Imagining and producing the 'good' migrant:

The role of recruitment agencies in shaping bodily goodness

Allan Findlay

David McCollum

Sergei Shubin

Elina Apsite

Zaiga Krisjane

April 2012

ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on representations of labour migrants and interrogates how such imaginaries shape migrant recruitment and employment regimes. The recruitment and employment of labour migrants inevitably involves a range of knowledge practices which affect who is recruited, from where and for what purposes. In particular this paper seeks to advance understandings of how images of 'bodily goodness' are represented graphically and how perceptions of migrant workers influence the recruitment of workers from Latvia. The analysis results in a schema of the 'filtering' processes that are enacted to 'produce' the 'ideal' migrant worker.

KEYWORDS

EDITORIAL NOTE

Author Allan Findlay is Professor of Geography at the University of St Andrews and member of the ESRC Centre for Population Change. David McCollum is a Research Fellow at the Centre for Housing Research, University of St Andrews and associate member of the ESRC Centre for Population Change. Sergei Shubin is a Senior Lecturer, Department of Geography at the University of Swansea. Elina Apsite and Zaiga Krisjane are both at the University of Latvia.

Corresponding author: Allan.M.Findlay@st-andrews.ac.uk

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The ESRC Centre for Population Change Working Paper Series is edited by Teresa McGowan

ESRC Centre for Population Change

Website | Email | Twitter | Facebook | Mendeley

IMAGINING AND PRODUCING THE 'GOOD' MIGRANT: THE ROLE OF RECRUITMENT AGENCIES IN SHAPING BODILY GOODNESS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION

Recruitment and employment of labour migrants involves a range of knowledge practices which produce observable selectivity in who is recruited, from where, and for what purposes (Findlay *et al*, 2010; Kanbur and Rapoport, 2005). Although the migration literature often gives the impression that labour migration is either the product of individual decisions by potential movers about where best to achieve returns on their human or social capital (Borjas, 1989; Sjaastad, 1962), or the result of the state in opening labour markets to selective flows of people with specific skills from certain places of origin (while barring entry to others) through national immigration legislation (Kofman, 2010; Massey, 1999), in practice the social and cultural processes that produce migration are entangled in a much more complex web of social relations and knowledge practices. These not only produce a complex migrant division of labour within destination regions, especially global cities (Wills *et al*, 2010), but also are shaped by the international tentacles of labour recruitment systems that filter labour from source regions through often unacknowledged social and cultural practices undertaken by recruitment agents and other transnational economic actors.

This paper analyses a range of knowledge practices revealed by interviews with recruitment agencies, policymakers and employers. Most migration research privileges the migrant's interpretation through investigating their experience of migration and through seeking to understand their interpretation of the forces that explain their motivations for international mobility. By contrast there remains insufficient attention given to the economic, social and cultural structures that shape the context within which people move. By focussing on the interpretation of migration systems of those who are key actors in facilitating and organising the mobility of others, this paper hopes to shift attention away from the actions of individual movers to the knowledge practices that govern who is selected to move by some of those actors who control access to international work opportunities. In particular it is important to open up through research the normative judgements and understandings of the embodied nature of transnational labour recruitment. In this paper we focus particularly on the idealised images of migrant workers and how these images involve embodied forms that often go unacknowledged. The *raison d'etre* of most recruitment agencies revolves around striving to supply a desirable product (the 'good' worker) to their clients. Recruiters thus play an important role in the performative and transformative practices of the self that are implicated in the production of good workers. Evidently this can be regarded as a

collaborative process in which migrants reflexively monitor and change their appearance and behaviour in order to meet the normative expectations of what the migrant worker should be.

The paper consists of five main parts. First we focus on what the existing literature has to say about conceptions of the 'good' (migrant) worker and considers how these perceptions can play a part in producing labour migration systems. This review of the literature forms the basis for the two research questions which follow it. An overview of economic and migration trends in Latvia is then provided and a case made for why labour migration flows from Latvia are worthy of special academic attention. This is followed by an explanation of the methods employed in the research. The results sections consider representations of the good worker and how these in turn influence the practices which produce 'ideal' labour migrants. Finally the paper concludes with a discussion of the ways in which recruitment agencies play a key part in the production of international migration geographies.

2. THE GOOD MIGRANT WORKER: THEORETICAL CONTEXT

A cultural-economy stance (Amin and Thrift, 2004) would argue that economic transactions such as the buying and selling of labour are inherently socially and culturally embedded performances based on a subjective understanding of the world. Thus the economic cannot and should not be perceived as a rational sphere which is separate from the social realm (Lee, 2010). This means for example that recruiting and hiring decisions are social and cultural as much as they are economic, and that workers must perform in a manner which may be represented as economic but which reflects a need to meet cultural expectations (Crang *et al*, 2003), in this instance about what is perceived to be 'good' practice.

In the context of migrants, recruitment and employment practices are influenced by normative understandings of what is understood to be the 'ideal' worker, and by discourses surrounding why UK employers 'need' migrant labour (Scott *et al*, 2008; MacKenzie and Forde, 2009; Thompson *et al*, 2012). East-Central European migrant workers are frequently portrayed by employers in positive terms, especially in contrast to domestic labour (Ruhs and Anderson, 2010). These knowledge practices are of interest and importance because they shape labour migration flows by influencing who is recruited, from where and for what purposes. Significantly the literature argues that the 'requirement' for migrant labour cannot be regarded as a 'given'. Rather labour 'shortages are socially, economically, culturally and

politically constructed and… need not exist' (Geddes and Scott, 2010, 211). One could argue that alternatives to the widespread use of migrant labour could be found by employers such as offering higher wages to attract more local labour into work or the substitution of capital for labour. Thus it is important to question why employers elect to perceive and represent migrant labour as 'essential' or preferable, and to investigate the nature of the relationship between these perceptions and actual practices, in terms of how they affect who they seek to recruit, where they recruit from and how they go about recruiting them.

How employers perceive and represent the 'good' worker (MacKenzie and Forde, 2009; Thompson *et al*, 2012) is important because it impacts on their recruitment and employment practices. Imperfect information about the qualities of individual candidates and normative understandings of the traits associated with the 'good worker' mean that the appropriateness of potential workers for particular types of jobs may be determined in an essentialist fashion in relation to preconceptions about categories such as age or sex, as opposed to the individual merits of a candidate. This stereotyping is of course an issue with all aspects of labour recruitment, but it becomes of particular significance when the employer and the potential employee are physically separated not only by distance between the country of employment and the place of origin of the employee (as inevitably occurs in international labour migration), but also by institutional distance as a result of the employer engaging a gangmaster or recruitment agency to find the labour skills that he/she wants to deploy. In these instances it is not categories such as age and gender that may be imagined as desirable but also other traits associated with groups of workers from particular countries (Duncan and Loretto, 2004; Datta *et al*, 2009). Thus national origins have been shown to have been used as a proxy for differentiating between migrant workers producing a migrant division of labour (Wills *et al*, 2009).

A further refinement of this argument is that essentialising discourses also produce embodied imaginaries of international migration. Dunn (2010) makes the case for the body being a more prominent scale of analysis in transnational studies. Applying the arguments surroundings the embodied transnationalism literature (Teather, 1999; Butcher, 2010; Allon and Anderson, 2010) to the context of the knowledge practices of recruiters and employers leads to the suggestion that migrants may often be selected for their embodied characteristics relative to stereotypical views held by recruitment agencies and employers (Anderson and Ruhs, 2010). Reading embodiment in this way shifts the focus from the binaries of sex-

gender and subject-object (Nast and Pile, 1998; Longhurst, 2001; Meyer, 2010; Dunn, 2010), to interest in embodied imageries (that lead to expectations of migrants taking on specific bodily forms). It can be argued that images or bodily forms shape the performances of the migrant recruitment process, and that this is one way in which the 'product' of the 'good worker' is achieved. The performance involves not only a discourse around bodily forms of the good worker but also bodily expressions (emotions and affects created by the body). This position illustrates how Anderson's (2010) valuable arguments concerning the ways in which states, through their migration policies 'produce' precarious migrant workers can be extended. It implies that surveillance and control take place not only at the border but also at other scales and locations. The suggestion becomes that filtering and selection processes take place beyond the boundaries of the state in migrant sending countries through the performances associated with the international labour recruitment process.

