Pathways of Settlement among Recent Migrants in Super-diverse Areas

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Research Report: Pathways of Settlement among Recent Migrants in Super-diverse Areas

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Abstract

This report summarizes the main findings of the research into how new migrants find ways to settle when they do not have existing support structures to 'dock onto'. It first sets out the nature of the study and defines the notion of pioneer migrants, before moving on to introduce the research sites and methodology. The remainder of the report addresses the findings of the project, focussing on the most relevant issues around settlement such as legal status and integration into the labour market, but also including the role of social relations when settling in a new place

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Introduction

Urban diversity has taken on new forms in recent years. The nature of immigration has been changing globally, and over the past two decades, the demographic changes brought by immigration have accelerated. People have been arriving under various legal categories such as work schemes, economic migrants, students, asylum-seekers, undocumented persons, and more, and they have been coming from a range of countries of origin, doing a broader range of jobs and taking a variety of migration routes. These new patterns of immigration have resulted in super-diversity – a condition of more mixed origins, ethnicities, languages, religions, work and living conditions, legal statuses, periods of stay, and transnational connections than many cities have ever faced (Meissner & Vertovec 2015; Vertovec 2007).. These migrants might not be able to 'dock onto' an already existing 'community' when they arrive. How do these migrants settle? What kinds of networks of support do they form? Where do they get information about settlement, and how do they find housing and work? What role do factors such as educational background, ethnic background or legal status play in their settlement process? This research addressed these questions by comparing experiences of settlement among newcomers in East London and Birmingham who have arrived within the last ten years.

This report summarizes the main findings of the research. It first sets out the nature of the study and defines the notion of pioneer migrants, before moving on to introduce the research sites and methodology. The remainder of the report addresses the findings of the project, focussing on the most relevant issues around settlement such as legal status and integration into the labour market, but also including the role of social relations when settling in a new place, and how newcomers develop a sense of belonging to the neighbourhoods in which they settle.[1]

About the study

Studies on migration and migrant settlement most often focus either on migrants from a specific country of origin, or of a specific legal status (i.e. refugees, students, highly-skilled migrants, etc.). This project attempted to account for the diversification of migration by focussing on a broad range of countries of origin and migrants with various educational backgrounds, legal statuses, religions and other such factors. Thus, rather than focussing on established ethnic minorities, it investigated patterns of settlement of people who lack an established 'community' in the UK. Many of them come from relatively new source countries (for example Eastern Europe, Francophone African countries, Central Asia or Latin America). Others might come from long-established source countries, but they might have different religious, class or educational backgrounds and therefore form a new 'cohort' of migrants. The newcomers who formed part of this study could also be described as 'pioneer migrants'. They shared the fact that they had few social contacts when they arrived, and that they

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[1] Parts of this report have been published in the following journal articles and book chapters:

Wessendorf, S. (2016). Settling in a super-diverse context: Recent migrants' experiences of conviviality. *Journal of Intercultural Studies, 37*(5), 449-463.

Wessendorf, S. (2017). Pathways of Settlement among Pioneer Migrants in Super-Diverse London. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*.

Wessendorf, S. (2018)[forthcoming]. 'All the people speak bad English.' Communicating across differences in a super-diverse context. In A. Creese & A. Blackledge (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook on Language and Superdiversity*.

Wessendorf, S. (2017)[forthcoming]. Migrant belonging, social location and the neighbourhood: recent migrants in East London and Birmingham. *Urban Studies*.

Wessendorf, S. (2017 [forthcoming]). Pioneer migrants and their social relations in super-diverse London. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*.

had arrived within the last ten years. The aim of this focus was to move away from the assumption that country of origin or ethnicity are the main factors shaping migrant settlement. Also critiqued as 'methodological nationalism', scholars have pointed to the overemphasis of ethnicity and country of origin in analysing migration and migrant settlement (Fox & Jones, 2013; Glick Schiller, Çağlar, & Guldbrandsen, 2006; Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002).

The settlement process of migrants and their children has also been conceptualised with the term 'integration', both as a framework for policies and practices towards migrants and minorities, and as an academic concept (Berry, 1997; Favell, 2003; Vertovec & Cohen, 1999). Academic literature has identified various indicators and types of integration ranging from social, to economic and cultural (Ager & Strang, 2004; Penninx & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2016; White, 1998). However, the notion of integration has been criticised because it presumes that there is a coherent national society into which migrants can/should integrate (Favell, 2001). In light of the current diversification of society, the question could be asked what 'unit' migrants were supposed to 'integrate into', an 'ethnic group', 'local community', 'social group' or more generally 'British society' (Castles et al. 2002:114). By drawing on this criticism, the project looked at processes of integration in contexts which are already shaped by previous immigration. It investigated processes of integration 'from below', by focussing on the everyday activities of new migrants, their interaction with diverse local populations and their own perceptions of integration.

One of the most important aspects of integration are social networks, namely the social relations migrants have when they arrive in a new country. Literature on migrant settlement has used Bourdieu's (1986) notion of social capital to describe the role of social relations in regards to the integration of migrants (Cheung & Phillimore, 2013; Goodson & Phillimore, 2008). Pioneer migrants usually arrive with very little social capital because they do not join other migrants who might help them settle. However, few migrants arrive unconnected, and most new arrivals have at least one connection with someone from their country of origin. These initial connections have also been described as 'foundation networks' (Phillimore, Humphris, & Khan, 2014). These foundation networks can be crucial for settlement. Social relations were thus in the centre of the project, as they play such an important role for how migrants manage to forge a new life in the UK.

Defining pioneer migrants

What is a pioneer migrant? Migration processes can be divided into different stages in order to describe how migration from a sending to a destination country changes and becomes established over time (Lindstrom & López Ramírez, 2010). Migration is often divided into three stages: the initial or pioneer stage, the group migration stage and the 'mass migration' stage (Jones, 1998; Petersen, 1958). The term 'migration system' refers to an established flow of people, goods, services and information between two places or a set of places. Migration systems can result from initial pioneer migration coupled with 'feedback mechanisms' consisting of information travelling back from the destination country. This can then potentially lead to further migration (Mabogunje, 1970; Bakewell, et al. 2012). Migration systems thus 'link people, families and communities over space in what today might be called transnational or translocal communities' (Bakewell et al. 2012:418). An important element of migration systems is chain migration, a process by which potential migrants find out about opportunities and are provided with help for transportation, accommodation and employment by previous migrants (MacDonald & MacDonald, 1964).

