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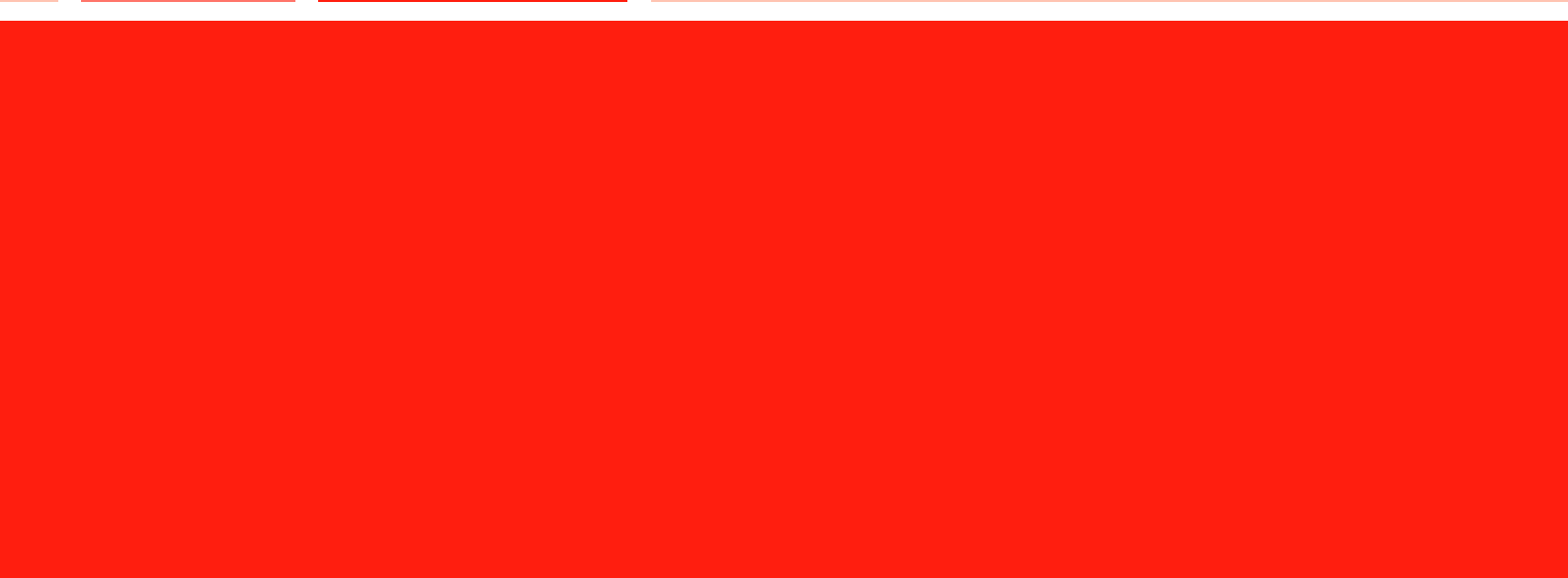
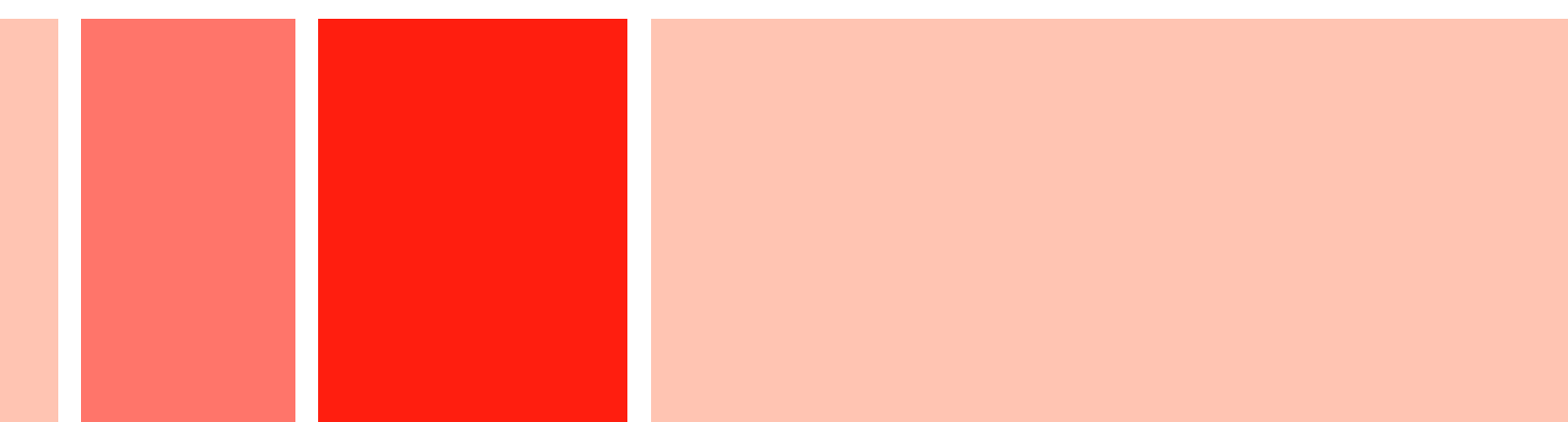
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Measuring the Social Impact of Migration at a Local Authority Level



Measuring the Social Impact of Migration at a Local Authority Level

MVA Consultancy in association with John Loughlin of Cardiff University

Views expressed in this report are those of the researcher and not necessarily those of the Welsh Assembly Government

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Table of contents

	Executive Summary	5
1	The Research in Context	18
	Introduction	18
	Aims and objectives of the research	18
	Migration in Wales	20
2	Report Structure	40
3	Overview and Main Findings	41
	Introduction	41
	Service demands and provision	41
	The migrant worker experience	45
	The host community and migration	51
	Key conclusions	53
	What is next	54
4	Case Study: Carmarthenshire	56
	Introduction	56
	Local context	58
	Local service impact	60
	Summary	74
5	Case Study: Newport	78
	Introduction	78
	Local context	80
	Local service impact	82
	Summary	97
6	Case Study: Wrexham	99
	Introduction	99
	Local context	101
	Informing migrant workers about services	102
	Local service impact	103
	Summary	120
7	Guidance for Local Authorities: how to develop better Knowledge on migrant workers	123
	Introduction	123

Background	123
Patterns of migrations	125
Available official sources	126
Integrating data	132
Types of evidence	132
Organisational Issues	133
The impact of the Recession on Migrant Labour	135
Action points	137
Key sources	138
8 References	140

Appendices

Appendix A Interviews with Local Authority Staff and Other Agencies/Organisations Working with Migrant Workers	147
Appendix B Interviews with Migrant Workers	149
Appendix C Glossary	153
Appendix D Methodological Reflections – Views from the Researcher	155

Executive Summary

Aims and objectives of the research

The principal objective of the research was to consider the social impact of migration at a local authority level in three case study local areas. The three local authorities chosen for the case studies were Carmarthenshire, Newport and Wrexham.

The research focussed on migrant workers from the A8 Accession States (Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia) but it also involved migrants from other countries.

The project involved an extensive review of previous research work in this area, interviews with staff from local authorities and other public and private sector organisations and interviews with migrant workers in each of the case study areas.

A combination of semi-structured interviews and focus groups were conducted with over 70 representatives from the local authorities and other agencies working with or for migrant workers. The research also sought the views of over 80 migrant workers. The data were collected between February and May 2008

One major difficulty is the uncertainty concerning the numbers of migrant workers that have arrived in particular local authority areas. The two main sources of this information are the Worker Registration Scheme (WRS) and National Insurance Number (NINo) registrations. While these give some idea of overall figures, they do not give an exact figure since not all A8 migrant workers register under the two schemes and there is no record of those who do register but leave the country. A further difficulty facing local authorities is that migrant workers may register in one locality but subsequently move to another.

Of all the Welsh local authorities, Carmarthenshire has attracted the greatest number of A8 migrant workers, particularly in Llanelli and the surrounding area. The largest group are Polish but there are also several other nationalities. A number of issues have arisen for public services, particularly in the Roman Catholic schools concerning funding and the number of teachers with specialist skills. Carmarthenshire County Council has established a Task Group to respond to the policy demands of this situation.

Newport has also experienced increased migration, particularly from Poland, but there is less information both on numbers and on the conditions in which these workers find themselves. Problems have been noted in the area of housing but there is little

information on the policy areas of education, health and community cohesion. Newport has a history of immigration and the local authority has to some extent included recent economic migrants in existing programmes working with refugees and asylum seekers. There is a need for more research to be carried out in Newport to provide a more in depth understanding of this case study area.

Wrexham has a significant migrant population with Polish being the largest nationality. The County Borough Council has developed an extensive programme to integrate the newcomers and is working with a wide network of voluntary and business groups to ensure that this happens. The Council and its statutory and voluntary sector partners have developed a number of initiatives such as information leaflets and language courses to assist inclusion.

The UK Accession (Immigration and Worker Registration) Regulations 2004 allows A8 nationals access to benefits and housing support on the same basis as other EEA (European Economic Area¹) workers, while they are working. But A8 nationals who are not working are not generally entitled to such support. A8 nationals only acquire full Treaty rights, including access to benefits, once they have been working in the UK continuously for a period of at least 12 months.

Increasing short-term migration has led to some concerns about the economic costs, as well as benefits, associated with this phenomenon. While individual migrant workers are less likely than the host community to use public services, the overall number of migrant workers has led to some increase in demand, particularly for translation services.