The insights offered by researchers studying embodied transnationalism potentially add to the extant literature that proposes an ethnically ordered hierarchy in relation to 'hiring queues' (Waldinger and Lichter, 2003). This suggests that employers seek to recruit migrant workers from particular places, because of an association with particular features, such as UK employers associating A8 nationals with a better 'work ethic' than UK workers or those from other parts of Europe (Dench *et al*, 2006). Such an association may however be translated into an imaginary embodied form, linking a good work ethic to migrants that conform to certain images of bodily 'goodness'.

Shifting attention to bodily form and bodily expressions leads to the findings of the research literature on the attitudes of migrant workers. Much of this literature aptly investigates what these bodily expressions are, but it often fails to consider the reading of these bodily expressions. Employers, especially in relation to non-technical and lower skilled jobs, have been shown to prioritise 'attitude' over relevant experience or particular skills (Nickson *et al*, 2005). In the case of the hospitality sector, UK employers have been shown to value the level of 'middle classness' which some A8 migrants can offer relative to other potential pools of labour such as the unemployed. Hence these 'constructions of nationality' can have an impact on the functions assigned to migrant workers, with workers from EU countries preferred to front of house roles to migrants from regions such as the Middle East, Asia or Africa (Matthews and Ruhs, 2007). Critically stereotypes based on nationality interact with other stereotypes for categories such as sex, age and class. The perception that

migrants with particular characteristics and qualities can provide employers 'what they want' in terms of their (pre)scripted understandings of 'good workers' means that labour demand and supply can be thought of as 'mutually conditioning' (Anderson and Ruhs, 2010).

The types of perceptions discussed above impact on who employers seek to recruit, how they go about recruiting them and where they seek to recruit them from. Taken together these recruitment and employment practices partially reflect and structure labour migration channels and thus migration systems (Findlay and Li, 1998). This paper considers how the perceptions and practices of various actors in the migration process (recruitment agencies, employers and policymakers) shape the nature of labour migration channels from Latvia.

Based on the literature reviewed above, this analysis seeks to investigate two key questions;

How is the 'goodness' of the good worker represented in bodily form by significant actors in the migration system?

How is 'goodness' enacted, performed and produced in the migrant recruitment process?

In seeking to answer these two questions the authors seek to illustrate the need to analyse the different scales and locations at which labour migration is produced. To do this challenges the conventional wisdom that often presents migration as disembodied and which privileges the state and migrants over other actors shaping the transnational field.

3. THE CONTEXT OF LABOUR MIGRATION FROM LATVIA

The issues introduced above were researched in the context of labour migration from Latvia to the UK. Migration flows between Latvia and the United Kingdom are part of the much wider mobility of citizens from the eight accession states (Poland, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia and Slovenia) that followed the entry of these countries (A8) to the European Union on 1st May 2004. The UK, Ireland and Sweden were the only countries to initially not restrict the right of citizens of the A8 countries to participate in their labour markets. Significant disparities in earning potential meant that large numbers of A8 migrants have participated in the British labour market since 2004 (in excess of 1.5 million, Blanchflower *et al*, 2007) and it is estimated that this group now constitutes 1.3 per cent of the working-age population (Dustmann *et al*, 2010). In April 2011 the right of other EU member states to restrict the access of A8 workers to their labour markets expired (the so-

called seven year 'transitional measures'), meaning that new labour migration patterns may emerge as East and Central European migrants can now more easily seek employment in more geographically proximate and relatively economically buoyant countries such as Germany.

Latvia is a country with a small population of only 2.2 million (Eurostat, 2010b), much of which is concentrated in and around its capital city Riga, which has just over 700,000 inhabitants (Riga Municipality, 2011). Latvia was selected for analysis for two reasons. Firstly it avoids the 'Polish' stereotype of labour migration to the UK that is so prevalent. It therefore unveils some of the diversity of A8 migration. Second the focus on Latvia is of value because the processes shaping migrant workers and migration take on extreme or pronounced form in the Latvian case due to the large volume of Latvians seeking employment abroad as a proportion of the population.

Following Accession to the EU, Latvia experienced rapid economic growth and low unemployment rates and had one of the fastest increases in wage rates amongst the Member States (Kancs, 2010). This rapid economic growth and the outward migration of some workers meant that Latvia experienced domestic labour shortages and replacement labour migration flows into the country (Woolfson, 2009). However the Latvian economy entered severe recession at the beginning of 2008 (see Koyama, 2010 for an account of the factors that led to economic crisis in Latvia) and the subsequent 26 per cent decline in GDP over the following two years has been the sharpest of any nation ever recorded (Weisbrot and Ray, 2010). Unemployment has increased from 5 per cent at the end of 2007 to 23 per cent in 2010, the highest in Europe (Eurostat, 2010a). Latvia experienced the greatest declines in employment rates, imports and retail sales between the second quarter of 2008 and the second quarter of 2009 in Europe (Eurostat, 2010b).

Figures suggest that many Latvians migrated from Latvia to other parts of Europe in the years immediately following their Accession to the EU but that by 2006-2007 rates of emigration had slowed dramatically in conjunction with the tightening of the domestic labour market over this period (Kancs, 2010). However the rapid and severe collapse of the Latvian economy is likely to have led to increased labour migration flows to elsewhere in Europe. Indeed Latvia now has one of the highest rates of demographic decline (losses of population through net migration and natural change) in Europe (Eurostat, 2010b).

These trends are evident in changes in the composition of A8 migrants to the UK. The Worker Registration Scheme was used to collect administrative data on A8 migrants to the UK over the period from May 2004 to April 2011. Data from this source indicate that the proportion of new A8 migrants to Britain from Latvia has increased drastically in line with the country's economic misfortunes (Figure 1).
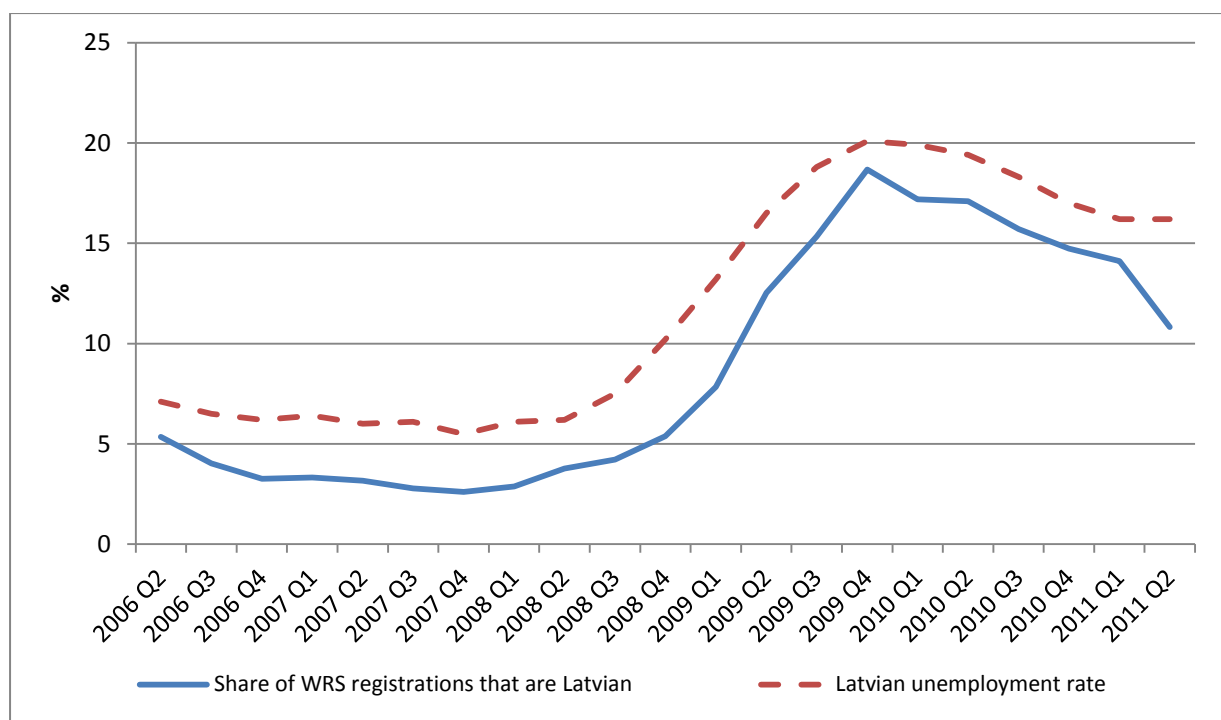
Figure 1: Unemployment rate and proportion of Latvian WRS registrations, 2006 quarter 2 – 2011 quarter 2
Source: Author's analysis of Worker Registration Scheme data and Eurostat (2010b)