Importantly, pioneer migrants are not always the first ones to arrive from their country of origin. Groups from specific countries can be 'broken down into several subgroups, periods of arrival, and modes of and reasons for migrating' (Bakewell et al. 2012:424). For example, national origin 'groups' can consist of several, possibly unrelated sub-groups originating from different regions, cities, ethnic, religious or class groups, migrating at different times, and receiving different legal statuses in the settlement destination. Migrant flows are often differentiated by class and education. In many cases, early pioneers are distinct from later arrivals. Also, early and later arrivals from the same country of origin do not always have much contact, as exemplified in the case of Indian migrants who came to Britain in the 1950s and 1960s and current arrivals (Visram, 2002). To use an example from the project: a Colombian migrant of an educated middle-class background from Bogota might have very little in common with a less educated Colombian migrant who works in the service sector, and neither with the Colombian elite migrants who work in banks or in diplomatic services. She is thus a pioneer migrant of her cohort of middle-class professionals.

Research sites and methodology

The research compared two distinct but complementary areas of the UK: Birmingham and East London. Both places are among the most ethnically diverse areas of Europe. Research in East London primarily concentrated on the Borough of Hackney and its surrounding areas, while research participants in Birmingham lived across the city.

With its population of 257,379, Hackney figures among the most deprived areas in the UK, but it is currently seeing the arrival of an increasing number of middle-class professionals (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2015). Some of them form part of the pioneer migrants described in this paper. It is also one of the most ethnically diverse boroughs in Britain, with only 36.2% of the population being white British, and more than one hundred languages spoken in the borough. Since the 1950s, sizeable groups of immigrants from West Africa, the Caribbean and South Asia have arrived, followed by Turkish, Kurdish and Turkish Cypriot people in the 1970s and 80s (Arakelian, 2007) and Vietnamese refugees in the late 1970s (Sims, 2007). Among the biggest minority groups are Africans (11.4%), people of Caribbean background (7.8%), South Asians (6.4%), Turkish-speaking people (4.5%), Chinese (1.4%) and 'other Asian' (2.7% , many of whom come from Vietnam). 6.4% of the population identify as 'mixed'. This 'old diversity' is now over layered by 'new diversity' (Vertovec ed. 2015), with 35.5 % of Hackney's total population being foreign-born. They come from 58 different countries, ranging from Zimbabwe, Cyprus, Somalia, Iraq, Albania to Denmark, Germany, etc. Recently, there has been an increase in people from Eastern Europe, especially Poland (1.6%), and Spanish speakers from Latin America and Spain (1.5%).[2] Other more recent countries of origin represented in the 2011 census include Australia, the United States, France, Italy, Belgium, Switzerland, Japan and Brazil (London Borough of Hackney 2015).

While the ethnic minority and migrant population of Hackney and surrounding areas is spread out over the various wards, it is different in Birmingham. With its population of just over a million (1,073,045), Birmingham could be described as super-diverse, with a considerable increase in immigration-related diversity since 2001. Neighbourhoods such as Lozells and East Handsworth house residents from 170 different countries, ranging from Poland to Somalia, China, Nigeria,

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[2] The number of the total population is taken from the ONS 2013 Mid Year Estimates. The remaining numbers are taken from the 2011 census.

Zimbabwe, Iran, etc. (Birmingham City Council, 2013; Phillimore, 2013). 53.1% of Birmingham's population are white British. The biggest ethnic minority groups are Pakistani (13.5%,) Indian (6.0%), Bangladeshi (3%), Black Caribbean (4.4%) and Black African (2.8%) (Birmingham City Council, 2013). In contrast to Hackney and its surrounding areas, however, these ethnic minorities primarily live within specific wards of Birmingham. For example, three wards of Birmingham (Washwood Heath, Bordesely Green and Sparkbrook) recorded more than 70% of people identifying as Muslim (Birmingham City Council, 2013). Even areas such as Handsworth, which have seen a considerable increase in migrants from a variety of countries of origin, are still dominated by the presence of long-established minority groups from south Asia (54%) and the Caribbean (12.2%). Even if characterized by increasing diversification in terms of countries of origin, the visible presence of these long-established ethnic minorities by way of shops, places of worship, restaurants, etc. also shapes the impression newcomers have about these areas. These demographic differences became apparent when talking to research participants about the areas in which they settled. Those in Birmingham described most neighbourhoods as either Asian or white British, with the exception of the City Centre, where a variety of people of various backgrounds are present during the day. Descriptions of East London, in contrast, were characterized by the emphasis that there were people from all over the world and that nobody dominated the area. I will address these perceptions of visible and audible diversity in further detail in the empirical part of this report.

The research was undertaken between 2014 and 2017, and included 49 in-depth interviews, 4 focus groups with recent migrants, and 22 interviews with people working in the migrant sector, involving a total of 98 respondents. Research participants were found through personal social networks formed during previous fieldwork (in the case of London) (Wessendorf, 2014), snowball sampling, religious and voluntary organisations, English classes, and serendipitous encounters, for example on playgrounds, at school gates or in children-related activities. Respondents came from 42 Countries of origin (see Table 1). Ages ranged from twenty-three to fifty, with thirty-one female and sixteen male interviewees. Fourteen respondents were EU citizens and five had acquired UK citizenship prior to the research. Eight were in the UK on spousal visas, two on a work visa, eight had refugee status, four were asylum seekers and five were either undocumented migrants or refused asylum seekers. Five respondents did not speak English.

Most interviews in Birmingham were undertaken by three research assistants: Almamy Taal, Marisol Reyes and Sheba Saeed. Interviews were conducted in English, French, Italian and Spanish, transcribed and coded in Nvivo.

Using organisations and networks means that most respondents inevitably had some kind of network at the point of interview. However our retrospective approach enabled us to understand network formation in the period before they made that connection. Clearly, we were dependent on the selective memories of respondents. It is highly likely that they had experiences which they either could not, or did not want to, recall. The quotations used in this paper were selected on the basis of their ability to illustrate those issues. Full ethical approval was gained for the project in advance of fieldwork being undertaken, and research participants could chose to change their names.

Findings

The findings are summarized under five main themes: access to employment, the role of legal status in regards to settlement, social networks and friendships, the sense of belonging migrants develop to the places in which they settle, and how migrants adapt to ethnically diverse environments.