The educational and skills profile of immigration has changed with the arrival of recent migrant workers from the A8 countries. A8 migrant workers to the UK have been primarily young with high levels of education and skills, relative to the native population (Audit Commission, 2007:12; Schneider and Holman, 2005). Many are employed in occupations that are not commensurate with their qualifications. The majority are either unmarried or, if they are married, are not accompanied by dependents. Nevertheless, it is possible that some will be joined by dependants at a later date as they become more settled (Audit Commission, 2007).

The data from WRS figures provide a picture of the national background and demographic characteristics of these migrant workers, their declared reason for coming

¹ The EEA countries include the 27 EU member states plus three of the four countries of the European Free Trade Agreement (EFTA) – Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway. The fourth member, Switzerland, decided in a referendum not to join the association.

to the UK, the kinds of work in which they are employed and their geographical locations in the UK.

The majority of those registered in Wales are working in “administration, business and management services” with only 3% in agriculture (but the majority of those in the administration business and management sector work for recruitment agencies and could be employed in a variety of industries).

Geographical locations of A8 migrant workers: Wales and the UK as a whole

Although previous migration tended to be concentrated in London, the A8 inflows have favoured both Anglia (15% of the total) and the Midlands (13%) with London in third place (12%). Wales has been the least favoured destination in all of the UK with only about 3% of A8 migrants moving there (Home Office, 2007: 18). In Wales, 20,735 A8 migrant workers registered on the WRS between 1 May 2004 and 31 December 2007. Four local authorities in Wales have been the main destinations of these workers. (The figures for those registering between 1 May 2004 and 30 March 2007 were: Carmarthenshire (2,635), Wrexham (2,565), Newport (2,405) and Cardiff (1,855) (WAG, 2007: 4).) However, these figures simply record those registered to work for employers in these areas and may not represent the actual number of migrants working there. Those who initially registered may have returned home and there may be other A8 nationals working in these areas who have not registered.

Information and guidance

Previous research on migrant workers shows that there has been a lack of guidance on basic advice about many aspects of living in the UK; not only how to obtain a bank account, but also information on legal advice, employment rules and regulations, rights and responsibilities, health and education services, and taxation. The Welsh Assembly Government (WAG, 2006) has produced an information pack for new entrants in twenty different languages. Some local authorities have produced their own sets of welcome information.

Case Study Carmarthenshire

WRS data for Carmarthenshire showed that in 2007 Poles made up 94% of the total migrant workers. Over three quarters (77%) of migrant workers registered to work in Carmarthenshire are working somewhere within the Llanelli area (postcode SA15). Over two thirds (69%) of migrant workers registered to work in Carmarthenshire work as “process operatives” (that is, as factory workers), 4% as packers, and 4% as care assistants and home carers. Information from the Welsh Assembly Government indicates that there were 2,635 WRS applications approved between May 2004 and 31 March 2007 (Welsh Assembly Government, 2007: 4).

Carmarthenshire County Council’s Scrutiny Committee set up a Task and Finish Group in 2006 to obtain better information about numbers of migrant workers and the potential impact on services and communities. The report (Carmarthenshire County Council (2008)) includes a detailed analysis of new GP registrations by foreign nationals, by country of origin, based on National Public Health Service for Wales data. There is also a report of a fact finding visit to the Dunbia meat processing firm, and reviews of ESOL provision, and of the Minority Ethnic Achievement Service. The latter provides support in schools for children of foreign nationals.

Accommodation

Migrant workers in Carmarthenshire tend to live in rented accommodation either tied to their employment or privately rented through a managing agent or landlord. Very few have bought their own homes and none of the migrant workers that we interviewed were living in council or social housing. One Polish migrant family reported receiving housing benefits.

The most common example of tied accommodation in Carmarthenshire is of migrant workers employed through an employment agency, which owns and rents various properties to its migrant worker employees, deducting the rent from their wages. One of these properties was referred to as “*the Polish Hotel*” by migrant workers; (it had at one time been a hotel but had been converted to hostel-type accommodation by an employment agency that recruited in Poland). The researchers were told by Polish migrant workers that some migrant workers move into privately rented accommodation as soon as they can, either to reduce their costs or to improve their standard of accommodation.

Health

Overall, the health services are proactive in dealing with migrant worker issues. In January 2008 the Local Health Board (LHB), in conjunction with the Carmarthenshire Association of Voluntary Services (CAVS), launched a booklet called 'A friendly guide to your local health services'. This booklet is available in English and in Welsh, both versions containing a Polish translation. The booklet contains easy to understand information about the health services, what is available and the various processes a person has to go through when using the health services.

According to the health services, the only barrier faced by migrant workers accessing the health care system is the language barrier. When a migrant worker has little or no English language ability it can be very difficult for them to communicate what they want.

Education

Locally, the planning of education has taken account of the number of migrant workers. There are now over 70 children from migrant worker families (not just those from A8 countries) in Llanelli primary and secondary schools.

The Minority Ethnic Achievement Service (MEAS) provides specialist support for pupils whose first language is neither English nor Welsh and who need support for English as an Additional Language (EAL). MEAS actively seeks data on all minority ethnic pupils in schools to ensure that EAL needs are clearly identified. The service is financed by an annual grant from the WAG based on a survey of EAL pupils which is undertaken by MEAS staff.

Migrant workers who were interviewed felt that they must learn English because they were in the UK. Difficulties in communicating at the bank or post office were mentioned. Many rely on the volunteers at the Polish Welsh Mutual Association to translate documents. Most migrant workers have attended English classes at some point.

Community issues

In general migrant workers seem to settle into living in Carmarthenshire quite well, making friends with other migrant workers and Welsh people alike. They say that many

people are friendly towards them and smile and say hello. They also generally feel safe here. However, they do experience some racism, verbal abuse, and vandalism.

Case Study: Newport

Newport has relatively long standing Pakistani, Bengali and Afro-Caribbean communities resident in the Pill (Docks) area of the city, although other areas of the city such as Victoria and Stow Hill also have significant minority ethnic communities. Newport is an asylum seekers dispersal area, which has added to the diversity of its population.

Most of the migrant workers interviewed said they had already had either a friend or family member living and working in the Newport area, which is why they decided to come to Newport. Migrant workers interviewed said they were working in food distribution and packing, the hospitality industry, construction or factory work.

Accommodation

Migrant workers find accommodation through various avenues, including employment (tied accommodation); letting agencies; and informal networks (friends/family). When migrant workers first arrive in the area they tend to stay with friends or family members until they have secured their own accommodation.

Low-cost private rental housing, and houses of multiple occupation, (HMOs) are typical of the accommodation accessed by migrant workers.

There have been reports from other agencies of migrant workers living in extremely poor accommodation and suffering overcrowding. For example, in one property, which was closed down, there were 28 Czechs living in a two bedroom apartment.

Health

Migrant workers interviewed reported accessing healthcare services in Newport, most specifically general practitioners (GPs). The majority of migrant workers interviewed said they were registered with an NHS GP, but very few with an NHS dental practice. Some migrant workers who were not registered with a GP said that they would go to hospital if they had a health problem.

The main issue faced by service providers is the language barrier. Linked to this is the cost of using Language Line, which places pressure on their budget. It was also noted that frontline staff need to be trained in using interpreters and that the interpreters themselves need to be trained to remain objective in sensitive situations and avoid using jargon.

Education

In the field of education the greatest impact as a result of migrant workers and their families moving in to the Newport area has been experienced by the Primary Schools. The Catholic schools have been particularly affected because of the high numbers of Polish people in the area. Schools within the Pill area have also experienced substantial impact due to migrant workers settling in the area. More resources and support have been allocated to these schools to cope with the extra demand and requirements, however, resources are stretched and GEMSS (Gwent Education Multi-Ethnic Support Service) and a school said that additional resources/funding would be welcomed.

Community issues

The arrival of migrant workers in Newport over the past four years has added to the already diverse population. There were mixed views as to whether local existing communities accepted migrant workers into the community, but it was felt that migrant workers had not fully integrated into the community. It was felt that in areas where the existing population was not as diverse, such as the Valleys, the arrival of migrant workers would have a greater impact on the local community.

Case Study: Wrexham

The Migrant Worker Action Plan (WCBC, 2007) recognises that there has been a significant impact on public services and on two services in particular: education and public protection² (WCBC, 2007: 1). Two voluntary organisations working with migrant workers, the Caia Park Partnership (CPP) and the Citizens' Advice Bureau have also

² Public protection includes Environmental Health and Trading Standards services.

reported increasing service pressure due to the growth in numbers of migrant workers (ibid.). The CPP is currently working in partnership with the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) to develop a model for local integration and with the Wrexham County Borough Council to develop a toolkit for integration. Printed copies of the toolkit have been distributed. The Council led multi-agency Community Cohesion Co-ordination Group monitors migrant worker issues as part of its remit.

Informing migrant workers about services

The increase in the number of migrant workers moving into Wrexham has taken place at the same time as WCBC has established a Community Cohesion team. The topic of migrant workers features high on the agenda for this team, along with overcoming the effects of other potential social divisions. Members of the Community Cohesion team are represented on a number of action groups and informal discussion forums with other representatives from the private, public and voluntary sectors. It was noted during interviews with the local authority that this team helps to co-ordinate much of the work to integrate migrant workers, including sharing information and promoting a more consistent approach to the treatment of newcomers to Wrexham from the A8 states.

Information provision has been an important part of the strategy employed by WCBC. The Council has produced an information booklet, containing advice about settling into the area, and has supplied copies to specific agencies and public services that are used by migrant workers in the area. This booklet has been translated into Polish, Portuguese, Czech and Slovak. It provides a short introduction to the geographical location of Wrexham, a list of local services (dentists, doctors and schools) and guidance on searching for jobs and accommodation. It also contains contact details of relevant organisations.

