following the interviews. After numerous interviews, the researcher was involved in hour-long talks with Polish clients who gathered in the hairdressing salon or in the restaurant.

“All the clients are Poles, many of them, especially women, come every week or so. Yes, sometimes we spend a lot of time chatting together (smile).”

A, Haidresser.

The role of practical support can become very time consuming for the Entrepreneur as illustrated below:

“I also help for the language. Some of my clients do not only ask me about their PC but also about the children, letters, and paperwork. Everyone thinks that I know everything. It is good to help but sometimes they ask too much.”

S, IT.

POLISH ENCLAVE-MARKETS AND ‘LITTLE POLAND’

Whereas Polish construction companies work together in tight networks, other businesses operate in different enclave-markets in looser networks located in a variety of economic sectors. However, there is evidence supporting the emergence of a ‘little Poland’, where Polish businesses play an important social role and facilitate the development of stronger links between businesses. In comparison with other immigrant communities, Polish entrepreneurs have a clear desire to be independent from their co-ethnics community. Nevertheless, their situation is different from the other communities since there are fewer Polish Businesses in Glasgow, and they do not make the same use of strong ties as there is always a possible ‘exit’ back to Poland. This means that the Polish Community does not exert the same degree of control, influence, or potential

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20 Construction businesses work as a close network of several specialised self-employed construction workers. They help each other, cooperate and swap workings “Whenever we cannot finish a restoration alone, or if we do not have time, we always give each other the word. I can help with roofing for example.” P. construction
coercion upon co-ethnics as other communities may exert (Zhou, 2004; Wilson and Portes, 1980; Portes and Zhou, 1992). Though there is a high cultural affinity within this Polish entrepreneurial and wider community, there is less dependency upon tightly coupled kinship networks and financial support, or restrictions on the choice of business pathways that may have been established by previous migrant entrepreneurs within other communities e.g. Chinese restaurants, and ‘take-aways’. As mentioned above, Polish Entrepreneurs use the Polish community for emotional and informational support but wish to be financially independent from the community (see Part III 2, and Part IV 2 above). Polish Entrepreneurs socialise with Poles but do not raise finance from their networks; whereas empirical findings from research on Entrepreneurs in other communities indicate that they use shared ethnic resources to start-up [Portes and Zhou 1992]. In these cases, there is evidence of mechanisms of control within the community, as the ability of the community to reward or sanction its member is crucial in ensuring trust. In these communities, the sentiment of obligation and community control may however constrain further development of businesses. Finally, the last difference between Polish Entrepreneurs and the ones from other immigrant communities is the relatively short period of time since the current wave of migrants arrived. Therefore, research data for most of the Polish Entrepreneurs in Glasgow is less easy to collect or directly use in a comparative context.

Polish businesses start to collaborate via weak ties, and via informal networks such as the Polish Community’s websites (emito.net and Glasgow24.pl) or the Emigrant magazine, available in every Polish Business.

“I do not have any contacts with other Polish Businesses. I mean… I cannot call it contact, I know the shops, the hairdressers… It is just that, we know each other.” D, book-shop, lack of English skills.

Finally, one of the Polish entrepreneurs had also started at his own expense an advertising flyer scheme distributing information about Polish businesses.

“I had the idea to improve the visibility and the links between the Polish businesses in Glasgow. We sometimes knew each other or I found some on emito, I contacted them and added them on the flyer. I do that for myself, I print it and it is available in every Polish Business. Of course, there is also my logo on it.” K, IT, mainstream entrepreneur, Polish employees.

Despite being a mainstream Entrepreneur, this Entrepreneur is contributing to building a network of Polish businesses in Glasgow.
CONCLUSION

This paper is based on new empirical data concerning Polish Entrepreneurs in Scotland. The case studies reveal interesting features concerning individual Polish Entrepreneurs and their business strategies in the context of post-2004 migration to the UK. The primary outcomes and observations regarding the Polish Entrepreneur’s Life Processes are summarized in Annex III. There are three major conceptual categories based on the research findings: use of the ethnic and wider community by Polish Entrepreneurs; their incremental strategies from migrant-workers to Entrepreneur; and the importance of the family in personal migratory strategies and choices regarding settlement.