Employment and deskilling

When thinking about migrant settlement and the ways newcomers manage to forge a new life in the UK, the sociological differentiation between economic, cultural and social capital is very useful. Economic capital refers to economic resources and assets, while social capital refers to the resources gained from social networks (Bourdieu, 1986; Portes, 1998:6). Cultural capital consists of a persons' collection of knowledge and skills, including formal

education, IT literacy, as well as, in the case of migrants, knowledge of the majority language. It also includes knowledge of the local habitus in terms of taste, dress, style, etc. (Bourdieu, 1990). Importantly, forms of capital can be converted into other forms of capital, an issue particularly relevant to the pioneer migrants, many of whom arrive with the hope to convert their high cultural capital into economic capital (Bourdieu 1986).

While migrants who form part of larger migration movements and chain migrations might have arranged work contracts previous to their arrival, or can dock onto social networks embedded in, for example, niche labour markets such as ethnic businesses (Braun, 1970; Gardner, 1995; Moch, 2003), pioneer migrants cannot draw on such resources. Depending on knowledge of English and educational background, pioneer migrants develop various strategies to find work. Some start off with very practical strategies, like Alisher, who arrived in 2007 with a student visa:

"I made a CV and decided to go around the centre of London and just pass my CV over to some places, no calls, I think it was one of the last CVs, and this guy looked at it and said 'ok, go and shave and come tomorrow'. So I went early, he asked me to come 10 o'clock but the place was closed so I was like wait wait wait, 11 still not open, strange ... he came at 11.30 and asked 'what time did you come?'. I said '10 o clock', he said 'I can see you were waiting a long time, so you need this job'. He took me in from beginning, he showed me everything, I learned something and also practiced my English, I had knowledge and understood, but I couldn't speak much in conversations, it was a good experience, and I also made friends, learned something, basically integrated, it was a big step. So it wasn't just about work, it was more than that, it was learning and experience and meeting different people (Alisher, Uzbekistan)."

Alisher is a typical example of how some of my research participants started off in the UK. Maryam, who is of Chechen background and grew up in Latvia, similarly found work in a restaurant as a result of chatting to the waitresses in Russian, and Gabriela from Brazil found work in a flower shop after handing out her CV to as many flower shops as she could find in the area. Some of these migrants also made new friends within their workplace, which helped them settle. Also, work was described as crucial to improve language skills. Alisher, for example, had come to London to study English, but also needed to find work to finance his studies. The job at the restaurant enabled him to form new friendships and improve his English. Because the restaurant owner was Turkish, Alisher also learned Turkish while working there, a language related to Uzbek. His example shows how work not only facilitates financial security during settlement, but it is also crucial for social integration. Similarly, Maryam from Chechnya managed to slowly improve her English during her waitressing job which, when she first started, was very basic. Improving her language skills enabled her to move on to other, better paid jobs.

One of the surprises which especially highly educated pioneer migrants meet is that they experience considerable deskilling once they arrive in the UK. They rarely find work which matches their educational background or their professional experiences in their country of origin (or the country where they previously lived). Often, they have to start with much less qualified work when first settling in the UK. Recent studies have shown that deskilling among highly skilled migrants is a common pattern, especially during the initial period of settlement (Erel, 2010; Liversage, 2009; McGregor, 2007). For many, this can be due to limited English skills. However, even those migrants who arrive with good English have to start anew when arriving in the UK, and many do not find their professional skills recognized. Paula from Argentina, who was an established journalist in Buenos Aires before moving to the UK, told me about the challenges she faced. One challenge was financial, as she had very limited means to live in London while studying, as opposed to the high salary back in Buenos Aires which afforded her a comfortable life there. While she quickly got used to a more modest life-style, it was after finishing her studies that she faced the real challenge of not being valued for her previous career:

"So for a while I did jobs that I had done 10 years ago, 15 years, translations, organising someone's script, you know, and I was showing my CV. (…) I was one of the youngest editors of Argentina's largest paper, one of the youngest editors they ever had, I had a name in the media, it was a really strong career. I remember showing my CV and thinking, they are treating me like I'm saying I worked in a newsletter in a public community centre (…). I mean the Anglo vision was, nothing that you, and nothing that you have done outside the UK is important (…).It doesn't count. Unless of course you've won the Nobel Prize or the Pulitzer Prize, if you won the Pulitzer prize lets' talk, but aside from that? That was a huge shock. How not interested and not open the English were to receive someone eye to eye."

Other research has shown how de-skilling often results from the non-recognition of foreign credentials, including the dismissal of foreign work experiences, which systematically excludes migrants from highly skilled jobs (Bauder, 2003). Among the research participants of the project presented here, this process often led to wanted or unwanted career changes which sometimes took several years and were accompanied with much frustration about the limited access to higher segments of the labour market. Out of necessity, many skilled migrants have to mould new careers. Paula, mentioned above, ended up founding her own company as a film producer and has been rather successful with it over the years. This decision was partly motivated because, when working for the BBC, she realized that her cultural capital would never be acknowledged as equal to that of her (male, white) British colleagues, despite similar qualifications. This 'privileged access to skilled jobs for those considered properly part of the nation' (Erel, 2010:648) has also been described as 'national capital' (Hage, 1998).

Maria Paula from Colombia exemplifies both the disappointment of not having one's skills recognized, and the way in which migrants have to mould their careers in new and often innovative ways. She came to the UK with a University degree, but wanted to add a degree in political communication for which she was studying at a London University. While she accepted having to work in an admin job in the student office during her studies, she was surprised to find herself working as a receptionist for another three years after she finished her studies. She did not manage to find a way into the job market on the level she felt she was qualified for (and on which she had been working back in Colombia).

"I planned to stay out of Colombia 5 years, planned to do masters and work and [ironically] 'earn a lot of money and then go back and be in a higher position there after my return' [laughs]. Pure dreams! Because I arrived, found it a bit disappointing at University, then finding a job was a nightmare; it was actually not possible to find it in my field. London is extremely competitive, everybody is here, everybody has 3 PhDs, 15 languages, it's amazingly competitive, my English wasn't good enough to be at the level that I thought professionally I should be, and my language wasn't meeting their standards, (...), and then anyways, during the whole process and especially finishing the masters I decided that I didn't want to do that anymore ... And slowly, slowly out of necessity, my career started to change into teaching, and that's what I do now."

Maria Paula now teaches Spanish at schools, organizes workshops on Latin American current affairs for the Colombian embassy and other institutions, and runs a weekly Spanish singing group for parents and their children. She thus slowly set up her own business, and is now happy with what she does.