In accordance with the inclusion agenda (referred to as *The One Wrexham agenda*), the police and fire service have also provided information leaflets in different languages. These have included home safety precautions, as fire has proved a major concern in some areas with regard to HMOs. Some of this work has been initiated by staff at the local fire station, whilst the Welsh Assembly Government has also provided some posters and leaflets. The local authority has provided information on refuse collection and recycling in several languages.

Accommodation

Some local residents hold misconceptions about migrant workers' entitlements to social housing. Some members of the host community said that the increase in migrant workers was adding pressure to housing services but this was contradicted by interviews with local authority staff. Only seven properties of local authority housing were allocated to Polish people in 2007, compared to four to white Portuguese residents and 721 to people identifying themselves as White British.

Migrant workers do not seem to experience any significant problems in accessing the private rented housing market. For example, many people had already organised accommodation before entering the UK or had informal arrangements to lodge with family members already living in Wrexham.

Health

Although most newcomers are aware of dentists' and doctors' surgeries in the area, many felt less sure of how best to access health services. A guide to health services in Wrexham was due to be released in other languages; until now, advice on this has been provided on an ad hoc basis and with little consistency (although the Wrexham information booklet contains Health Service information).. Most migrant workers reported that they have typically relied on information from other migrants or asked representatives from the voluntary sector.

Education

Interviews with local authority staff showed that the education sector has experienced a significant impact of migration. It was reported by the local authority that the numbers of children from migrant worker families peaked in 2005/06 but growth has now begun to slow down and become more manageable. Schools are now more confident in dealing with pupils from Poland and Portugal; the majority of whom attend Roman Catholic schools.

"In our biggest school we have about 65 pupils now who are mainly Poles or Portuguese and that takes a lot of support really." (public sector)

Community issues

The Multi-agency Community Cohesion Co-ordination Group has identified “the urgent need to work more closely with the indigenous population to facilitate integration and community cohesion across all strands of diversity” (WCBC, 2007). The CPP provides a range of services which seek to assist migrant workers to integrate into the community. First, they help them to organise among themselves by providing support to establish their own community organisations and support mechanisms. Second, it provides a drop-in Information and Advocacy service for three days a week. Third, it provides support to agencies working with migrant workers and organises training for agencies working with migrant workers.

Overall

- This research was not able to provide better estimates of numbers of migrant workers because of the lack of local administrative sources which recorded if someone was a migrant worker.
- The research did provide useful data on local patterns of migration, including changes over time, demands on services, and responses by local authorities, statutory organisations, and voluntary organisations.
- The research also examined the pressure on some services that had arisen, such as provision for children whose first language is not English or Welsh, the need to inspect Houses of Multiple Occupation, and the need for translation.
- The research also provided the perspective and experience of migrant workers themselves.
- Racial harassment, reported from some areas, mainly consisted of verbal abuse.
- Migrant workers were mainly employed in low paid, jobs, such as food processing, that were often not attractive to non migrants, and worked long hours.

Guidance for local authorities on developing better estimates of numbers of migrant workers is in chapter 7. This includes examples of how data from different sources can be combined. In Southampton, Schools Census and WRS data were used to provide a good estimate of the number of A8 migrants living there.

This report presents the findings from an examination of the social impact of migration in Wales. A case study approach was used to achieve an understanding of the

contemporary social issues facing migrant workers and local authorities as a result of recent migration. The case study areas were Carmarthenshire, Newport and Wrexham. These locations were identified as the most appropriate to include in the research because of the number of migrant workers in these areas. A combination of semi-structured interviews and focus groups were conducted with over 70 representatives from the local authorities and other agencies working with or for migrant workers. The research also sought the views of over 80 migrant workers in order to construct a better understanding of existing social relations and experiences within each of the case study areas. The data were collected between February and May 2008. We also reviewed relevant literature.

Migrant workers (mainly Polish and Portuguese) are accessing a range of public services in the case study areas, and in some cases are also utilising private sector facilities. The education and public protection (Environmental Health) departments in the local authorities of Carmarthenshire, Newport and Wrexham have noticed the effects since the Accession states joined the EU in May 2004. Wrexham's Citizens Advice Bureau and the Job Centre Plus in Newport have also experienced greater demand. The needs and desires of newcomers differed according to their future intentions; those with families seemed keener to learn English (or, more rarely, Welsh) and wanted to integrate more fully into the host community, whereas single migrant workers were less inclined to develop their language skills, attend further education courses or consider applying for a mortgage³. This was apparent among migrant workers from all nationalities. A study by the Centre for Research on Nationalism, Ethnicity and Multiculturalism (CRONEM) on Polish Migrants in London (Eade, Drinkwater and Garapich, 2006) includes a typology of migrants based on length of stay and reasons for working in Britain. The categories included "Storks" - circular migrants who stay for 2-6 months, such as students working during the summer; "Hamsters", who visit the UK once to acquire capital to invest in Poland; "Searchers" - young professionals who deliberately keep their options open, and who may return to Poland or go to another European country; and "Stayers", who have been in the UK for some time, and intend to remain for good.

The research revealed some variations in relation to how well services were able to deal with the migrant workers' needs. The interviews showed that language barriers often restrict how well services can respond to a migrant worker's queries. An inadequate

³ Most of the mortgages associated with migrant workers have been landlords purchasing properties to let.

understanding of cultural difference (from both the host communities and migrant workers) sometimes led to misunderstandings. A lack of knowledge about the entry system to the UK sometimes resulted in newcomers not registering with agencies when they should have done so.

Public services are being used by migrant workers, and local authorities are generally providing a satisfactory service, but to do so they have had to respond to changing needs. Despite various initiatives by the authorities to provide effective information and guidance in different languages, migrant workers continue to rely mainly on informal networks for information or advice. A significant amount of signposting is taking place between local authority staff and those working in the voluntary sector and this is underpinned in many cases by the personal interest and passion of those staff who were involved with migrant workers. The development of support groups or drop-in centres, such as the Caia Park Partnership in Wrexham, Newport's Polish Community Group and the Polish Welsh Mutual Association in Llanelli, are central support mechanisms for newcomers.

We examined the numbers of migrant workers in each of the case study areas. This involved a comparison of national level data with available local data. Because there was only a limited amount of data available at the local level, the research team developed alternative strategies to comment on estimates made by local authority staff. This comparison showed a mixed picture of underreporting in some places and an exaggeration of numbers in others.

An additional aim was to provide guidance to other research teams or local authorities wishing to conduct similar research. In order to accomplish this, the methodology developed during the research is fully documented, with advantages and disadvantages highlighted where appropriate. A summary of the lessons which have been learnt throughout the research process is provided, together with advice for producing better estimates of migrant worker numbers in future. This study gives an insight into the social impact of migration in three case study areas. It does not claim to be an exhaustive account of the grassroots experiences within host communities. The research shows the need for flexibility and imagination in both recruiting research participants from among migrant workers, and in accessing data on numbers of migrant workers.

The research did not deal, except incidentally, with the experience and attitudes of members of the host communities.

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1. The Research in Context

Introduction

- 1.1 This report sets out findings from the primary data collection within each of the three case study areas and incorporates material from and builds on the discussions introduced by our literature review.

Aims and objectives of the research

- 1.2 The principal objective of the research was to consider the social impact of migration at a local authority level in three case study local areas. The three areas for the case studies were Carmarthenshire, Newport and Wrexham.
- 1.3 One of the aims of the research was to help local authorities in Wales to plan more effectively the services that they provide, taking account of the impact of inward migration of workers from abroad. This required an examination of existing and likely demands on service provision, an evaluation of any barriers limiting the use of services and a consideration of possible impacts on host communities.
- 1.4 Specific aims were to:
- provide better estimates of numbers of migrant workers within each LA studied; to identify different groups of migrant workers in terms of country of origin; where possible to profile different groups of migrant workers in terms of age, gender, qualification level, type of employment, housing, length of residence in the UK, level of English (and/or Welsh) language fluency, number of dependents, and location at a district level.
 - establish needs of migrant workers in terms of translation services, access to English language tuition, access to health services, and other key services, and any barriers to their accessing these services.
 - examine the impact of migrant workers on delivery of services by the Local Authority.
 - examine the overall, and sectoral (e.g. Education, Health, Economic Development) policy response of the local authority to the presence of migrant workers.
 - investigate the impact of migrant workers on provision by the private rented sector, and (possibly indirect) effects on the social housing sector.

- canvass the views of migrant workers with regard to plans in terms of length, and location of residence and type of employment, and on possible barriers to integration, such as access to services, and language and cultural differences.
 - produce detailed guidance for conducting similar research, suitable for use by other local authorities, to be able to update data about numbers of migrant workers on a regular basis.
- 1.5 Although not specifically part of the original objectives, the Steering Group asked that the work should also offer an insight into methodological issues for research with migrant workers.
- 1.6 The term migrant worker was used to refer to:
- "Those who have come to the UK within the last five years specifically to find or take up work, whether intending to remain permanently or temporarily and whether documented or undocumented. The focus is on those migrant workers employed in the low wage sector of the economy. The specific groups are migrant workers from the countries which joined the EU in May 2004, those workers from outside the EU who have permission to work in Britain, with certain conditions attached, and those workers from outside the EU who have the right to work in Britain. Migrant workers from EU countries who joined before 2004 are to be included if there is evidence of substantial involvement in the low wage sector (e.g. workers from Portugal). The interest is in those groups of people who have moved to Wales for work. It would therefore exclude those students who travel to Britain to study but who may work part time whilst studying."*⁴
- 1.6 The research focussed on migrant workers from the A8 Accession States (Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia) but it also involved participants from other countries. This largely depended on the specific profile of the location being studied. For example, Newport is an ethnically diverse area with longstanding Caribbean and Pakistani communities, and more recent arrivals from Poland, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia. Interviews with representatives from Wrexham County Borough Council revealed that there is a substantial Portuguese population in the area. In Carmarthenshire, the Polish population accounted for the majority of the migrant worker population, but we also interviewed newcomers from other countries such as the Philippines.