First, Polish Entrepreneurs follow similar paths of migration to fellow Poles arriving in the UK after 2004. Whilst economic reasons act as a push factor to migration, Polish Entrepreneurs had secured employment when still in Poland using a wide network of recruitment and employment agencies. This reduced the uncertainty and risk with migration to the UK. Once in the UK, new immigrants tended to made contact with co-citizens from the same wave of migration; making little use of established networks that were generated by Polish migrants prior to 2004. They did not slot into existing networks and associations; rather they make more use of new co-ethnic networks, especially based on the Internet. This conclusion fits with the established literature on recent Polish migration to the UK (e.g. Ryan et al, 2006) where Polish migrants develop some cautious and strategic ties across the ethnic group that provides practical support in order to secure employment and accommodation. The research also supports conclusions from the literature on EMBs concerning the avoidance of formal sources of support, finance and advice amongst Polish Entrepreneurs because of lack of awareness of institutional and state agency services and provision (Deakins et al. 2005; Ram and Jones, 2007) and their self-elected goal of independence, (Barret, et al 1996). Thus, the Polish community is used as a market in which to sell goods or services and to hire staff; showing evidence of Polish enclave-markets. Finally, this paper underlines the growing social role of Polish Entrepreneurs in the community.

Second, this paper highlights the importance of incremental business strategies amongst Polish Entrepreneurs at different phases of the business development process. After arrival in the UK, Polish Entrepreneurs had a job secured by agencies based in Poland. However, this job was unsatisfactory and did not meet their expectations. After a few years in the construction sector, or as butchers or security guards, Polish Entrepreneurs had some savings. The ease of the start-up process in the UK and the relatively small amount of finance required partially explains why dissatisfied factory workers can start-up a new businesses venture. This provides a solution to low job satisfaction, and enables the migrant
employee to become self-employed, and meeting their aspirations for a better standard of living; the primary reasons underpinning the decision for emigration to the UK. Entrepreneurs themselves tend to articulate this decision as an ad hoc matter based upon luck and ‘flair’, rather than a fully documented process. Later business development is also an incremental process from serving co-ethnics to the extension of the enclave-markets (Annex II).

Finally, the analysis underscores the importance of the household in the process of settlement in the UK. Male immigrants usually brought their wives and children to the UK after a few months; thus households rather than the individual are established, and this strongly effects the migrant’s decision to stay. This confirms previous research (White and Ryan, 2008), but extends our understanding regarding changes to migratory plans from sojourner worker to entrepreneur and settler, and the process business start-up and entrepreneurial behavior amongst the migrant community.

Annex I: ideal-types of Ethnic Minority Entrepreneurs

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<tr>
<th>Enclave-Market Entrepreneur</th>
<th>Middleman Entrepreneur</th>
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<tr>
<td>The principal market for ethnic market entrepreneur is his own community.</td>
<td>Entrepreneurs who serve non-ethnics. It also involves entrepreneurs who sell ethnic products and services to a mainstream public.</td>
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<tr>
<th>Niche Entrepreneur</th>
<th>Mainstream Market Entrepreneur</th>
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| Entrepreneurs who sell non-ethnics products such as financial services, legal aid to their own immigrant group. Although they sell non-ethnics products, they have the cultural competence to enter this niche market. | The mainstream-market entrepreneur. Entrepreneurs who sell non-ethnics products or services into mainstream market. These entrepreneurs are in direct competition with native entrepreneurs.

1 P/G stands for “Magister” and over, U/G stands for all degrees from Polish Universities up to “licencjat”.
Polish Entrepreneurs in Scotland: life trajectories, social capital and business strategies

Annex II: The Diversification Process

Annex III: Polish Entrepreneurs Life Processes

2004/2005
Using networks
Agencies
Job search in the UK
Polonia – new networks
Informal relationship
New networks and personal contacts with fellow immigrants
Social life and emotional support

Formal source of support and advice
Lack of knowledge or avoidance

Polish Community
Community as a market
Social role of Polish Entrepreneurs
Links between Polish Businesses and Little Poland

Endeavour-markets

The Business Life Process
Emigration
Job secured prior to emigration
Push and Pull factors
Savings secured
Self-elected goals of independence

Non satisfactory employment
Incremental decision - flair
Incremental strategies - flair

Starting-up
Small amount of Finance required - low risk taking
Easy start-up opportunities

Diversification strategies

Individual and households’ migratory strategies
Family gather in Scotland
Life standard expectancy not met
Self-employment
Longer term settlement

Economic Emigration
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