This is one of many examples of how highly educated migrants change their career as a result of their migration. Like Francisca from Chile, who has a degree in psychology, but worked in various cafes when moving to London. While doing this, she slowly started setting up her own yoga classes, and has managed to increase her teaching and create a new career in this field. Similarly, Aika from Kyrgyzstan studied engineering and then art and fashion in London, while also working in an organic shop. Thanks to the moral and practical support of a British friend's mother, she managed to create her own business, selling children's clothes made of Ghanaian fabric.

Importantly, these migrants also managed to create new careers in the course of time and while becoming more socially embedded in the UK (Ryan & Mulholland, 2015). The social relations they built during this time could also be described as social capital, as some of these relations facilitated the setting up of their new business. Others, however, have not yet been able to achieve the kind of professional life they had wished for when coming to the UK. For example, an engineer from Armenia who lives in Birmingham is working as a security guard despite his qualifications. Another example is that of a migrant from Guinea who studied law in France but is unable to find work in Birmingham due to his language difficulties. Some migrants who arrived with specific skills, such as a painter from Hungary and a beautician from Colombia, found it extremely difficult to transfer their qualification certificates to English certificates, and they had to retrain or re-acquire the official certificates despite having worked in their sectors for many years prior to arrival. Although over time, they have both successfully managed to establish their own businesses in Birmingham, the process of having their skills officially recognized in the UK was extremely frustrating.

This section has described pioneer migrants' attempt to transfer the skills from their countries of origin to the new context of immigration, and to find adequate and satisfactory professional positions in the UK. Often, this process involves unpaid work such as volunteering, and several years of considerable compromises in regards to pay as well as professional status.

Legal status

Having an insecure legal status, for example as asylum seeker or undocumented migrant, impacts on all other aspects of settlement. One of the most crucial issues impacting on settlement is the prohibition to work for asylum seekers. Not being allowed to work not only keeps migrants dependent on the help of the state and charity organisations, but it also prevents them from forming new social relations and integrating into a new place.

The frustration of the prohibition to work is here expressed by Shimaa, an engineer from Egypt who came to Birmingham about a year prior to the interview. Like many others, she describes how she appreciates the support she is given by the government, but that she would rather work and contribute to society.

"They help us, we can't deny this, they give us this house, money, (…), we can study in any college for free, that's very good. But I'm here, I'm waiting for 11 months for example, and I didn't get my status, there are many people who are waiting (...) you have to use our energy, you have to use our power! OK, I'm not allowed to work, but you can allow me to work under your vision, and use my power, my energy, I will be useful for you as a country. Can you imagine how many refugees and asylum seekers are in this country? (…) The government pays for all these people without taking anything, for many years, why don't you use us? We still have our energy! Because I'm not sure whether after 11 months or 12 months of waiting I will be able, your body will change, your mind, you lose the way you used to be and relax, you can have many causes that, I can't work, I have problem with my back, I have I have, you always depend on the government to help. No you have to use us! I don't like to say the word use, you have to get the best things from us, not only give, you have to give and take, let me work, on your vision, and you will give me the money or not give me the money, but at least you will know if I'm a good person, if you will get benefits from me, or if I'm just a person who will increase the population here in this country. That's it."

Other research participants who were either undocumented or waiting for a decision on their asylum claim felt similarly limited and 'stuck' in their lives because of not being able to work. Especially those who speak little English and have little to no formal education before moving to the UK find it difficult. For example, one of my Ivorian undocumented research participants who spoke very little English felt completely blocked by his status. He lived in London with a spousal visa for the first five years, but due to problems with his wife, his visa did not get renewed and he became undocumented, losing his job as support staff for the BBC. He experienced the loss of legal status and work as ultimate loss of status as an individual with a meaningful life. Towards the end of the interview, he showed me his BBC work card, his national insurance card and his card for a college of further education, all of them expired. The cards symbolised his past legitimate life in the UK. He, like some of the other undocumented French speaking African migrants I interviewed, repeatedly emphasised that he was now 'blocked' (French: bloqué) because he could not work.

While all research participants with an insecure legal status felt 'blocked' and unable to move on in their lives, there was a difference between those who spoke better English and had a higher educational background, to those who had less education, such as the Ivorian research participants mentioned above. Alisher, for example, who became undocumented when his Uzbek passport expired, attempts to further his knowledge by volunteering in various organisations and taking IT classes wherever they are offered for free and without requirement of documentation. Alisher represents an impressive example of how, against the odds, some migrants continue to attempt to build their lives and expand their experiences. Although his future looks bleak, he is trying to make the most out of the present by continuing to learn new skills and finding some kind of routine in his everyday life through volunteering and education. Similarly, Mohammed, a 30 year old refugee from Yemen who, at the time of the interview, was awaiting a decision on his asylum claim, told me how he had to somehow keep occupied. He was highly educated and had passed several years of medical training in Yemen, before having to leave the country for political reasons. When talking about approaching organisations for volunteering opportunities, he told me the following:

M: I shouldn't just halt and stop. Because [immigration] lawyers, I mean I have experienced it, for months they don't have time, and it's OUR lives, WE don't have time, WE don't have the time! And so yeah, it shouldn't be wasted in waiting, each person should be active in what they do, continue their personality, not be detached from the person who they are, because those wars and conflicts and guns make trauma and make schizophrenia.

S: And it helps to keep going, right?

M: Yeah, a person moves to a peaceful society, he has to keep going. I stopped some time, and I was like, thinking, this is not going to take me from A to B you know. So that's why I had to find opportunities for volunteering, I had to find opportunities for networking, and restoring and continuing the things I was doing back home. It keeps me who I am, yeah, it keeps my life going.

Fortunately, Mohammed is highly educated, speaks very good English and is therefore able to function within British institutions and organisations. This exemplifies that the skills and education acquired before moving to the UK importantly shape how pioneer migrants establish themselves in the UK, even among those with an insecure legal status.

Alp is another such example. He was active in various organisations during the 3.5 years while waiting for status. Thanks to his knowledge of English and University education, he had the confidence to volunteer and build social networks while being prohibited to work. Nevertheless, not being allowed to work and not being able to build a future dramatically impacted on his well being. Here, he describes how he felt when he finally received the right to remain in the UK.

… once your status comes, you can plan, you can organise, you can START, you feel you are living! I mean for 3.5 years I didn't have status it's… some stages you really psychologically you get to that point which are really really low.