⁴ The term "migrant worker" is used in preference to "migrant", since the latter has been used in recent debates to include well established BME communities. "Migrant worker" is taken to include dependents.

- 1.7 The project involved an extensive review of previous research work in this area, interviews with staff from local authorities and other public and private sector organisations and interviews with migrant workers in each of the case study areas.
- 1.8 This research report combines several data sources and inevitably involves the development of an argument rather than, as would be the case in quantitative survey research, reporting on findings. The "development of an argument" should not be taken to mean statements of opinion or hearsay. At every point the argument is developed, with clarity on the evidence on which it is based, and is presented, where possible, with "triangulation" (using one type or source of data to check against another). Where there are apparent contradictions in the data, these are stated. The researchers, in adopting a reflexive approach, disclose the rationale on which statements are based, and any uncertainties. They also seek to be open about the learning from the research and what would be done differently next time.

Migration in Wales

- 1.9 Migration is not a recent phenomenon. Since 2004, however, there has been a significant increase in the number of migrant workers moving to the United Kingdom following the accession into the European Union of eight countries from East and Central Europe (the A8 countries) as well as Cyprus and Malta.
- 1.10 This has raised issues of the economic costs and benefits of this migration as well as the implications for services, both public and private. The main sectors affected are: education and language provision; housing; employment conditions; health care; community cohesion and inclusion.
- 1.11 One major difficulty in assessing how the recent A8 migration has impacted on public services is the uncertainty concerning the numbers of migrant workers that have arrived in particular localities. The two main sources of this information are the Workers' Registration Scheme (WRS) and National Insurance Number (NINo) registrations. While these give some idea of overall figures, they do not give an exact figure since not all A8 migrant workers register under the two schemes and there is no record of those who do register but leave the country. A further difficulty facing local authorities is that migrant workers may register in one locality but subsequently move to another.

- 1.12 It is clear from the literature that inwards migration can have a range of impacts, but the exact extent of these impacts cannot be quantified due to poor and inconsistent data sources. It is also clear that impacts will vary according to the region and the pressures are different in different communities (see for example the Migration Impacts Forum on 17th October 2007 at <http://www.communities.gov.uk/documents/communities/pdf/regionalimpacts.pdf>).
- 1.13 Nevertheless, the existing sources of information do suggest some general tendencies. Wales has attracted relatively few A8 migrant workers compared to the rest of the United Kingdom, not more than 3% of the UK total (Home Office, 2007). Two thirds of those registering under the WRS in Wales are from Poland. Half of the applications are made in four of the 22 Welsh local authorities: Cardiff, Carmarthenshire, Newport and Wrexham.
- 1.14 Of all the Welsh local authorities, Carmarthenshire has attracted the greatest number of A8 migrant workers, particularly in Llanelli and the surrounding area. The largest group are Polish but there are also several other nationalities. The Polish migrant workers have formed an association in Llanelli. A number of issues have arisen for public services, particularly in the Roman Catholic schools concerning funding and the number of teachers with specialist skills. Carmarthenshire County Council has established a Task Group to respond to the policy demands of this situation.
- 1.15 Newport has also experienced increased migration, particularly from Poland, but there is less information both on numbers and on the conditions in which these workers find themselves. Problems have been noted in the area of housing but there is little information on the policy areas of education, health and community cohesion. Newport has a history of immigration and the local authority has to some extent tried to include recent economic migrants in existing programmes working with refugees and asylum seekers. There is a need for more research to be carried out in Newport to provide a more in depth understanding of this case study area.
- 1.16 Wrexham has a significant migrant population with Polish being the largest nationality. The County Borough Council has developed an extensive programme to integrate the newcomers and is working with a wide network of voluntary and business groups to ensure that this happens. The Council and its statutory and voluntary sector partners have developed a number of initiatives such as leaflets and language courses to assist inclusion.

- 1.17 The UK Accession (Immigration and Worker Registration) Regulations 2004 allows A8 nationals access to benefits and housing support on the same basis as other EEA (European Economic Area⁵) workers, while they are working. But A8 nationals who are not working are not generally entitled to such support. A8 nationals only acquire full Treaty rights, including access to benefits, once they have been working in the UK continuously for a period of at least 12 months.
- 1.18 Increasing short-term migration has led to some concerns about the economic costs, as well as benefits, associated with this phenomenon. While individual migrant workers are less likely than the host community to use public services, the overall number of migrant workers has led to some increase in demand, particularly for translation services.
- 1.19 Although the *'detailed impact of migration varies depending upon the region's demography, labour market and economy'* (Institute of Community Cohesion (ICCO), 2007: 5), in Wales there have been impacts on particular communities, as well as on institutions and agencies (Thomas, 2007). Although mapping populations and identifying exactly how many migrant workers are in any particular place is difficult enough, to understand the relations between communities: *'there needs to be an understanding of the complexity and layered nature of the super diversity which is now the norm in Wales and of the many factors and issues which are actually shared between and among both new and settled communities'* (Threadgold et al, 2008: 69). By this, Threadgold means that nationality is only one element, and needs to be understood alongside others, such as ethnicity, gender, poverty, and identity, which cut across both host and migrant communities.
- 1.20 The literature on this topic reveals a set of key themes. The main issues for migrant workers and public services are described below.

Education and qualifications

- 1.21 The educational and skills profile of immigration has changed with the arrival of recent migrant workers from the A8 countries. A8 migrant workers to England have been primarily young with high levels of education and skills, relative to the native population (Audit Commission, 2007:12; Schneider and Holman, 2005). Many are employed in occupations that are not commensurate with their qualifications. The

⁵ The EEA countries include the 27 EU member states plus three of the four countries of the European Free Trade Agreement (EFTA) – Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway. The fourth member, Switzerland, decided in a referendum not to join the association.

majority are either unmarried or, if they are married, are not accompanied by dependents. Nevertheless, it is possible that some will be joined by dependants at a later date as they become more settled (Audit Commission, 2007).

- 1.22 A study carried out by the Learning and Skills Development Agency (Sachdev and Harries, 2006) identified a number of key issues concerning the learning needs of A8 migrant workers, although their study was partly drawn from existing literature on asylum seekers and refugees and, therefore, is less likely to be applicable to migrant workers in particular. This found that the majority of A8 migrant workers were highly qualified and had some competency in English but not at a level to enable them to access jobs appropriate to their qualifications. The authors identified a need for these migrant workers to be able to have access to ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) classes fitting in with their existing work commitments as well as for embedded, sector-specific and job-specific ESOL and vocational training courses.
- 1.23 In Wales, language classes for migrant workers include courses designed by Yale College, Wrexham that may be taken in the workplace. Nevertheless, difficulties remain: our interviews with migrant workers show that many of them work a shift pattern and regularly return to their native country for visits, making regular attendance at courses difficult. Delivering these courses is relatively expensive and providers are often unable to find funding to support appropriate courses that are short and non-accredited. For some courses students require a National Insurance number, and this may prevent some new residents from attending classes. This seems to be because, even though a National Insurance number has been applied for, often by the employer, the individual may not know the number.
- 1.24 Although recent economic migrants have tended to be unmarried or, if married, not accompanied by their dependants, there are now children from migrant families in Welsh schools. It is likely that some migrant workers will settle in Britain and establish families here. The experience of the Portuguese community, which has been established in Britain for many years, may be of relevance here. Recent research on this community has shown that Portuguese schoolchildren find themselves in one of two principal situations. Either they are a small, isolated minority in a school that is predominantly white British, as has been the case in areas such as the Channel Islands; or they are one minority group in a school that contains many other minority groups, as is the case in several areas of London (Abreu, Silva and Lambert, 2003). Abreu and her colleagues argue that successful

integration occurs when programmes go beyond the mere acquisition of language skills of the host country to an approach that recognises the distinct identity of these groups.

1.25 Another important question is the relationship between the parents and the school. Again, the research on Portuguese migrant workers is suggestive. The parents of Portuguese children were often held back from establishing a relationship with the school by their language skills. This led to three sets of issues (Abreu, Silva and Lambert, 2003):

- the choice of school – Portuguese parents were less likely than English parents to visit the school before sending their child there and relied on informal sources of information;
- Portuguese parents were less likely to visit schools to find out about their child's progress and integration; and
- information about the school in Britain was usually mediated through the child; communication from the school usually occurred only when the child misbehaved.

1.26 These lessons drawn from this experience might be useful in devising policies for the children of migrant workers in Wales, some of whom are already attending schools here. Furthermore, there are Portuguese migrant communities in some parts of Wales, including Wrexham.

Accommodation

1.27 The Housing Association Charitable Trust (HACT) has reviewed the literature on housing issues as they relate to migrant workers (HACT, 2008). This identified a number of general points:

- there has been a rapid expansion in numbers of migrant workers needing affordable private rented accommodation and an increase in tenant turnover. The methods used to estimate housing demand often fail to reflect the needs of migrant workers;
- there has been change in local housing markets and local neighbourhoods;
- there is a widespread concern about housing conditions for migrant workers but local authorities often lack a strategic approach to tackling these conditions; and

- migrant workers who lose their jobs can become homeless and destitute. The greatest impact has been in central London, where there has been an increase in rough sleeping.