In seeking to understand aspects of international recruitment practices in relation to the so-called migrant division of labour (Wills *et al*, 2010), it is pertinent to commence by briefly positioning the institutions involved in migrant recruitment in Latvia. Latvia had 85 officially-registered employment agencies in 2011. In addition other gangmasters and recruiters operated in the country that were not visible in the official lists of agencies. Nearly all registered agencies (89%) had offices only in the capital, Riga. Figure 2 maps the range of countries connected to Latvia through these agencies (excluding the 34 firms whose sphere of operation was only within Latvia). The register of Latvian employment agencies indicates

that nearly all international links are within the EU, and especially the UK. Britain was served by 59 per cent of Latvia's international recruiters.
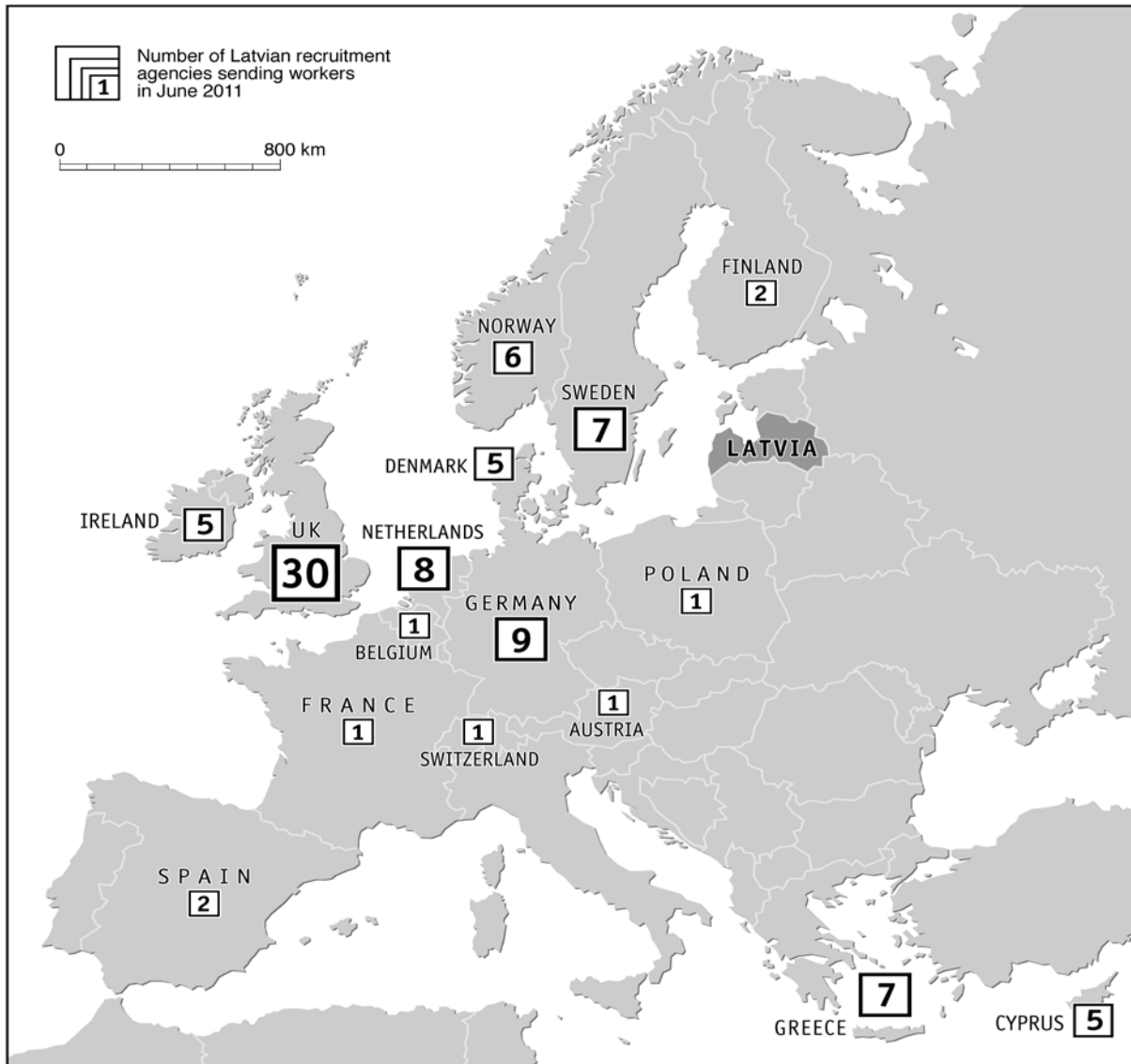
Figure 2: Number of Latvian agencies sending workers to European countries, June 2011
Data source: Latvian State Employment Agency, register of recruitment agencies 2011

Amongst the agencies there was a considerable range of firm types (from those claiming to only offer services to employers (24%), through to those exclusively helping job seekers). In functional terms a key distinction was between those that operated as arms of internationally-owned recruitment agencies (with headquarters outside Latvia) and those that were local Latvian companies (including travel agents who over time had evolved part of their business into facilitating labour mobility and specialists in the provision of particular

kinds of labour such as crews for shipping companies). Also of great importance was the distinction between companies whose functions were limited to pre-selecting potential migrants for interviews with foreign employers (who would later come to the country themselves to make final decisions on who to hire), through to organisations that not only supplied labour but also were effectively employers of migrant work gangs engaged under contract to complete specific international assignments. This diversity in company type matched to some extent the complex classification of recruitment-employment regimes in which the gangmasters were engaged (for more detail see Findlay and McCollum, under review).

4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The aim of the research was to shed light on the processes responsible for the production of the ideal migrant worker. It involved interviews with 87 employers and recruitment agencies (70 in the UK and 17 in Latvia). The research was part of a wider investigation of the labour market dimensions of recent A8 immigration (McCollum and Findlay, 2011).