Receiving the right to study and work finally enabled Alp to build a life. He is now studying law and continues to volunteer for different organisations.

Social networks and friendships

Who do pioneer migrants meet when they first arrive? Where do they make friends? What is the role of social networks in the settlement process? Initially, most migrants rely on what Phillimore and her colleagues have described as 'foundation networks', meaning pre-existing networks of acquaintances, friends or family (Phillimore et al., 2014). 'Foundation networks' are key for pioneers, and as they root themselves in the UK, they create further social networks. Although pioneer migrants cannot dock onto already established 'communities', very few migrants arrive unconnected and almost all of the research participants had at least one contact when they arrived. Such initial contacts are often characterized by a single connection. Among my research participants, these connections were often with someone from the same country of origin. Apart from research participants who came to the UK to study and had thus set up a University place prior to arrival, including accommodation through the university, most other participants stated that one of the reasons they came to London or Birmingham was that they had one contact there. 'I wouldn't have come without knowing at least one person' was a common statement. Importantly, however, these contacts were not necessarily with people who could be described as friends, but they were often weak.

For example Aika from Kyrgyzstan had one contact via someone in her home town who had given her a package for a Kyrgyz acquaintance in London.

"I arrived here, and somebody asked me if I could pass on a parcel to somebody who lived in London; I didn't know anybody at all when I was coming. I booked a room for 2 weeks in Wimbledon. I didn't know how to get there, you know, but because I was passing on this parcel I was hoping that they can tell me, direct me, how to get there. ... So the friend of a friend was kind enough to show me all the way to Wimbledon."

Aika did not like the room in Wimbledon and the area, and instead found a shared house with other people from Kyrgyzstan in Hackney through the same person to whom she had brought the package. Especially in regards to housing, foundation contacts were crucial for all of my research participants.

First contacts are sometimes made on the way to the UK. An undocumented migrant from Mali arrived at Heathrow airport with a suitcase and an address on a piece of paper of someone he did not know, but whose contact he was given en route while waiting for his tourist visa in Côte d'Ivoire. Through this initial contact, he found both housing and work. Similarly, Alp from Southern Azerbaijan, mentioned above, had met other Southern Azerbaijanis in Calais before he crossed to England on the back of a lorry in 2006, and he contacted these people again once he had arrived in London. Those whose asylum claim was successful were able to give him information about solicitors and legal advice centres to help with his asylum claim. After living in the UK for nine years, and after finally getting limited leave to remain in 2010, he continues to have this network of friends who speak the same language, but he also has a group of friends of other national backgrounds, some of them neighbours, others fellow students.

For migrants who might not bump into other people on the street from their country of origin or who speak the same language, the internet can play an important role during settlement. In their study of Brazilian, Ukrainian and Moroccan migrants in Dutch cities, Dekker and Engbersen (2012) show how social media not only facilitate continuing relationships with those left behind, but can also lead to social contacts in the immigration context. This was exemplified by an Argentinean research participant who found out via facebook that some of her friends from back home were in London. There are also numerous internet platforms where migrants can find assistance in practical aspects of settlement, as well as emotional support (Dekker & Engbersen, 2012). For example, a research participant from Georgia found a facebook site of Russian-speaking mothers who share information online about settling and raising children in London. Not only do they share the same language, but also the experience of motherhood and similar educational backgrounds. Some of these mothers sometimes meet for picnics in the park and thus form new, pan-ethnic friendships. Similarly, some of the Spanish speaking research participants in Birmingham form part of Spanish facebook sites where information about settlement and life in Birmingham is provided.

Of course, a common language is crucial beyond the internet. An example of social networks based on language is a network of Malinke speaking Muslims from West Africa who regularly meet at an Ivorian Muslim community centre in London for worship and for socializing. Language and religion are thus important factors linking people pan-ethnically and potentially leading to networks of support.

Sometimes, religious affiliations override the importance of language, as in the case of an Orthodox Jewish Yemeni refugee woman who was illiterate and spoke no English upon arrival. When she arrived in London with her husband, their only contact was one uncle. Their settlement was entirely shaped and supported by the network of the international Orthodox Jewish community within which her uncle was embedded. Similarly, many of the research participants in Birmingham talked about how important the churches were in their settlement process. For example, a Ghanaian research

participant who came to Birmingham from Italy described how the members of the church which she attended helped her with accommodation, finding a job as well as other practical aspects of settlement.

It should be noted that many encounters during the early stages of settlement are serendipitous and unexpected, but end up providing support and resources or simply making the pioneer migrants feel more comfortable in the UK. For example Hamam, the Orthodox Jewish woman from Yemen mentioned above, spent the first three years in London without any knowledge of English, but got support from a Jewish nurse after the birth of her third child. Only through this nurse did she find out about English classes. Gaining access to these classes was not only a huge step towards learning English and finally feeling less isolated, but it also represented her first opportunity to obtain formal education and access to literacy. For Hamam, this was a life changing experience.

Gabriela from Brazil moved in with an Italian young man who was renting a room in his flat. Through her new Italian housemate, she met many other people who shared similar interests and through whom she finally felt a sense of home and belonging. They did not share an ethnic or class background, but these friendships were based on shared experiences of being migrants, as well as common interests. Gabriela's example shows that many pioneer migrants make friends with people of other backgrounds, and not necessarily from their own country of origin. In fact, many of the pioneer migrants distanced themselves from co-ethnics because of a lack of shared interests or values. Often, however, they formed social relations with other migrants who had similar experiences of migration and settlement. These migrant social networks are crucial during the settlement, as other migrants often provide important information about settlement. This goes beyond practical support, but also includes emotional support, as illustrated by Boniface from Zambia in regards to the people he met through his church in Birmingham. He describes how, now that he is more settled, he attempts to pass on support to other newcomers:

"The same help I received, I am able to give to others... and some of the members in my church are going through such things and I'm able to refer them (to support organisations), or even invite them to my house. I say 'please come, I know you may not have it all, but come let's eat together, what I have I give to you, let's eat together, let's have a laugh together'. This is one thing I didn't have, it's to find someone to laugh, someone that you can go an express your fears, someone that you can go to and express your anxiety, and just have laughter, just have a barbecue. But this place, this church, provided that platform, some weekends they say we are having a barbecue. I'll bring my children over, and we go there and have a laugh, and eat together and go back home and the day is gone. So I found very big help in these organisations, and this church."