1.28 And some more detailed points:

- there are problems with some tied accommodation⁶. These include overcrowding, high rents and poor conditions;
- there is evidence that minimum standards on caravan sites and in rented accommodation are not always met, but there does not seem to have been greater inspection/enforcement activity to match the increase in the number of houses in multiple occupation (HMOs);
- there are examples of coordinated action between different agencies to tackle poor living conditions, e.g. in Kerrier, Cornwall;
- where the number of rented properties occupied by migrant workers is increasing, environmental problems can develop and may be blamed on tenants rather than landlords; and
- very few new migrant workers are eligible for social housing, but demand is likely to grow as they become eligible.

1.29 A8 migrant workers who register on the WRS scheme have a right to social benefits and housing after they have been in continuous employment for 12 months (Commission for Rural Communities (CRC), 2007). In a study of migrants in the East of England, McKay and Winkelmann-Gleed (2005) found no evidence that A8 workers were accessing welfare benefits or social housing, although there was some evidence that their presence put pressure on the housing market in general (CRC, 2007).

1.30 The Citizens' Advice Bureau report, *Nowhere to Turn* (2004) noted that there is evidence of some A8 migrant workers living in poor quality and overpriced housing and accommodation, in houses in multiple occupation, portakabins or caravans. Migrant workers in this position are also often without tenancy agreements or rent books. In some cases, A8 migrant workers live in accommodation supplied by their employers or their employment agencies (Fitzgerald, 2006). This may take two forms: accommodation that they are free to accept or refuse; or accommodation that is 'tied' to the job (Anderson et al., 2007). In the latter case, conditions can often be of an unacceptably poor standard and have the added disadvantage of

⁶ Accommodation that is provided by the employer and is contingent on the occupant's continued employment with this company.

insecurity (the migrant worker may be evicted at short notice if his or her employment is terminated). Most migrant workers are very vulnerable in this situation as they are unaware of their rights, and many have poor English language skills.

- 1.31 Communities Scotland (2006) published a report which examined the scale, impacts and experiences of the migrant labour population in Tayside. Over half (65%) of the respondents' accommodation was owned or managed by their employer.
- 1.32 Responsibility for housing strategy in Wales lies with the National Assembly for Wales (NAW) and is laid out in the 2001 Assembly document *Better Homes for People in Wales: a National Housing Strategy for Wales* (NAW, 2001). The Assembly defined its vision as wanting "everyone in Wales to have the opportunity to live in good quality, affordable, housing; to be able to choose where they live and decide whether buying or renting is best for them and their families" (ibid.: 8). One key aspect of the approach was to overcome what is seen as the polarity between owned housing, perceived as good, and rented accommodation, perceived as bad. This contrasts with UK Government housing policy in the 1980s when the emphasis was on home ownership. Rented accommodation is available either as social housing or in the private rented sector. The document states that there has been a steady improvement in these two housing sectors but, nevertheless, serious problems remain, particularly in the private rented sector where "conditions ... are generally worse than [in] the other [sectors]". Although the report was written before the arrival of A8 migrant workers began in 2004, it did recognise the problems of Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) people in Wales who, although representing a small percentage of the population, shared many common experiences of discrimination and disadvantage.
- 1.33 This context is important as it is likely that most migrant workers will seek accommodation in the private rented sector, which forms a relatively small part of the total housing stock in Wales (Ibid.: 58). The 2005 report to the Pembrokeshire Haven Spatial Planning Group conducted interviews with five estate agents and showed that pressure on the buy to let market had increased prices on properties by 20% per annum. As a result, local young people are less likely to be able to afford to rent properties and there is some evidence that young people are, in consequence, unable to leave home. The impact on property prices was believed to have impacted a five mile radius around Milford Haven. A quarter of the

participants involved in the collection of data for the CRONEM report (2006) had bought or are planning to buy a flat or house.

- 1.34 The 1998 Welsh House Condition Survey found that problems of unfitness were proportionately greatest (18.4%) in the private rented sector and that there were particular problems with HMOs (ibid.). The National Assembly for Wales strategy document stated that a number of schemes would be developed in Wales similar to those already adopted in England: giving local authorities greater discretionary powers to tackle problems in the private rented sector, including HMOs; mandatory licensing arrangements for HMOs; and possible introduction of landlord accreditation schemes.
- 1.35 Although there has been little research targeting the housing situation of migrant workers in Wales, some recent reports indicate that they may experience difficulties in finding suitable accommodation (Report to the Migrant Impacts Forum, Wales August 2007; Wales Rural Observatory, 2006⁷). Newport, Torfaen, Monmouthshire and Blaenau Gwent councils commissioned research to assess local housing market needs of BME groups, which also touched on migrant workers (Opinion Research Services, 2007). This reported that the key issues in housing for these groups were: overcrowding; poor quality housing; homelessness; lack of housing; language; lack of information; and discrimination. Zalesinska (2007) noted, on the basis of anecdotal evidence, that in Cardiff and the Vale the main problem for economic migrants was ignorance of the Welsh housing system. For example, they did not understand what the council tax was or who had to pay it. She also reported problems of overcrowding, particularly among Czech and Slovak Roma groups with sometimes two or three families sharing the same house.

Employment

- 1.36 Even before the May 2004 accession, there were considerable numbers of A8 migrant workers in the UK (Anderson et al 2006). As highlighted in the Crossing Borders report (Audit Commission (2007) 2007:19), '*migrant workers are attracted by the availability of employment*'.

^{7 7} The full Rural Observatory research report (2008) appeared too late to be included here. It contains a case study of four areas-Betws y Coed and Llanrwst, Milford Haven and Haverfordwest, Welshpool, and Northern Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion. A total of 100 migrant workers (94% Polish) were interviewed.

- 1.37 The Labour Force Survey (LFS) estimated that by the end of 2003, they numbered about 145,000 (Portes and French, 2005: 13). Of these about 50% were Polish and about two-fifths of pensionable age, reflecting post-war migration. After accession, A8 migrant workers were required to register with the Home Office on the Worker Registration Scheme within a month of starting work in the UK. The Scheme was designed to control A8 access to social welfare benefits, and to provide the Government with data on migrant inflows. The registration requirement applies only for 12 months, after which time the migrant can apply for an EEA (European Economic Area) residence permit. During these 12 months, migrant workers are required to re-register when they change employer and to apply for multiple registrations if working for more than one employer simultaneously. Registration costs £90. Research carried out by the Oxford Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS) found that in many cases migrant workers had not heard of WRS, were worried by the costs of registration, or failed to see its value, especially if they planned to stay in the UK for only a limited period (Anderson et al., 2007).
- 1.38 Some categories of A8 migrant workers are not required to register. Applicants are exempt if, for example, they are self employed. According to Anderson et al (2006) this includes many people working in the building industry, including those that are employed by companies.
- 1.39 There is no requirement for workers registered to deregister if they leave the country. This means that, although WRS figures are a useful source of general trends in migration inflows, the WRS figures do not give a full picture of A8 migration flows. They do show how many A8 nationals have registered and what categories of jobs they are doing and they do this accurately. To provide a more complete picture, the WRS data need to be supplemented by other sources including the allocation of National Insurance Numbers (NINOs) and data derived from the Labour Force Survey (LFS) (Portes and French, 2005). There is currently no satisfactory way of calculating stocks (the number of migrant workers present at any one time) as opposed to flows.
- 1.40 The Home Office's Accession Monitoring Reports which have been drawn up quarterly since May 2004, indicate some general trends in migration inflow (Home Office, 2007). Between May 2004 and December 2007 there were 796,000 applicants for registration on the WRS, of whom 766,000 were approved. This, however, does not indicate the number of long-term migrant workers, as many intend to come only for short periods. The total figures include 318,035 re-

registrations (those who previously registered but have since changed employer) and 5,935 multiple applications (from those working for more than one employer). The Monitoring Report also states that, between May 2004 and December 2007, there were just under 819,000 applications for NINOs of which 807,115 were allocated. Of these, 788,262 (97.6%) were allocated for employment purposes, 6,133 (0.8%) for benefit purposes and 12,720 (1.6%) for tax credit purposes.

Characteristics of A8 migrant workers

- 1.41 The data from WRS figures allow us to build up a picture of the national background and demographic characteristics of these migrant workers, their declared reason for coming to the UK, the kinds of work in which they are employed and their geographical locations in the UK. Most are from Poland. Between 1 May 2004 and 31 December 2007 66% of the total approved WRS applications were granted to Poles followed by Lithuanians (10%) and Slovaks (10%). A8 migrant workers are young with 43% aged between 18 and 24 years old, while 82% are under 34 (Anderson et al., 2007:4; Home Office, 2007). The ratio of male to female is 57:43. Only 7% stated they had dependants living with them in the UK when they applied and these had an average of 1.5 dependants. The great majority applied for WRS registration in order to work rather than for other reasons, such as accessing welfare benefits. Zaronaitė and Tirzite (2006) found that motivations for coming to the UK included a lack of paid employment in their country of origin, better career opportunities, to learn a new language or, in the case of some young people, to have an adventure.
- 1.42 The most common nationalities included in Zaronaitė and Tirzite's (2006) survey of 692 migrant workers in South Lincolnshire, were Polish, Portuguese, Lithuanian and Latvian. In addition, over three quarters were aged 18 – 34 years old. In the Tayside migrant labour population study (Communities Scotland, 2006) almost half of the migrant workers surveyed were aged between 16 and 24 years old. Over half (55%) of the participants included in the Tayside report were recruited in their country of origin.
- 1.43 The top five sectors of employment were administration, business and management (39%), hospitality and catering (19%), agriculture (10%), manufacturing (7%) and food, fish and meat processing (5%). Many workers stated on their WRS application forms that they intended to stay in the UK for less than three months,

although 24%, who applied between January and December 2007, stated they did not know how long they would stay. Many of those who stated that they intended to stay for a short period may have subsequently decided to remain in the UK for a longer period, or vice versa.