The research focused on the hospitality, food production and processing sectors and took place across four rural and urban case study sites in UK: Southampton, Sussex/Hampshire, Glasgow and Fife/Angus, as well as in Riga (Latvia's capital) and in a rural district of western Latvia called Saldus. The Latvian State Employment Agency register of recruitment agencies was used to identify labour providers who were supplying workers to the UK. In addition, five of the interviews were conducted with Latvian employers and three with policymakers. The policymakers interviewed were responsible for designing and implementing welfare, labour market and migration policies. Most of the interviewees held senior positions in their organisations, such as heads of government departments or directors of Latvian firms and recruitment agencies. Most interviews took place at the interviewee's place of work and lasted for over an hour. The interviews were recorded using a digital voice recorder. The interviews were then transcribed and the transcriptions analysed by the researchers.

An interesting aspect of the research involved interviewees being asked not only to describe but also to draw their conception of the ideal worker. This was to encourage research participants to carefully consider, articulate and give bodily form to their perceptions of the characteristics and qualities of the ideal migrant worker. The strategy of using images in

migration research is not entirely novel (van Blerk and Ansell, 2006; Ortega-Alcazar and Dyck, 2012). For example, Gibbons and Stiles (2004) asked children in different cultural settings to draw various 'ideal' people, including the ideal person for particular occupations such as doctors and social workers. The research described here is however the first attempt by migration researchers to get research participants to draw images as a means of encouraging discussion of the embodied nature of international labour migration. The procedure worked well with more self-confident interviewees, who tended to draw the most detailed sketches and who were the most articulate in their descriptions of the features that they had drawn. By contrast, those that felt self-conscious about the process of drawing pictures for researchers whom they had only recently met, were less effective research participants. Overall the process of asking participants to sketch at the same time as talking was of value because the drawing tool complicated the respondent's story and forced them to interpret their images of the migrant. This often involved reconciling contradictory accounts and straying from politically correct statements of how they recruited staff, thus forcing them to discuss the social practices underpinning the embodied dimensions of the good worker.

5. THE CONSTRUCTION OF BODILY FORMS THROUGH DISCOURSE

The focus of this section is representations of migrant 'goodness' in relation to the body. This theme is explored by examination of the discourses used by recruiters to verbally describe the qualities of the ideal labour migrant and through analysis of how these idealised images are represented in the form of sketches of the good worker. Consideration is also given to the implications of the understandings and representations in terms of how they shape the practices of recruitment agencies and how these in turn mould and channel migration patterns.

As has been mentioned, a key facet of the research involved asking recruiters to represent the components of bodily 'goodness' that constitute an ideal migrant worker in visual form through sketches. Drawings of the qualities associated with the good worker varied according to the type of work that they would be engaged in. For example physical capability was particularly valued by recruiters for the agribusiness sector whereas physical attractiveness was deemed to be of importance by those supplying workers to the hospitality sector. Two of the visual representations, and the verbal descriptions which accompanied them, are reproduced below to provide a sense of the key characteristics of bodies which

recruiters strive to seek out and shape as part of the product (good workers) that they provide for overseas employers. Interviewee representations of the 'ideal bodies' for the hospitality and IT sectors are shown below. Pseudonyms are used to protect interviewee anonymity.

Figure 3: The ideal worker: hospitality

The sketch in and of itself is unremarkable, but while producing the sketch, Velta interpreted the drawing and it is the interpretation that is significant. Velta notes:

"The people who work in hospitality need to be social and communicative .... she must smile because with a smile you can progress much better, because people are much more responsive to you. So the smile demonstrates that you are open. And your eyes should be open to the other person and what they are offering you – so I have drawn the eyes wide open. The ears have to be big to hear opportunities, but not too big because you have to look well... she has to look well – it is appearance that matters, the woman has to be good looking. She should be slim but slim does not mean that she is a pushover. She has to follow a certain dress code and in each bag she needs to carry a bag, to balance. One bag is for beauty and the other is for work... it shows her personality to be able to balance things because she also needs to have a personality so that her looks do not define her. The legs need to be able to run in the right direction, so that you are flexible and mobile – not just geographically mobile but able to adapt for things that you don't expect and ready to change"

Velta, employer, education sector

Note how Velta assumes the body will be young and female, but also interprets the embodiment of the good worker as inhabiting a healthy body - 'she has to look well', and a regulated appearance – 'she has to follow a certain dress code' as well as being mobile and flexible - thus not only 'able to run in the right direction' but also 'able to adapt'. This seems to be an acknowledgement that the 'hyperflexibility' that Anderson (2010) has described is evident in an embodied vision of the good worker.

Figure 4 shows an interviewee's portrayal of the ideal worker in the IT industry. The description of the drawing offered by Teodors is insightful.
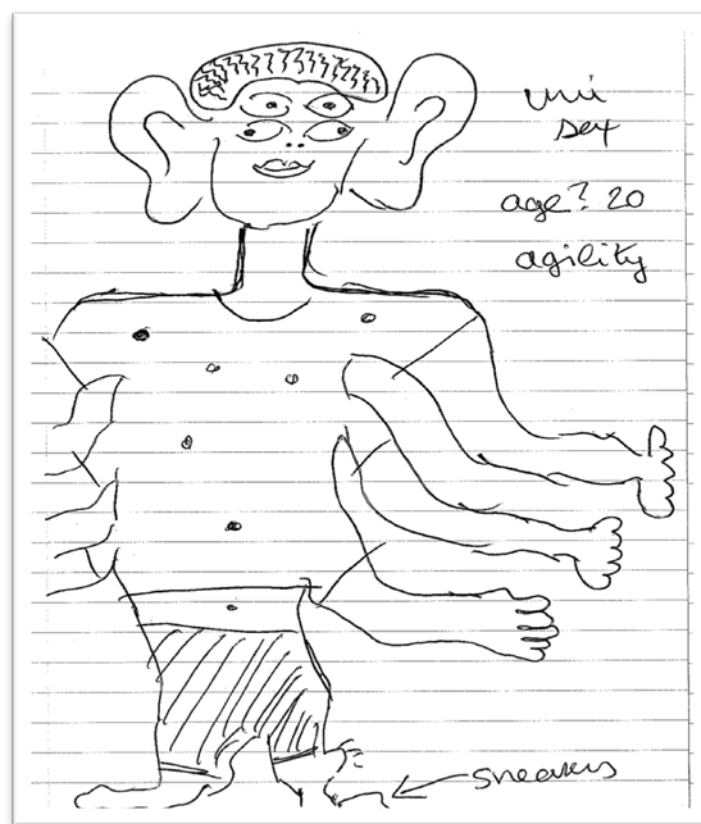
Figure 4: The ideal worker: IT

"The head has big brains and two sets of ears, we need somebody who has two sets of eyes so that they can focus on their work and the other set is looking around them... two sets of eyes, one looking straight ahead and the other at their environment. They should be a brainiac and be like the India Sheba with the six arms - two arms on the keyboard, two that can go out and eat something so that they don't have to get up from their desk... we actually need two people in one but we just need one mouth so that there is one clear message - so one mouth, smiling and big ears - so that they can listen... we need a neck because we want the head to be able to turn around. We need strong shoulders because they carry PCs all the time so surprisingly you need to be fit. So we have got these strong shoulders because it helps teamwork too. So I'll draw the six arms and good fingers for the keyboards and equipment. The legs are strong

to carry themselves and their colleagues... and they will be wearing sneakers - it is mad around here so you have got to be quick'.

Teodors, employer, IT sector

Despite being from a very different sector to Velta, Teodors describes the good worker in strikingly similar terms, with adaptiveness and flexibility emerging as dominant themes in both narratives. However Teodors places less of an emphasis on attractiveness and instead emphasises mental capacity 'a brainiac' and physical capability 'you need to be fit'.