Sociological literature has identified resources gained through social networks as 'social capital' (Bourdieu, 1986; Portes & Vickstrom, 2011). The kind of support Boniface describes here could also be described as 'migrant social capital', as it captures how migrants pass on support to other migrants. It is important to note here that these social networks are not necessarily co-ethnic. As described above, many research participants did not seek friends of their own national or ethnic backgrounds, but formed social networks with others from various countries of origin. At the same time, many expressed difficulties in forming social relations with white British people, describing them as reserved. While research participants ascribed this to cultural differences, a reason could also be that long-settled residents already have saturated social networks as opposed to more recent arrivals who have less social contacts.

Making friends, of course, greatly contributes to the settlement process and to feeling a sense of belonging to a new place. Importantly, however, it is also the nature of the specific neighbourhoods in which newcomers settle which shapes their sense of belonging.

Newcomers' sense of belonging in Birmingham and East London

The ethnic make-up of an area made a considerable difference in how research participants felt about their new neighbourhood. This was the case for migrants who are 'visibly different' to the majority society, for example Africans and some of the Latin Americans and Central Asians, as well as migrants from Eastern and Southern Europe, albeit in very different ways.

Boniface from Zambia, mentioned above, lives in an area in Birmingham dominated by elderly white British people. He described how he found it isolating to live among them, together with his children, who are outgoing and want to chat with the neighbours, just like himself. He feels that his neighbours are avoiding him, going inside as soon as he gets outside and thus limiting interactions despite his attempts to make a connection and form a rapport. They 'shut the door and [go] back in the house and that's it, you come out, they go in'. He describes how he is 'trying to integrate in terms of being social', to show that he is here to stay and not going anywhere, but he is met with resistance. Not only does he experience this exclusion with his neighbours, but also more generally in the area, for example in the local park:

"Like last Saturday we went to the park … We were outnumbered, but my children, the way they are, they are too vocal, and they are easy speaking (…) 'hi, how are you' (…) and we saw people moving away, and keeping their children [away] (…) I find it difficult because I wanted to be like a normal, normal. Life is the same, we are different in colour, but the blood is the same."

He then went on to describe Birmingham more generally:

"The problem is, what I have come to discover about the diversity in Birmingham, you know the natives of the blacks [Black British], they are concentrating near the city, but when you go outside, it's not like that. (…) If you begin to go to the Black Country, as far as you go, it becomes different. But when you come in the city you find, wow, it's very diverse, you can see everywhere you look at there's another [black person], there's another. But when [you] begin to go to Solihull, my goodness."

In his account, Boniface contrasted these white British dominated areas not only with the city centre, but also with Handsworth, where it 'is like your own is there'. His account reflects other research participants' impressions of Birmingham city centre as a mixed space, in contrast to many of the other neighbourhoods. Olga from Russia described this as follows:

Birmingham is diverse and not at the same time, because if you look at it from the overall number, ok you have so many Chinese, Indians, Pakistanis, Estonians, and African Caribbean living here and so on, so yeah it looks diverse. But when you start to look at the pockets of the people, then there is not much of pockets of diversity, there is quite a few ethnic backgrounds who congregate in the same environment. They form a mono-ethnic environment within, and that basically excludes others. The same with British people as well, they have their pockets. So there are more pockets, but you don't see many places where you can actually see people mixing, the city centre is that place.

Pemberton (2017) similarly found that newcomers in Birmingham felt a greater sense of ease and belonging in the city centre because of its immigration-related diversity, in contrast to the more ethnically defined other neighbourhoods.

In general, many of the research participants described their surprise when first coming to Birmingham and seeing so many people of South Asian background. A research participant from Mexico ended up settling in the area of Sparkhill, which is dominated by people originating from Pakistan. Similar to Boniface quoted above, who settled in a predominantly white British area, her experience exemplifies how settlement and belonging are shaped by both, the ethnic makeup of an area as well as one's own background, in this case her being Mexican (and thus visibly not white British) as well as being a woman.

M: Let me tell you, my problem is very specific, I don't look like English of course, I could easily be Pakistani or Indian, but I don't use traditional clothes and I don't, my hair is not tied up, and I have been, I have never had a real problem but when I go to the shops, men don't like to look at me, so they give me the money like this, looking away (...). And one day, I frequently go and have a walk in the park because there's a park nearby, and when I pass close to men they avoid me (…), and women look at me too because I'm not using the traditional…

S: So they think that you are one of them but not following the rules?

M: That I'm westernized probably. And at the beginning in the school [her child's local primary school], now everyone knows that I'm Mexican, but at the beginning, when I came for the first time, the first two months, when no one knew who I was, they looked at me, they were looking at me A LOT, because for them I was Pakistani, and of course I don't speak their language. And that's another thing, my husband is English, British, white, and multicultural couples are not common here. So my husband is odd here, because now there are no white people in this area. (…) It's just so unfair in a way, it's just because of the looks, the way people judge you. I'm not complaining but it was a big learning curve.

At the time of the interview, she was planning to move to a 'more mixed place'. She described how she felt socially isolated because 'you need interaction, you need friends, you need to create another community, and I cannot find it here'. In her account, she also referred to her previous life in Mexico, and how she used to interact with her neighbours, which she now feels unable to do. She was hoping that in the new area where she was planning to move, it would be more sociable: 'you know they have a little club nearby, by the church (…) they do Karate, Yoga, and these things, and it's very nearby, so it means that there is a group of people that lives nearby that go there'.

Maria's and Boniface's accounts exemplify how important the ethnic makeup of an area is in terms of settlement, combined with migrants own racial background and gender.

In their study on migrant place-making in Handsworth (Birmingham) and Kensington (Liverpool), Pemberton and Phillimore (2016:14) have shown how 'more visible migrants were clear that they needed to live somewhere where visible difference was unremarkable in order to avoid racial harassment'. The research participants of this project who were visibly different to the white British majority all emphasised how much easier it was for them to settle in a context where visible diversity was the norm and where they did not stick out as different. This, however, went beyond race. Religious diversity, gender and diversity in life-styles were additional factors which facilitated a sense of belonging. This is exemplified by Aika from Kyrgyzstan who settled in East London. She describes how she stayed in Hackney because 'I never felt like I'm a foreigner here, I don't feel that, I don't feel like I don't belong here, I feel like I can be part of it or not part of it, no one bothers, you just, I feel comfortable, I feel good'. She described how it does not matter…… how you dress, how you look, there's not many norms. Whereas at home even leaving the house was, not brushing your hair seems

to be a crime. It's hard work, it's hard work. Living up to that image with women, well-kept women, educated, you have to live up to that perfect ideal.