- 1.44 The majority of those registered in Wales are working in “administration, business and management services” with only 3% in agriculture (but the majority of those in the administration business and management sector work for recruitment agencies and could be employed in a variety of industries). Table 2.1 shows the distribution of migrant workers in Wales across different employment sectors.

Table 1.1 Top 10 Sectors – geographical distribution of employers of registered workers, cumulative total in Wales and the UK as a whole, May 2004 - December 2007

Sector	Wales	Total UK
Admin, business & managements services	9,320	296,180
Hospitality & catering	3,505	144,450
Agriculture activities	570	77,245
Manufacturing	2,960	55,565
Food/fish/meat processing	825	37,070
Health & medical services	1,140	33,335
Retail & related services	565	33,120
Construction & land services	640	30,965
Transport	365	20,365
Entertainment & leisure services	445	11,740
Total in top 10 sectors	20,335	740,035
Others not stated.	400	25,650

Source: Home Office (2007: 20). (The table shows registered workers and not WRS applications. Regions are based on the applicant's employer postcode, where supplied. Regions are defined according to the Post Office Postal Address Book regions.)

- 1.45 Anderson et al (2006) found that migrants tended to be employed in low pay sectors with long, anti-social and unpredictable hours and over half (59%) of migrant workers included in the Tayside report had manual jobs (Communities Scotland, 2006). Some further refinements of the above Home Office figures are given in a scoping study carried out by the Wales Rural Observatory (2006) which provides a profile of A8 migrant workers working in rural Wales: 63% are men and 37% are women; 97% have no dependants; two-thirds are from Poland, 14% are Slovakian and 5% are from Lithuania. Although the figures given in this report need to be

treated with caution⁸, they are roughly comparable with the figures for the UK as whole, except that they reveal proportionally more men than women in the Welsh case.

- 1.46 The employers' view of A8 migrant workers is "*generally very positive; in particular they were thought to be reliable, hard-working and willing to be flexible*" (Low Pay Commission, 2007:156-7). Part of the reason for this positive view may be that the number of A8 migrants who are members of trade unions is, according to the Autumn 2005 Labour Force Survey, only 3.6% - a figure that is less than a sixth of the participation rate "*for all foreign born workers in employment*" (Anderson et al., 2007:4). Other research has shown stereotyped views about particular nationalities or ethnic groups, for example, the high work ethic of Poles. One of the employers in Anderson's study felt that Bangladeshis were more reliable than Italians.
- 1.47 A study of employment practices concerning migrant workers, carried out in the Breckland area in England, detailed interviews with a number of employers in the area. Out of 31 employers interviewed, eleven stated that they provided training for their migrant workforce, with health and safety training uppermost. Two companies provided training to migrant workers in their own languages (Schneider and Holman, 2005).
- 1.48 Anderson et al (2006) highlight that many migrant workers are over-qualified for the jobs they take while residing in the UK. In their survey of employers from agriculture, construction, hospitality and au pairs, more than half of the respondents employed in elementary jobs had post-secondary education. In addition, 29% of the respondents in the CRONEM (Centre for Research on Nationalism, Ethnicity and Multiculturalism) 2006 report had a degree. However, over 30% had been unemployed before moving to the UK. One in four respondents working in hospitality and construction were not paying National Insurance contributions, presumably, in the case of construction workers, because they were self employed.
- 1.49 Those considered the most vulnerable of all A8 migrant workers are those employed through agencies or gangmasters. There is some evidence that a number of "*employers and employment agencies make illegal deductions for transport, meals, utilities and even so-called 'administrative fees'*" (Low Pay Commission, 2007:225).

⁸ The full Rural Observatory research report (2008) appeared too late to be included here. It contains a case study of four areas - Betws y Coed and Llanrwst, Milford Haven and Haverfordwest, Welshpool, and Northern Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion. A total of 100 migrant workers (94% Polish) were interviewed.

- 1.50 A gangmaster is an individual or business that supplies casual labour (McKay and Winkelmann-Gleed, 2005). There are about 3000 gangmasters in the UK but the exact number is not known. The majority run professional businesses and obey the law but a minority (around 20% according to McKay and Winkelmann-Gleed, 2005) operate illegal and exploitative practices. This finding was reinforced by an inquiry in 2003 by the Environment, Food & Rural Affairs Committee of the House of Commons, which concluded that, in the agriculture sector alone, “*a significant number of gangmasters are involved in illegal activity including the non-payment of taxes; the employment of illegal workers from abroad, who are often housed in appalling conditions; and the flouting of employment legislation*” (quoted in CAB, 2004). The major supermarket chains do not directly inspect the gangmasters recruiting for their suppliers as the memorandum submitted to the House of Commons Select Committee on Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, in 2003 admitted (Asda Memorandum 2003). The CAB adds that this situation is not confined to the agricultural sector but may be found in other sectors of employment such as the hospitality and cleaning sectors. The Gangmaster Licensing Act 2004⁹ was passed to curb exploitation by gangmasters; to ensure transparency in the labour provision sector; and to facilitate the distinction between legal and illegal operators.
- 1.51 Zaronaitė and Tirzite’s (2006) study showed that migrants in South Lincolnshire most commonly worked in the agricultural and food processing sectors. Most migrant workers (80%) included in their research had NINOs, but a quarter of those working for gangmasters did not. Furthermore, 22% of the sample from the 2006 CRONEM (UK wide) research were seasonal migrant workers (i.e. probably employed in the agricultural sector). There are relatively few migrant workers employed in agriculture in Wales, compared to other parts of the UK. Food processing is, however, a major employer.
- 1.52 In a research report written by the Bevan Foundation for the Wales Trades Union Congress, it was found that the problems outlined above for the UK as a whole are also present among migrant workers in Wales. Working conditions and wages experienced by migrant workers are often poor and can be worsened by inappropriate contracts. Sometimes workers are recruited by gangmasters and, despite the legislation, are often exploited by them. Workers are not being

⁹ The Act covers employment in agriculture, the processing and packaging of agricultural products, fish and shellfish, and shellfish gathering.

remunerated correctly for the job done (Bevan Foundation, 2007: 20). There is a close link to housing issues (see above), when accommodation is tied to employment, as well as language skills, since a good knowledge of English is required for migrant workers to know their rights, and to exercise them. In July 2006, the Welsh Assembly Government (WAG) produced an “*Employers’ voluntary code of practice on the treatment of migrant workers and provision of services in Wales*” in order to provide guidance. The code would have provided recommendations on issues such as travel arrangements; accommodation; integration into the community; English language; employment conditions; and working conditions. However, the WAG decided not to adopt the code as they felt that its provisions were already present in other legislation, e.g. those published by the Recruitment and Employment Confederation and the Institute of Directors (Welsh Assembly Government, 2007a).

Impact on the economy

- 1.53 A Home Office submission to the House of Lords Select Committee on Economic Affairs in 2007 stated that, in 1999/2000, first generation migrants (from all backgrounds) in the UK contributed £31.2 billion in taxes and received £28.8 billion in benefits and public services, a net fiscal contribution of £2.5 billion (Home Office, 2007a: 8). The same submission cited research by the Institute of Public Policy Research which had found that migration had a positive and growing impact on the public finances: by 2003-4 it was estimated that migrants contributed 10% of government receipts and accounted for 9.1% of government expenditure (ibid.). In other words, they paid 10% more in taxes than they received in public services. This compares with the UK-born population which pays almost 5% more in taxes than it receives in public services and welfare benefits. These are average figures and may mask differences across different groups of migrants, but it is clear that migrants of working age without dependants, such as the majority of A8 migrant workers, will make a positive economic and fiscal contribution since the UK has not paid for their education and training. In addition, as the great majority have no children, they do not draw to any great extent on the UK’s educational system.
- 1.54 The IPPR research (2007) about the reception and inclusion of new communities found that attitudes to migrants were influenced by levels of unemployment and qualifications within a particular area. The areas with more negative attitudes had

the highest unemployment and the lowest level of qualifications. Attitudes in Scotland were generally more positive than elsewhere in the UK.

- 1.55 The Home Office Accession Monitoring Reports have consistently shown that the primary motivation of A8 migrant workers coming to the UK is to work, thus contradicting earlier fears that they came because of 'welfare tourism'. In fact, recent research on migrant workers in England (Loughlin, 2007) has shown that the majority of these workers do not use the welfare or health systems even when they are entitled to do so. Migrant workers often do not register with GPs, for example, but may use A&E services when they have an accident.