6. THE SHAPING OF 'GOODNESS' IN RELATION TO THE BODY: KEY THINGS ABOUT BODIES

The striking detail of interpretation given by Velta and Teodors for bodily 'goodness' was typical of many respondents. Table 1 lists examples of the commentaries elicited from some of the respondents while they were sketching the ideal migrant and indicates many of the embodied dimensions of the good worker. As is evident from the quotes, the functionality of each part of the body was identified as important – but each part also signified other characteristics – thus the legs represented not only the potential for physical mobility but also signified adaptability (Rihards). Similarly hands and arms had to not only appear 'fit' and able to undertake physical work (Kristaps) but also a 'proactive' attitude in being 'ready' to engage in new tasks (Zuzka).

Sign	Significance	Signifier
'Smiling person' (Peteris)	'Positive attitude' (Peteris)	Affable, flexible, uncritical
'The eyes need to be wide open' (Velta)	'To see the other person and what they are offering' (Velta)	Resourceful, open, proactive
'Have their head on their shoulders' (Alise)	'Open to different opportunities' (Alise)	Astute, positivity, mobile
'A fit guy with hands' (Kristaps)	'They need to be able to use the hands because the employee must do everything perfectly' (Kristaps)	Dexterity, meticulousness, competence
'Good walking feet' (Peteris)	'Hospitality is a hard job so you will be tired after the long shifts' (Peteris)	Stamina, determination, resilience
'The hands are up' (Zuzka)	'They are ready and they are proactive' (Zuzka)	Flexible, ambitious, accessible
'The legs are ready to walk' (Rihards)	'Adaptive and prepared to go to where it is necessary to go and not wait for a miracle to happen' (Rihards)	Mobile, flexible, proactive
'Not very tall, just normal' (Ludvigs)	'180cm or more is a problem because some farmers are table top growers and tall people cannot bend low enough' (Ludvigs)	Capable, suitable for farm work, selectable
'The height of the heels and length of the skirt matter' (Alise)	'If the heels are too high and skirt is too short then most probably something is wrong' (Alise)	Professional, compliant, self-regulating
'No visible tattoos and piercings removed during working hours' (Daina)	'Interested in changing themselves' (Daina)	Self-regulating, compliant, presentable
'You have to be good looking' (Alise)	'Thinking about what the first impression is' (Alise)	Forward thinking, astute, keen

Table 1: The meanings given to the body by recruitment agents seeking the good worker

Almost regardless of the sector or skill level being discussed, interviewees emphasised the importance of potential workers having the 'right' attitude.

"Attitude is the number one thing... so it is also important what qualifications you have but it is more about your qualities as a person: what will it be like to work with you? Because people can be very qualified but if they don't work well for others then it spoils everything and we have to send them home"

Aija, labour provider

Traits usually associated with the 'right' attitude often revolved around notions of workers being 'flexible', 'mobile' and 'open' to new ideas and propositions. These perceptions chimed with the evidence from interviews carried out by the researchers in the UK, where respondents universally praised the positive work-ethic of Eastern European workers and often compared their attitude very favourably to domestic workers. Whilst this

study did not directly engage with migrant workers, these findings raise interesting questions regarding the issue of the 'performativity of workplace identities' (McDowell 2010, 189) in which migrants consciously construct and monitor their appearance and actions in order to 'fit' the preconceived traits that are associated with their nationality. National stereotypes can work to the advantage of some migrant groups, since recruitment based on assumptions about the perceived positive skills and attributes of nationals from particular places means that employers look more favourably on them than groups with less positive connotations, such as the unemployed (Lucas and Mansfield, 2010).

An interesting theme to emerge from the research was social constructions and representations of a 'Latvian' attitude that was distinct not only from that of workers in receiving countries but also from other East-Central Europeans. In contrast to the often homogenising term 'East European' (sometimes misrepresented as Polish) referred to frequently in the UK interviews, the Latvian research evidence suggested that labour recruiters in Riga, sought to differentiate the added value that could be achieved by employing a Latvian migrant.

"Latvian workers - you know why we are all so successful? Because for about 700 of the last 800 years Latvia has been under somebody [occupied], so Latvian people always just put their posture down and get on with the job. Polish people are traders and worriers: 'let's make a strike and nobody will work'. But the Latvian people are easier to manage and employers like it when they give instructions and they get done without lots of questions... so maybe he [the ideal worker] is like a soldier where you just do what you are needed to do"

Kristaps, labour provider

Kristap's vocabulary is interesting. Not only does he immediately introduce the concept of power, with Latvians being used to being 'under somebody', but even more strongly he suggests that the response to requests of those in authority is unquestioning - 'like a soldier', distinguishing Latvians from Poles as passive and offering no resistance. Both Aija and Kristaps therefore begin to present an understanding of the perceptions of Latvian recruiters as agents operating on behalf of foreign employers who expect workers to have the self-discipline to respond to commands 'like a soldier' (Kristaps). And the consequence for migrants who failed to demonstrate this kind of Foucauldian self-regulating discipline, would be an external disciplining by the recruitment-employment regime whose agents would 'have to send them home' (Aija).

The interviewees also showed a clear awareness of ways in which recruiters felt they could maximise power over applicants, with the submissiveness of applicants being regionally constructed. For unskilled manual jobs, rural peoples were represented as having fewer work opportunities and as a consequence they were represented as being more willing to conform to unpleasant foreign work regimes. Thus:

"The ideal worker is from the countryside, people from the villages do not have experience and they have poor English language abilities ... but for a farm placement that person will work a lot harder and a lot better than someone who is from the city"

Juris, labour provider

Other socio-demographic categories whose characteristics were 'essentialised' as submissive on account of their limited power to resist included middle-aged women and older people.

"The best workers are females aged 40-45: females will just work and not drink and older people are willing to work in pack houses and things. British people and our people who do know English do not want to work in agriculture. But the older people are happiest to do it and are working hard because they can't find work here [in Latvia], nobody needs them and they can only get farm work abroad and they go and do that because what they can get here is not enough for living"

Ludvigs, labour provider

Thus, workers with low levels of employability and those living in economically slack local labour markets were seen as ideal for certain types of roles as a result of their 'realistic expectations' and the pressure on them to access more or less any form of employment.

The manner in which candidates looked and acted was often used as a proxy for their outlook. A number of signifiers of attitude were highlighted by the recruiters.

6.1 FACIAL EXPRESSION

Velta commented on the importance of 'the smile' but this was repeated time after time in the interviews as an indicator of a positive attitude.

There is a smile, so the person is accessible and available for the communication (Rihards)

6.2 STANCE

In the drawings good workers were often represented as having particular postures which were said to represent positive and pro-active attitudes.

The hands matter because this person is very flexible and very active, this person is not waiting for something so the hands are up and ready and they are proactive (Zuzka)

6.3 PRESENTATION

How candidates present themselves was also regarded as a marker of their attitude.

It is most important not to have visible tattoos, piercings you can remove during working hours and of course there are the standard things like having your hair looking okay... and if the candidates are really interested they are changing themselves and if they are not interested then we are not very sorry if they do not get the job (Daina)

Bodily characteristics that signify a 'good' attitude towards work were universally represented as being central to understandings of what the ideal worker looks like. The aspects of other physical attributes which were valued varied across different sectors. For agricultural work, physical agility, endurance and hardiness were represented as being important.

Some employers say you must look at the hands because the employee must do everything perfectly, so I have drawn a fit guy who is able to use the hands... and the reality is that most of the jobs are on legs, if it is an easy job sitting and doing things then it as an English person that will be doing it, local people yeah... usually they are on their legs so strong legs are important (Kristaps)

In the hospitality sector 'pleasantness' of appearance was usually an important consideration for recruiters.