Other migrant women similarly enjoyed the freedom gained in the UK, for example in regards to less pressure to dress up when going out. Madina, a Chechen woman who grew up in Latvia, emphasised how she had never left the house in flat shoes before moving to the UK, and that in London, 'you have a freedom of expressing yourself, dress how you want, be whoever you want, follow the religion you want, no one is going to tell you anything'. These migrants thus feel a sense of belonging on the grounds that an area is so diverse that there are less expectations of conformity. This also pertains to language. The existence of 'audible' diversity, i.e. the presence of many different languages, as well as many different accents when speaking English, makes it easier for non-English speakers to communicate, feeling less self-conscious about not speaking perfect English. Also, many native English speakers in such areas are used to hearing different accents and dealing with people who speak limited English.

Religious diversity is another factor which facilitates some of the newcomers' settlement. Marieme from Senegal for example, who lives in East London, described how impressed she was 'to see so many nationalities here, and the people are not too interested in what people do'. She expressed her relief that she felt free to fast for Ramadan and that people respected it, and to find 'everything a Muslim needs' in a supermarket, for example dates. Similarly, Madina, mentioned above, finally felt free to wear a headscarf when moving to London. In Latvia, she did not dare to show her religious background for fear of discrimination and of being called a terrorist. In her account, Madina compared her previous experiences of Islamophobia in a less diverse place with her experiences in London. Similarly, African and Latin American migrants who had come to the UK via Italy or Spain described how they experienced less racism in London and Birmingham than where they had previously lived. Of course, this does not mean that there is no racism in these UK cities, as exemplified above with the example of Boniface from Zambia. However, these recent migrants' experiences of exclusion in the UK were directly shaped by previous experiences of discrimination in the places where they lived prior to coming to the UK.

Thus, migrants' experiences of settling in a new place and their sense of belonging are not only shaped by the diversity of life-styles, religions, ethnicities, etc. of the people living in their areas, but also by the experiences of diversity prior to their migration. The following and final section of this report looks at how migrants adapt to the demographic diversity of the areas in which they settle.

Multicultural adaptation

Some of the migrants from Southern and Eastern Europe were surprised about the diversity they encountered in the UK. Take for example Nadia from Belarus, who was an English teacher back in her home country and lived in the centre of Birmingham.

"My country is so homogeneous, I wasn't used to see a variety of cultures, some of which I haven't seen before. I was always wary about my surroundings, and I also struggled a bit to understand people who speak with an accent. (…) When I first arrived I stayed with my husband because I was afraid of going outside, because I was afraid to get lost and not find my way, it was scary. (…) I didn't have the basis for communication. I did not understand what is polite, what is rude, what questions to ask. (…) You know, basically when you know a culture, then you can sort of relate, but if you don't know the culture you are afraid to be social. You are afraid to break the social rules. I know that it sounds a bit strange, but…"

Nadia's example shows how migrants have to get used to cultural diversity, which often takes place through sustained and regular contact with people of other backgrounds. This process was also described by Alejandro, a migrant from a rural area in Spain who lives in Birmingham. For him, the most important thing that 'you learn when you start to live abroad in a multicultural place [is that] not because he is from Asia or that [he] is from America, they are strange or weird. No, they are just different'. Similarly, Nadia describes how she became more open when living in Birmingham, describing how back in Belarus, she 'probably wasn't as open-minded about the cultures'.

Of course, individual dispositions play a role in shaping the extent of acceptance of diversity in different ways. While the research participants of the study presented here did not express negative opinions about living in diverse urban areas, others have found that some Eastern European migrants struggle to adjust to areas dominated by ethnic minorities. Pemberton and Phillimore (2016:14) have found that some of their Polish research participants were 'unfamiliar with visible difference and could not identify with it'. They therefore attempted to move to less ethnically diverse areas (see also Nowicka, 2013). Importantly, however, some Eastern European migrants arrive with previous experiences of diversity. Joe from Hungary for example worked in the building sector in Marseille (France), together with North African migrants, before moving to Birmingham. Despite being used to ethnic diversity, he was surprised about the number of South Asians in Birmingham. He describes how different 'the Britain that I studied in school' was, which he had pictured as 'a very nice green country, with people drinking tea'.

Interestingly, especially African newcomers were not new to diversity when coming to the UK. Mamadou from Côte d'Ivoire who lives in London, for example, describes how where he lived back home, there were 62 ethnic groups which all spoke different languages. Charlie, who also comes from Côte d'Ivoire and lives in Birmingham, describes his surprise about the large Asian population in Birmingham, but also how he was used to diversity from back home:

C: Yeah, when I came here I was surprised to interact with a lot of Asian people (…) that's one of the first things that I noticed. This city is quite Asian, and then I discovered other nationalities.

I: Did you know other Asian people when you lived in Côte d'Ivoire?

C: Ahhh, what do you mean Asian? Because I used to have an accountant firm and 85% of my clients were traders and most of them were foreigners, because most of my clients were civil servants, mainly those who make business with foreigners, so we have a lot of Lebanese people, a lot of Chinese. You know, a lot of Chinese are coming to Africa now, a lot of Chinese and African people like Moroccan, people that have industries and stuff like that, and French people.

The contrasting experiences of migrants like Charles and Mamadou from Côte d'Ivoire who arrived in the UK with plenty of experiences of ethnic and cultural diversity, and people like Nadia from Belarus, who first did not dare to go out of the house by herself because she did not 'know how to behave' with people she perceived to be different, show how cosmopolitan competences have to be learned over time and by living with difference on a daily basis. Now, Nadia's best friends are a black woman from South Africa and a Greek woman, whom she both met through a flat share. For Nadia, becoming more at ease with diversity was thus a crucial factor in developing a sense of belonging to Birmingham. Marisol Reyes, one of the research assistants of this project, described this process as 'multicultural adaptation', a term which perfectly captures how newcomers adapt to ethnically diverse environments.

Summary

An important part of today's diversity in many UK cities is the arrival of migrants who do not follow the 'beaten track', but who migrate individually and with very limited social networks upon arrival. They might come from relatively recent countries of origin, or they might be of different educational, religious or class backgrounds and have different motivations for their migration than their co-ethnics who are already settled in the UK. The research presented in this report looked at these new 'cohorts' of migrants, here described as 'pioneer migrants'. It has looked at how such migrants, many of whom lack networks of support, settle in Birmingham and East London.