Geographical locations of A8 migrant workers: Wales and the UK as a whole

- 1.56 Although previous migration tended to be concentrated in London, the A8 inflows have favoured both Anglia (15% of the total) and the Midlands (13%) with London in third place (12%). Wales has been the least favoured destination in all of the UK with only about 3% of A8 migrants moving there (Home Office, 2007: 18). In Wales, 20,735 A8 migrant workers registered on the WRS between 1 May 2004 and 31 December 2007. Four local authorities in Wales have been the main destinations of these workers. (The figures for those registering between 1 May 2004 and 30 March 2007 were: Carmarthenshire (2,635), Wrexham (2,565), Newport (2,405) and Cardiff (1,855) (WAG, 2007: 4).) However, these figures simply record those registered to work for employers in these areas and may not represent the actual number of migrants working there. Those who initially registered may have returned home and there may be other A8 nationals working in these areas who have not registered. A report by a community officer responsible for economic migrants in Cardiff and the Vale as part of the EU-funded EQUAL project in Wales reported that in Cardiff three employers of A8 nationals stated that their employees alone accounted for almost half of all those registered on the WRS in that area (Zalesinska, 2007). She thought that the official figures were a serious underestimation of the real figures. She distinguished between large employers, most of whom have had enough time to adapt and adjust to the numbers of migrant workers within their staff, and a large number of small-scale employers, some of whom can be very unscrupulous and show lack of knowledge when it comes to employing migrant workers. This finding should be regarded as only indicative in the absence of a more complete employer survey.

- 1.57 The *Crossing Borders* report by the Audit Commission (2007) highlights the importance of the geographical spread of migrant workers and the changes over time as the migration process matures, as *'migrant workers might initially arrive in large numbers in a neighbourhood because of the actions of one local employment agency, or landlord. Once established, communities tend to attract other people of the same nationality. Local history and local connections can make one area more of a magnet for a new community than another apparently similar one'* (2007:11).

Health

- 1.58 Recent research has shown that A8 migrant workers in England are not heavy users of the health system (Loughlin, 2007). For example, Zaronaitė and Tirzite (2006) found that only 53% of the migrant workers they sampled were registered with a GP. Due to the inadequate provision of information and easy to understand guidance, migrant workers often remain unaware of how to use the UK health service (Zalesinska, 2007). Earlier migrants were young individuals who were less likely to use the Health Service (WCBC, n.d.). Over time there is likely to be a greater number of dependents and increased use of the Health Service, particularly for childbirth and children's health.

Community issues

- 1.59 Research by the IPPR (2007:6) suggests that there have been difficulties in the reception of new migrant workers in England and Scotland and that these difficulties may arise out of misperceptions on the part of the host and the migrant communities (IPPR, 2007). The report states that these misperceptions *"...lie at the heart of how new migrants are received, with the media playing a key role in filling what is often a vacuum of accurate information on the dynamics of social change at the local level. These misperceptions are largely forged along the fault lines of race, ethnicity and religion, with white migrants in England reporting a broadly more positive reception than non-white migrants. The reception of new migrants is also influenced by local labour markets, local housing pressures, local and regional demographics, and political leadership on migration"*.
- 1.60 The IPPR report noted an interesting difference between reception of migrants in England and Scotland: *"Scotland seems to possess several characteristics that*

facilitate the reception and integration of new migrants that differ to those observed in England: a different scale of migration; a stronger sense of national identity; strong political leadership on migration; and more balanced media coverage. Many of these are 'natural' advantages determined by socio-demographic factors, but some are not – most notably the political leadership of the Scottish Executive in promoting a positive message on migration” (ibid: 7).

- 1.61 One feature of recent economic migration, noted by Zalesinska (2007) in her report on Cardiff and the Vale, is that members of migrant groups tend to associate with each other and sometimes become isolated from the wider society. There is also an age factor. Among Polish migrants, those above the age of 40 tend to stay together and meet at the Polish House in Cardiff on Saturday evenings, while those below 40 organise social events in clubs in Cardiff. Migrants in the Vale, who are more scattered, are more isolated from each other. Elsewhere it has also been noted that the more established migrant worker communities do not tend to mix with the more recent arrivals; they had different motives for migration and different needs and situations than the new post-Accession communities (Ryan et al, 2007; Audit Commission, 2007).
- 1.62 Inclusion in the wider community may be difficult for migrant workers for very practical reasons. One problem faced by them is the difficulty in obtaining a bank account since they may share accommodation with friends or, if they are in tied accommodation, do not have a tenancy agreement and so cannot provide proof of residence to the bank (Zalesinska, 2007). Often employers will be reluctant to provide such proof. Without a bank account migrant workers remain marginalised in the host society.
- 1.63 Other issues that may be relevant to community cohesion are: that migrant workers may not know how to report crime, abuse or harassment and may view the police with suspicion. The development of shops and services established to serve particular communities may act as a marker of social change, which may be seen as unsettling or unwelcome by some members of the host community.
- 1.64 The IPPR report noted that Eastern Europeans had the least experience of violent or racist abuse, compared to ethnic minorities and non-white migrants who reported a higher frequency of racist incidents and abuse in the English and Scottish locations included in their research. The authors of this report suggest that the successful integration of new migrants needs to be part of a broader process of integration for all members of society, focusing on interaction, participation and

equality. However, three quarters of migrant workers included in the Tayside research (Communities Scotland, 2006) reported that relations with local people were good or very good and only 5% of the CRONEM (Centre for Research on Nationalism, Ethnicity and Multiculturalism) sample of 505 migrant workers felt they were received badly or very badly by British society.

- 1.65 Threadgold et al (2008) also provide evidence that parents of migrant and refugee children and young people living in deprived areas of Cardiff were constrained by fears of racism.
- 1.66 Community cohesion and inclusion issues are complex and multi-faceted. These issues are especially important because, although many migrant workers come to the UK to find work, many are attracted for other reasons (Threadgold et al, 2008). The IPPR (IPPR: 5) report notes that *'post enlargement is not a purely economic phenomenon: many come to the UK to learn English, start a business, live in more socially liberal society or simply to broaden their horizons'*. Equally, many migrants choose to leave because they miss home and wish to be closer to friends and family. The social situations which migrant workers find themselves in may influence their length of stay in the UK; the IPPR report estimates that around 1 million A8 migrant workers have arrived in the UK since 2004 but that half of this group have already left.
- 1.67 Over half of the migrant workers involved in Zaronaitė and Tirzite's (2006) study wished to stay in the UK permanently, bringing their families with them. More of the migrants surveyed had stayed in the UK between one and three years (37%) than less than three months (15%). In the Tayside research (Communities Scotland, 2006), 38% of the migrant workers studied wanted to eventually become UK citizens, and one third of the respondents from the CRONEM (2006) research said they intended to stay longer than two years. Despite this, 70% of the Tayside sample maintained strong economic and social interests in Poland, such as buying land or voting, and 80% made frequent visits to Poland. There were approximately 10 million passengers on flights between the UK and the A8/A2 states in 2007 (IPPR, 2008).

Information and guidance

- 1.68 Previous research on migrant workers shows that there has been a lack of guidance on basic advice about many aspects of living in the UK; not only how to

obtain a bank account, but also information on legal advice, employment rules and regulations, rights and responsibilities, health and education services, and taxation. Local authorities under the leadership of the Welsh Assembly Government (WAG, 2006) have produced an information pack for new entrants in twenty different languages. Some local authorities have produced their own sets of welcome information. Zalesinska (2007) noted that in Cardiff and the Vale most migrants were unaware of what benefits they were entitled to.

- 1.69 Furthermore, many service providers in Cardiff and the Vale did not always use the Language Line¹⁰ (phone interpreting service) or simply found it too expensive despite the statutory requirement to have such a service. Zalesinska noted that sometimes migrants received contradictory advice from within the same service provider.
- 1.70 The Crossing Borders report suggested (Audit Commission, 2007)) that websites and word of mouth are effective ways to share advice and information amongst the migrant worker population but that training is also required for frontline staff working in local agencies, such as the Citizens Advice Bureaux
- 1.71 The European Economic Migrants Project with the Race Equality First programme in Cardiff and the Vale has developed a number of initiatives, past and present, to try to help migrants integrate more fully into the local society (ibid.): casework sessions; setting up an employment advice centre; sessions on banking; an information day for workers and refugees; English for work and services courses; health workshops for women; Welsh heritage and culture, integration and cohesion sessions; drop-in centre in Barry; setting up the Central and Eastern European Association of Cardiff; a job application help service; and multi-agency migrants seminars organised jointly with the Welsh Local Government Association.

¹⁰ Language Line is a global interpreting and translating service and offers a pay as you go interpreting service over the telephone in over 170 languages.

2. Report structure

- 2.1 The remainder of this report presents the findings from the collection of primary data from each of the case studies.
- 2.2 The key findings from the research are drawn out in the next chapter. We hope that this research will provide direction for future work in this area and offer useful guidance for researchers working with migrant workers or people of different ethnicities.
- 2.3 Chapters three to five contextualise the three areas and introduce the topical issues concerning migrant workers that face local authorities and other relevant agencies. Findings from the migrant worker interviews are also considered.
- 2.4 Methodological issues are discussed in chapter 6. This details the steps that we took and considers how the approach was developed during the fieldwork. We discuss lessons from the research and make recommendations for local authorities on developing data on migrant workers in the concluding section.
- 2.5 It should be noted that this report concentrates on the social impact of migration and was not designed to deal with the economic impacts of migration, other than in passing. However, more detailed work on economic impacts is being carried out in other studies.¹¹
- 2.6 The research does not claim to present an exhaustive account of the experiences of migrant workers throughout Wales, or indeed of the host society. Instead, it offers an insight into some of the social relations and grass roots experiences within Carmarthenshire, Newport and Wrexham. These findings provide a foundation to better understand the current situation in these areas and provide guidance for future service development.