She has to look well, it is appearance which matters... she should be slim but slim does not mean that she is a push over... the woman has to be good looking and to be able to protect herself and be an interesting communicator. (Velta)

7. THE PERFORMANCE OF 'GOODNESS': FROM REPRESENTATIONS TO PRACTICE

The previous section set out how 'goodness' is constructed by recruiters in relation to the ideal migrant body. What follows is an analysis of the implications of these representations in terms of how they affect the practices that recruiters use in identifying and selecting appropriate candidates to send to overseas based employers.

7.1 SELECTION OF PERFORMATIVE INDICATORS

The representations of the 'good worker' discussed in the previous section show how significant actors perceive the target group that gangmasters and employment agencies were trying to recruit. The interviewees in these firms often claimed that their representations were simply a reflection of the characteristics that UK employers were seeking. Consider Peteris, for example, a recruiter who notes with regard to finding candidates for hospitality sector:

'For hospitality there are usually no or few specific written requirements but you know what the employer wants... the candidate has to look right so if you are recruiting for reception positions then you should be young and nice with really good English knowledge. But these things, nobody is telling explicitly and also you cannot say that you are looking for a female because you cannot put up such an advertisement. But everybody knows that okay. The advertisement says that I am looking for a receptionist and into my office will come males and females and of course I will be polite to the males... well actually I will not even put them on the shortlist because I know they want a female'

Peteris, labour provider

This interviewee claimed (in line with most recruiters that we spoke to) that as an employment agency 'you know what the employer wants', before re-iterating some of the physical characteristics of the good worker discussed earlier. He also goes on to indicate the implicit link between possessing these 'knowledges' and the recruitment practices that flow from them – not shortlisting 'bodies' that do not fit the 'ideal image' in terms of gender, age or looks. Indeed we see the complex negotiation by recruiters of state equality legislation in relation to recruitment practices.

Anderson (2010, 312) has rightly recognised that to some extent immigration controls act as 'a mould constructing certain types of workers through the selection of legal entrants'. The research reported here, examines this idea at a different scale, suggesting that recruitment agencies and gangmasters in applying the 'mould' of the 'good worker' in their selection practices also have a powerful influence in 'constructing' migration. The agencies

interviewed revealed that their recruitment practices filtered the bodies of potential migrants in several stages during the selection process. Consider Kristaps once again:

'The selection is in three stages, first there is a medical questionnaire to check how healthy they are and then there is the berry game where they have to grade plastic strawberries quickly. That's to test their ability using both hands and their methodical thinking. And the third stage is intuition and our feeling about how they behave during the presentation. Because if somebody is just talking to their friends and not paying attention about where he will be living and you can tell that he just wants to have a good summer and he will not be a good worker... last year we interviewed 5,000 people and sent 1,500, so you see how many people get filtered out'

Kristaps, labour provider

7.2 MEASUREMENT OF COMPETENCIES AND SKILLS

7.2.1 HEALTHY

Although recruiters reported a range of different selection procedures (relating mainly to the sectors that they supplied to), the staged approach identified by Kristaps was shared by many. First most recruiters had a process for ensuring only 'fit' bodies were selected. The medical screening of the healthy body was of course not always by questionnaire (as with Kristaps), but ranged from full medical checks to visual interpretations of what the recruiters considered the essential characteristics of the healthy body.

7.2.2 COMPETENCE

Kristaps notes that after filtering for the healthy body, the next selection criteria involved checking for a proven capability. In this case of fruit pickers this involved the dexterity of applicants (notice that he was interested both in physical and mental capability). Other agencies described other tasks or trial assignments that they set for applicants (e.g. a carpentry workshop for potential recruitment of joiners (Aija)) to test their physical and mental aptitude for the work. Not surprisingly, more skilled work was also evaluated not only in terms of checking educational certificates but through, for example, language testing.

7.2.3 COMPLIANCE

Interestingly nearly all agencies were in accord with Kristaps third stage – the 'intuitive' assessment of the compliant 'body'. Others went further admitting 'we evaluate people not very legally, but we just have a look and … it is clear to us whether or not he is okay' (Gabriels). But to be 'okay', judgements of the migrant returned to the issues of 'attitude' and

'appropriate' submissive flexible behaviour by the workers during the period of physical surveillance by the recruiter.

7.2.4   SELF-MODIFICATION

If the three stages identified by Kristaps and others involved a range of selection practices to check for the healthy body, the capable body and a compliant body, many recruiters added a fourth embodied practice – that of asking successful candidates to engage in self-modification. Thus: *to work in hospitality... with people for these positions I have said that you have to take some ear rings out and cut your hair and it should be one colour and so on and we even provide a list of hair and hygiene characteristics that they need to have* (Peteris), while another agency described embodied practices that formed part of their orientation course. This involved *'teaching them to smile. We say: go home and stay in front of the mirror and practice. But we have problems with not smiling because that is the reason for half of our candidates getting refused by employers...'* (Daina)

The evidence of the quotations presented above can be thought of as illustrating a range of recruitment procedures and migrant performances that translate the embodied images of the 'good worker' held by our interviewees into identifiable 'practices' that shape and produce the 'bodily goodness' of the 'good worker'. The mapping of some of the representations of the good worker in terms of practices and performances is summarised in Table 2.

Discourses of the good worker	Practices and performances	Outcomes
The healthy body	Medical questionnaire and judgements based on physical appearance	Those deemed not physically able to do the job are rejected
The capable body	Selection process involves specific tasks e.g. grading fake plastic berries	Only those able to demonstrate aptitude to certain tasks selected
Appropriate embodiment of the good worker	List (or tacit understanding) of physical characteristics that candidates must meet (e.g.no piercings, visible tattoos, hair style and colour)	Only those regarded as looking 'right' are selected
Good attitude, right motivation	Meet all candidates and follow 'gut feeling' about them. Surveillance of attitude during set tasks, as well as a probing of motivation in interview sessions	Those not looking or sounding 'right' are rejected. Only those wanting to work abroad for the 'right' reasons and' expectations are selected
A good level of English	Application forms in English and hold interviews in English	Only those with a satisfactory standard of English are selected

Table 2: From representation to practice in constructing the good worker.

8. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This paper has argued that an extension to the theorisation of a migrant division of labour (Wills *et al*, 2010) can be developed by exploring recruitment and employment practices that lie beyond the arena of global cities or other migrant destination regions. The ways in which employers exercise their preferences for some migrant employees over others in the hiring queue (Model, 2002) needs to be considered not only within the immediate proximate labour markets in which people are employed, but also in relation to the more distant places from which migrants are sourced. In studying how and why certain people are engaged in low wage employment and not others, this paper has argued that it is necessary to recognise that employers often are unwilling to invest the time and effort in engaging directly in recruitment screening, and as a result use gangmasters and international recruitment agencies. The authors' research suggests that these recruitment firms are engaged not only to find appropriate labour 'skills', but are also charged with selecting 'motivated' workers who fit with employer's 'national and racialised stereotypes' (Wills *et al*, 2010, 54).

The original contribution of this paper is therefore in arguing that recruitment agencies play a key part in shaping migration geographies both at home and abroad. They do so not only by engaging in spatially selective recruitment of labour from certain places rather than others (by essentialising the type of potential migrants to be found in particular places), but more significantly they produce migration outcomes through their hiring practices that draw socially constructed boundaries around migrant bodies – those that are deemed 'ideal' relative to images of the 'good worker' (Scott *et al*, 2008) and those that are not. This research has focused on the role of recruiters in the processes that produce good workers. But it should be re-emphasised that this is a dual process in which migrants self-regulate themselves as well as being directly regulated by recruiters. The production of the good worker is thus a mutually conditioning process in which the practices of labour migrants and those who select and recruit them are interlinked and difficult to differentiate from one another. By acting and presenting themselves according to their interpretations of what recruiters and employers want, migrants serve to reinforce dominant understandings of the attributes that constitute the good worker.