Two factors most importantly shape their settlement: legal status and cultural capital (i.e. educational background, language skills, etc.). Those with an insecure legal status (asylum seekers and undocumented migrants) were by far the most disadvantaged. As they were prohibited to work, unable to build a future in the UK and often unable to support their families back home, they described their lives as highly precarious and 'blocked'. Although it is difficult to compare the lives of these migrants to those with a secure legal status who, even if disadvantaged, at least had opportunities to work and possibly build new lives, the project included migrants of all legal statuses in order to draw out these differences.

The second main factor, cultural capital, made a difference for all migrants, also those with an insecure legal status, as those with higher cultural capital often managed to build social networks via volunteering and at least further their skills and be involved in the wider society through such activities.

One of the biggest issues for those migrants with a secure legal status was deskilling. Especially the more highly educated migrants often had to restart their careers or change them entirely because they were unable to find work within their fields of expertise. These processes of deskilling also affected migrants with, for example, trades' skills. Their qualifications were rarely recognized in the UK, and despite considerable experiences and skills, they had to retrain in the UK. The frustration about this non-recognition of foreign credentials was expressed by most research participants.

In regards to their social networks and their sense of belonging, many research participants expressed the wish to build social relations with people of other than their own ethnic background. They primarily built social relations with other migrants who had had similar experiences of migration. They also encountered difficulties in making friends with British people, although they were unable to explain why this was the case, describing white British people as reserved.

The demographic make-up of the neighbourhoods in which migrants settled played an important role in regards to their sense of belonging. Those settling in areas dominated by one ethnic group, i.e. in the case of Birmingham white British people or South Asians, found it more difficult to feel a sense of belonging because they felt that they stuck out. Some also reported experiences of racism in predominantly white British areas. The research participants who settled in East London more easily felt a sense of belonging due to the absence of one dominant 'group' in the area and the perception that 'everybody is different'. They thus felt that they did not stick out.

An important factor shaping a sense of belonging relates to previous experiences of either being excluded as part of an ethnic minority, or forming part of the majority. Such references to experiences of diversity in the country of origin also relate to transit migration and experiences of racism in previous countries of immigration. Many Latin American and African migrants who had come to the UK via Italy or Spain described a sense of relief when settling in the UK, which, in regards

to social interactions in public space, they described as less racist than where they had lived before. This, of course, does not mean that there is no racism in the UK, but these migrants' experiences are shaped by where they had lived before.

Those migrants who formed part of the majority population in less diverse places of origin went through a process of 'multicultural adaptation' when first arriving, having to get used to the ethnic, religious and cultural diversity encountered in the UK cities in which they settled.

While much research on immigration looks at migrants from specific countries of origin or of specific legal statuses, this project has highlighted the pathways of settlement of migrants defined by their characteristics as 'pioneers', i.e. migrants not following established migration routes who have settled in the UK within the last ten years. Their variegated stories of settlement and integration not only highlight the structural constraints which they are subjected to, for example in regards to legal status and the non-recognition of their qualifications. But it also shows the resourcefulness of these migrants, many of whom, by their nature as pioneers and thus innovators, are making a considerable contribution to the society in which they settle.

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Table 1

Age	Country of Birth	Transit country	Location	Time in UK	Legal Status	Occupation	G
35	Chile	Italy	L	1.5	EU Citizen	Yoga teacher	F
31	Spain		L	9	EU Citizen	Film technician	M

32	Kyrgyzstan		L	10	UK	Own business	F
34	Southern Azerbaijan		L	8	Leave to remain	Student	M
40	Argentina		L	9	EU Citizen	University lecturer	F
42	Colombia		L	8	UK	Freelance teacher	F
34	Georgia	Italy	L	7	Spouse	White collar	F
47	Argentina	Spain	L	4	EU Citizen	University lecturer	F
30	Slovakia		L	9	EU Citizen	Nanny	F
37	Brazil	Portugal	L	1	EU Citizen	Florist	F
23	Romania		L	5	EU Citizen	Student	F
32	Yemen		L	10	Leave to remain	Mother	F
32	Chechnya		L	5	Leave to remain	Unemployed	F
40	Mauritania	Spain	L	2	EU Citizen	Unemployed	F
26	Chechnya		L	7	EU Citizen	Unemployed	F
34	Senegal		L	2	Spouse	Unemployed	F
44	Senegal	Italy	L	2 months	EU Citizen	Unemployed	F
30	Yemen		L	1	Asylum seeker	Prohibited	M
31	Uzbekistan		L	8	Undocumented	Prohibited	M
50	Côte d'Ivoire		L	7	Refused asylum seeker	Prohibited	M
33	Côte d'Ivoire		L	7	Refused asylum seeker	Prohibited	F
41	Mali		L	7	Undocumented	Prohibited	M
25	Yemen		L	1.5	Leave to remain	White collar	F
40	Spain		B	3	EU Citizen	Engineer	M
46	Mexico		B	2	Spouse	University research	F

43	Zambia		B	6	Leave to remain	Church councilor	M
41	Angola		B	10	Work Visa	Dance teacher	M
49	Argentina	Greece	B	7	EU Citizen	Trampoline Olympic Trainer	F
46	Colombia		B	7	Spouse	Beautician	F
36	Mexico		B	8	Spouse	Photographer	F
40	India		B	2	EU Citizen	Shop assistant	F
37	Hungary		B	10	UK Citizen	Teacher	M
35	Hungary		B	10	UK Citizen	Painter	F
41	Armenia		B	10	UK Citizen	Security guard	M
28	Armenia		B	3 months	Spouse	Receptionist	F
44	Ecuador	Italy	B	3	EU Citizen	Church councilor	F
30	Belarus		B	4	Spouse	School Teacher	F
29	Guinea		B	1.5	Leave to remain	Unemployed	M
40	Senegal	France	B	10	Spouse	White collar	F
33	Guinea		B	5	Asylum seeker	Prohibited	F
26	Egypt		B	1	Asylum seeker	College student	F
38	Malawi		B	4	Asylum seeker	College student	F
23	Mali		B	1	Undocumented	Prohibited	M
54	Côte d'Ivoire		B	10	Leave to remain	Accountant	M
33	Russia		B	3	Working Visa	White collar	F
32	Syria		B	3	Leave to remain	Unemployed	M
36	Ghana	Italy	B	1	EU Citizen	Cleaner	F
18	Ghana	Italy	B	1	EU Citizen	College Student	M