The empirical research on which this paper rests has identified three main features that deepen understanding of how the migrant division of labour is produced in contemporary Europe. First, the paper analysed some of the stereotypes referred to by UK employers and

Latvian recruitment firms and how they were translated into highly selective recruitment of certain types of migrant. Not surprisingly, interviewees made essentialist claims about how migrants sourced from certain places would have particular traits that could subsequently be exploited to advantage within the migrant division of labour. For example, 'rural' places and areas near to the Russian border were characterised by recruiters as being locations providing job seekers who would have 'less choice' and thus would accept less desirable jobs (Kristaps), while employers in certain sectors were represented as desiring women of a certain age because they would be more subservient and compliant when faced with the disciplines of low paid routine work (Ludvigs). Thus, analysis of the interview transcripts has provided evidence of recruitment agencies operating as social institutions, regulating through the recruitment process who gains access to international work opportunities on a basis that is governed not so much by economic differentials (wage gaps between sending and receiving areas) as by gendered and cultural stereotypes of the traits associated with a strong 'motivation' to work hard (a desirable work ethic) and to accept the self-disciplining routines deemed necessary for those required to accept dirty or undesirable work by their employers.

A second contribution was found in the graphical images of the ideal migrant elicited from respondents. Although interviewees represented their firms as professional organisations following international regulated practices governing how migrants are recruited, the device of requiring respondents to draw what they looked for in a candidate revealed the presence of significant social norms framing the imagined 'ideal' migrant. Thus for potential migrants seeking work in agriculture 'they are not very clever... but the arms need to be strong' (Ludvigs), while for work in hospitality the applicant must 'smile and be good looking...and follow a certain dress code' (Velta). Candidates interviewed for foreign work and displaying characteristics deemed 'undesirable' were excluded (e.g. 'it is important not to have visible tattoos': Daina) because they did not conform to the image of the good worker, as negotiated between the UK employer and the 'trusted' Latvian recruiter (Peteris) whose surveillance practices were funded specifically to filter out deviant bodies.

Third, the paper has noted the practices by which agencies act to select migrants based on the social and cultural norms that they have identified as significant to their international customers. The paper has shown that surveillance of the body often involves at least three levels of engagement commencing with confirmation of a healthy body, coded not only through a medical questionnaire, but also through surveillance of signifiers of physical

incapacity ('old people cannot bend, so it is a problem': Ludvigs). Only those deemed healthy could advance to testing for their physical aptitude for the proposed work (verified for example in the case of potential agricultural migrants via a dexterity test in sorting fruit and vegetables). Finally many interviewees confirmed that their emphasis on worker attitudes was checked (see Kristaps' quote, for example) not only in their self-disciplining of their bodily presentation at interview, but also in terms of observation of behaviour during an applicant's interview or completion of a trial task and as part of their search for people who were 'workaholics and .. not demanding' (Alise).

However, these three findings offer a limited critique of the research findings. No attempt has been made here to determine whether agencies actually behaved as they claimed to do or whether there were contradictions between the textual and graphical images gleaned from the research encounters and the reality of gangmaster and recruitment firm behaviour.

The field research was also not designed to capture irregular recruitment behaviour (Koser, 2009), even although in some interviews agencies confirmed that they were often confronted by candidates from non-EU countries seeking to legitimise their entry to the UK via the semi-compliant action of being recruited by a Latvian agency from within an EU state. Equally it is important to note that the reading of gangmasters and recruitment firms as serving only the interests of UK employers is simplistic. Only 24 per cent of Latvia's 85 agencies claimed to operate uniquely to service the demands of employers. Many claimed to operate to meet the needs of jobseekers, and the research literature (Goss and Lindquist, 1995) confirms that the origin of gangmasters and international recruitment agencies often stems from the demand pressures of potential migrants seeking a means to access work abroad (thus for example former travel agents have been recorded as mutating into recruitment firms). Moreover, elsewhere we have illustrated the complexity of multiple recruiter-employer regimes in the UK (McCollum and Findlay, 2011) and this complexity only increases when mapped onto the transnational field. The business of migration, as monetized by recruitment agencies, clearly therefore incorporates a diversity of social practices that reflect the multiple drivers of the international migration system, and not just the imperatives set down by migrant employers in the country of destination.

In conclusion, this paper has sought to extend understanding of how geographies of international migration are produced by focussing the research lens on one very specific function in the transnational migration system: the activities of international recruitment

agencies. Despite the popularity of recent work focussing on migrant experiences and identity politics, this paper has chosen instead to revisit claims that structural processes are highly significant in setting the contexts within which migrants enter international employment. In particular the paper has unpacked the way that gangmasters and recruitment agencies are employed in the contemporary capitalist system to survey, mould and select labour. The focus here has been on low wage labour. The evidence has suggested that social and cultural readings of the practices of these agencies helps in understanding the embodied, regional and national division of migrant labour. It does so because the power of the recruitment agency over labour is at its greatest during the migrant selection process and this power can be exercised most fully in certain places, and in relation to particular norms informing the recruiter of the embodied form and behaviour of the ideal migrant. Just as international supermarket chains determine what is deemed to be the ideal shape and size of commodities such as fruit and vegetables to be sold in western retail outlets, so too hiring international labour results in a commodification of the body of the migrant worker to reflect the desires of foreign employers. The international migrant division of labour is thus not only gendered and racialised, but it is also embodied. This is a novel contribution to our understanding of embodied transnationalism (Dunn, 2010).

REFERENCES

Allon, F. and Anderson, K. (2010) Intimate encounters: the embodied transnationalism of backpackers and independent travellers, *Population, Space and Place* 16(1); 11-22.

Amin, S. and Thrift, N. (eds) (2004) *The Blackwell Cultural Economy Reader.* Blackwell; Oxford.

Anderson, B. (2010) Migration, immigration controls and the fashioning of precarious workers, *Work, Employment and Society* Volume 24(2); 300-317.

Anderson, B. and Ruhs, M. (2010) Migrant workers: who needs them? A framework for the analysis of staff shortages, immigration and public policy. In M. Ruhs and B. Anderson (eds). *Who needs migrant workers?* Oxford University Press; Oxford; 15-52.

Blanchflower, D., Saleheen, J. and Shadforth, C. (2007) The Impact of the Recent Migration from Eastern Europe on the UK Economy. Institute for the Study of Labour, Discussion Paper Number 2615. Available at: ftp://repec.iza.org/RePEc/Discussionpaper/dp2615.pdf Accessed 17th March 2010.

Borjas, G. (1989) Economic theory and international migration, *International Migration Review* 23, 3; 457-485.

Butcher, M. (2010) From 'fish out of water' to 'fitting in': the challenge of re-placing home in a mobile world, *Population, Space and Place* 16(1); 23-36.

Crang, P. Dwyer, C. Jackson, P. (2003) Transnationalism and the spaces of commodity culture, *Progress in Human Geography* 27(4); 438–456.

Datta, K,. McIlwaine, C., Herbert, J., Evans, Y., May, J. and Wills, J. (2009) Men on the move, *Social and Cultural Geography* 10; 853-73

Dench, S,. Hurstfield, J,. Hill, D. and Ackroyd, K. (2006) Employers' use of migrant labour. Home Office Online Report. Available at: http://www.northamptonshireobservatory.co.uk/docs/docrdsolr0406060818113351.pdf Accessed 9th January 2012.

Duncan, C. and Loretto, W. (2004) Never the right age? Gender and age-based discrimination in employment, *Gender, Work and Organization* 11(1); 95-115.

Dunn, K. (2010) Embodied transnationalism: bodies in transnational spaces. *Population, Space and Place* 16(1); 1-9.

Dustmann, C., Frattini, T. and Halls, C. (2010) Assessing the fiscal costs and benefits of A8 migration to the UK, *Fiscal Studies* 31 (1); 1-41.

Eurostat (2010a) Euro area unemployment rate up to 10.0%. Eurostat news realise: Euro indicators, 29th January 2010. Available at: http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_PUBLIC/3-29012010-AP/EN/3-29012010-AP-EN.PDF Accessed 16th July 2010

Eurostat (2010b) *Europe in figures, Eurostat Yearbook 2010*. Eurostat Statistical Books. Luxembourg.

Findlay, A., Geddes, A. and McCollum, D. (2010) International migration and recession. *Scottish Geographical Journal* 126 (4); 299-320.

Findlay, A. and Li, F. (1998) A migration channels approach to the study of professionals moving to and from Hong Kong, *International Migration Review* 32 (3); 682-703.

Geddes, A. and Scott, S. (2010) UK Food Businesses' Reliance on Low-Wage Migrant Labour: A Case of Choice or Constraint? In M. Ruhs and B. Anderson (eds) *Who needs migrant workers?* Oxford University Press; Oxford; 193-218.

Gibbons, J. and Stiles, D. (2004) *The thoughts of youth: an international perspective of adolescents' ideal persons.* Information Age Publishing; Greenwich, Connecticut.

Goss, J. and Lindquist, B. (1995) Conceptualizing international labor migration: a structuration approach, *International Migration Review* 29 (2); 317-351.

Kanbur, R. and Rapoport, H. (2005) Migration selectivity and the evolution of spatial inequality, *Journal of Economic Geography* 5; 43-57.

Kancs, d'A. (2010) The economic geography of labour migration: competition, competitiveness and development. *Applied Geography* 31(1); 191-200.

Kofman, E. (2010) Managing migration and citizenship in Europe: towards an overarching framework. In C. Gabriel and H. Pellerin (eds) *Governing International Labour Migration.* Routledge; London; 13-26.

Koser, K. (2009) Dimensions and dynamics of irregular migration. *Population, Space and Place* Special Issue; 181-193.

Koyama, Y. (2010) Economic crisis in new EU Member States in Central and Eastern Europe: focusing on Baltic States, *Romanian Economic and Business Review* 5(3); 31-55.

Lee, R. (2010) Economic society/Social geography. In S.J. Smith, R. Pain, S. Marston and J.P. Jones (eds) *The Sage Handbook of Social Geographies*. Sage; London; 205-221.

Longhurst, R. (2001) *Bodies: Exploring Fluid Boundaries.* Routledge; New York.

Lucas, R. and Mansfield, S. (2010) The use of migrant labour in the hospitality sector: current and future implications. In M. Ruhs and B. Anderson (eds) *Who needs migrant workers?* Oxford University Press. Oxford; 159-186.

MacKenzie, R. and Forde, C. (2009) The rhetoric of the "good worker" versus the realities of employers' use and the experiences of migrant workers, *Work, Employment and Society* 23(1); 142-159.

McCollum, D. and Findlay, A. (2011) Employer and labour provider perspectives on Eastern European migration to the UK, *Centre for Population Change Working Paper,* 14. Available at: http://www.cpc.ac.uk/publications/2011_WP14_McCollum_Findlay.pdf Accessed 26th January 2012

McDowell, L. (2010) Commentary on: the use of migrant labour in the hospitality sector: current and future implications. In M. Ruhs and B. Anderson (eds) *Who needs migrant workers?* Oxford University Press; Oxford; 187-192.

Massey, D. (1999) International labour migration at the dawn of the twenty-first century: the role of the state, *Population and Development Review* 25(2); 303-322.

Matthews, G. and Ruhs, M. (2007) *The micro-foundations of labour shortages: deconstructing employer demand for migrant workers in the UKs hospitality sector.* COMPAS. Oxford.

Meyer, E. (2010) *Gender and Sexual Diversity in Schools.* Springer. London.

Model, S. (2002) Immigrants' social class in three global cities. In M. Cross and R. Moore (eds) *Globalization and the new city: Migrants, minorities and urban transformations in comparative perspective*. Palgrave; Basingstoke; 82-118.

Nast, H. J. and Pile, S. (1998) Introduction: making places bodies. In H. J. Nast and S. Pile (eds) *Places through the Body.* Routledge; London; 1-21.

Nickson, D., Warhurst, C. and Dutton, E. (2005) The importance of attitude and appearance in the service encounter in retail and hospitality, *Managing Service Quality* 15(2); 195-208.

Ortega-Alcazar, I. and Dyck, I. (2012) Migrant narratives of health and wellbeing: Challenging stereotypes and 'othering' processes through photo-elicitation interviews, *Critical Social Policy*, 32(1); 106-125.

Riga Municipality (2011) *Annual Report 2010*. Riga Municipality; Riga.

Ruhs, M. and Anderson, B. (2010) Introduction. In M. Ruhs and B. Anderson (eds). *Who needs migrant workers?* Oxford University Press; Oxford; 1-14.

Scott, S., McCormick, A. and Zaloznik, M. (2008) Staff Shortages and Immigration in Agriculture. A Paper Prepared for the Migration Advisory Committee. Available at: http://www.martinfrost.ws/htmlfiles/may2009/immigration-agriculture-2008.pdf Accessed 4th May 2011.

Sjaastad, L. A. (1962) The costs and returns of human migration, *Journal of Political Economy* 70(5); 80-93.

Teather, E. (ed) (1999). *Embodied Geographies.* Routledge; London.

Thompson, P., Newsome, K. and Commander, J. (2012) Good when they want to be: migrant workers in the supermarket supply chain, *Human Resource Management Journal.* Published online 3rd January 2012; 1-15.

van Blerk, L. and Ansell, N. (2006) Imagining migration: the impact of place on children's understanding of 'moving house' in Southern Africa, *Geoforum* 37(2); 256-272.

Waldinger, R. D. and Lichter, M. (2003) *How the other half works: immigration and the social organisation of labour.* University of California Press; Berkeley.

Weisbrot, M. and Ray. R. (2010) Latvia's Recession: The Cost of Adjustment With An Internal Devaluation, Centre for Economic and Policy Research; Washington D.C. Available at: http://www.cepr.net/documents/publications/latvia-recession-2010-02.pdf Accessed 16th July 2010.

Wills, J., May, J., Datta, K,. Evans, Y., Herbert, J. and McIlwaine, C. (2009) London's migrant division of labour, *European Urban and Regional Studies* 16; 257-271.

Wills, J., Datta, K., Evans, Y., Herbert, J., May, J. and McIlwaine, C. (2010) *Global Cities at Work*. Pluto Press; London.

Woolfson, C. (2009) Labour migration, neoliberalism and ethno-politics in the New Europe: the Latvian case. *Antipode* 41(5); 952-982.

ESRC Centre for Population Change
Building 58, Room 2001
Faculty of Social and Human Sciences
University of Southampton
SO17 1BJ

T: +44 (0)2380 592579
E: cpc@soton.ac.uk
www.cpc.ac.uk

To subscribe to the CPC newsletter and keep up-to-date with research activity, news and events, please register online: www.cpc.ac.uk/newsletter

You can also follow CPC on Twitter, Facebook and Mendeley for our latest research and updates:

www.facebook.com/CPCpopulation

www.twitter.com/CPCpopulation

www.mendeley.com/groups/3241781/centre-for-population-change

The ESRC Centre for Population Change (CPC) is a joint initiative between the University of Southampton and a consortium of Scottish universities including St Andrews, Edinburgh, Stirling and Strathclyde, in partnership with the Office for National Statistics and National Records of Scotland.