¹¹ Please see the following link for more information relating to the economic impacts of migration: <http://new.wales.gov.uk/aboutresearch/econoresearch/completed/migration/?lang=en>

3. Overview and Findings

Introduction

- 3.1 This report presents findings from the primary data collection of research commissioned by the Welsh Assembly Government into the social impact of migration at a local authority level in Wales.
- 3.2 The study adopted qualitative methodology and a case study approach to consider the changing patterns of migration in Carmarthenshire, Newport and Wrexham. The study found similarities and differences in social impacts between the case study areas and that these were largely based on how support structures had developed in the three areas. Each of the case study chapters that follow illustrates a spectrum of unique experiences, as well as shared challenges facing newcomers from the A8 states and local authorities. This has shown the primary and secondary impacts associated with migration into Carmarthenshire, Newport and Wrexham. It was also clear that impacts and needs change over time as well as vary from one location to another. The perspectives of migrant workers were influenced by their nationality and family circumstances.
- 3.3 This chapter seeks to pull together some of the key findings about the social impact of migration at a local authority level.

Service demands and provision

- 3.4 An increase in the number of migrant workers has meant that more people will access local services¹². As a result, certain elements of services have faced increased pressure, either through additional demand or through necessary changes to the means of service delivery, for example providing literature in other languages or employing translators. These developments have taken place despite the absence of specific funding for such extra provision.

¹² Although the study targeted three local authority areas, it was not limited to services provided by the local authority. “Services” can also refer to provision by the commercial market (e.g. private rented housing), services by other statutory agencies (e.g. the police) and services by the voluntary sector (e.g. advice services). At the same time the local authority often has a leadership or data collection/coordination role, which is often wider than the services it directly provides. This leadership includes, inter alia, issues concerning community cohesion, planning, housing, and economic development.

- 3.5 Although the newcomers have demonstrated some specific needs, these are not homogenous, and may vary over time. The main issues are how services are delivered, as well as some increase in demand.

Service use

- 3.6 An important aspect of this research is whether and to what extent the demands from migrant workers on services differ from those of the indigenous population. Does the increase in the numbers of migrant workers in a locality have the same impact as an increase due to natural change in population size or internal migration? If not, how does this differ and what are the implications from a service delivery perspective?
- 3.7 Interviews confirmed that the service needs of migrant workers are not entirely distinct from those of members of the host society; there is some similarity between newcomers and long-standing residents. However, findings from each of the three areas indicate that migrant workers use different types of services depending on how long they have lived in the country. The initial needs for migrant workers are to find employment and accommodation (although employment may have been arranged in the country of origin, and accommodation may be provided by the employer (tied accommodation)). They will also need to find out about transport, where the shops are, and, possibly, register with a GP. At a later stage they may need to enrol children in school.
- 3.8 Figure 3.1 shows the developments in the migration process over time. It is worth noting that type of employment does not differ greatly, although migrant workers who have stayed for some time may be seeking additional education or training in order to validate qualifications or to transfer skills gained in their country of origin.

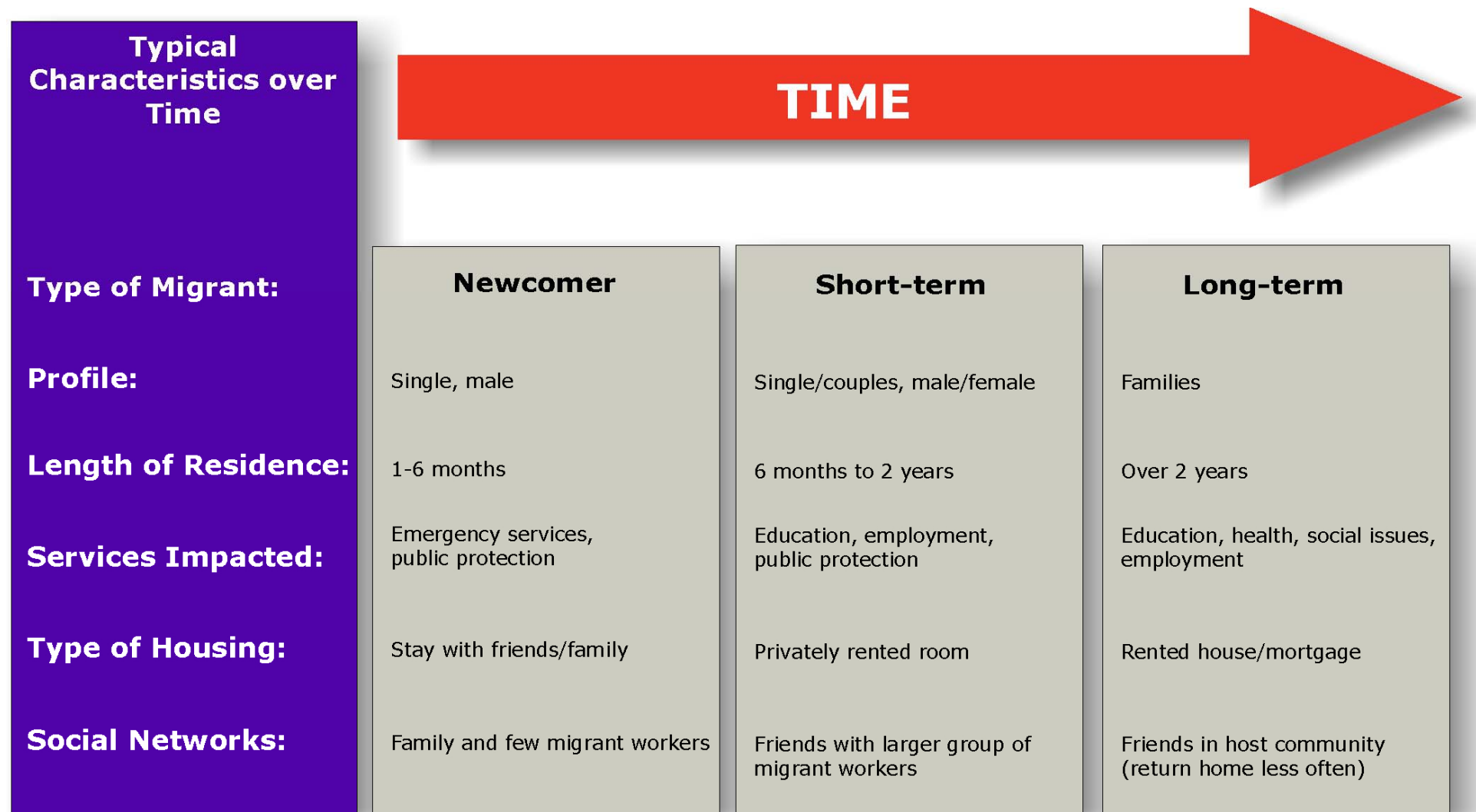


Figure 3.1 The Development of the Migration Process

- 3.9 Once preliminary steps towards inclusion has taken place or these initial needs have been met, service demand changes as newcomers are '*...getting to know things better and feeling more confident*'¹³. Migrant workers' needs then become more similar to those of the long-established population. Coupled with this widening use of services is an increase in the geographical radius in which migrant workers will travel to use services.
- 3.10 Although migrant workers' requirements for services do not differ greatly from those of the host society, the delivery of services does require some adaptation. In order that service provision is fitted to the needs of specific users, local authorities and representatives from the voluntary sector have begun to engage in dialogue with newcomers. Members of staff delivering services have direct contact with migrant workers and so are able to discuss topical issues facing service users. Those not working on the frontline seemed reasonably well informed by service delivery staff about issues affecting migrant workers.
- 3.11 Evidence from the interviews and focus groups suggests that communication between migrant workers and local authorities could be improved so that the views of newcomers are formally recognised as part of the service development process. Increased representation from newcomers on working groups would be one way in which this could be taken forward
- 3.12 Generally, migrant workers did not report any major problems in accessing and using local services. However, service delivery staff and those working at a strategic level described communication problems and felt that language problems often hindered service delivery. Those feelings of dissatisfaction that were reported by migrant workers seemed to be partly fuelled by misunderstandings of service aims, or inappropriate expectations due to previous experiences in the A8 states. The most common example of this was dentistry, with many Polish migrant workers expecting it to be free, as it is in Poland.
- 3.13 The additional service delivery requirements that migrant workers and other stakeholders described have resulted in the need for more staff in some services, especially in education departments and in the voluntary sectors. In some cases these have been recruited from the migrant worker population as well as the host society. Some new roles have been created to deal with social cohesion issues.

¹³ Quote from a Polish migrant worker interviewed in Wrexham

Some agencies working with migrant workers have recruited staff with the requisite language skills. Over time, there may be increasing demands on the health service. At present some migrant workers continue to travel to Poland for healthcare even though they may have lived in Wales for some time.

- 3.14 Although some service providers have changed the ways in which services are delivered to reflect the needs of newcomers, many services continue to be delivered in the same way. In some cases changes to service delivery were not needed. Where few changes have been made, Language Line has been relied upon or multi-lingual speakers in the local area have been used in order to accommodate the needs of migrant workers. Members of staff working in local services described the additional training requirements and the need for better knowledge about the legislative framework of migration. Equalities training that includes modules on migrant workers has been introduced in many of the local authority departments.
- 3.15 There has been little additional funding or resources in the public and voluntary sectors to address the needs of migrant workers. Services are developing slowly and in a reactive way, seeking funding from various sources (such as the National Lottery) on an ad hoc basis. The recruitment of new staff also requires attention since the people already working with migrant workers play a vital role in delivering a satisfactory service. New staff will require appropriate experience or knowledge of the policy context in order to continue effective service delivery.

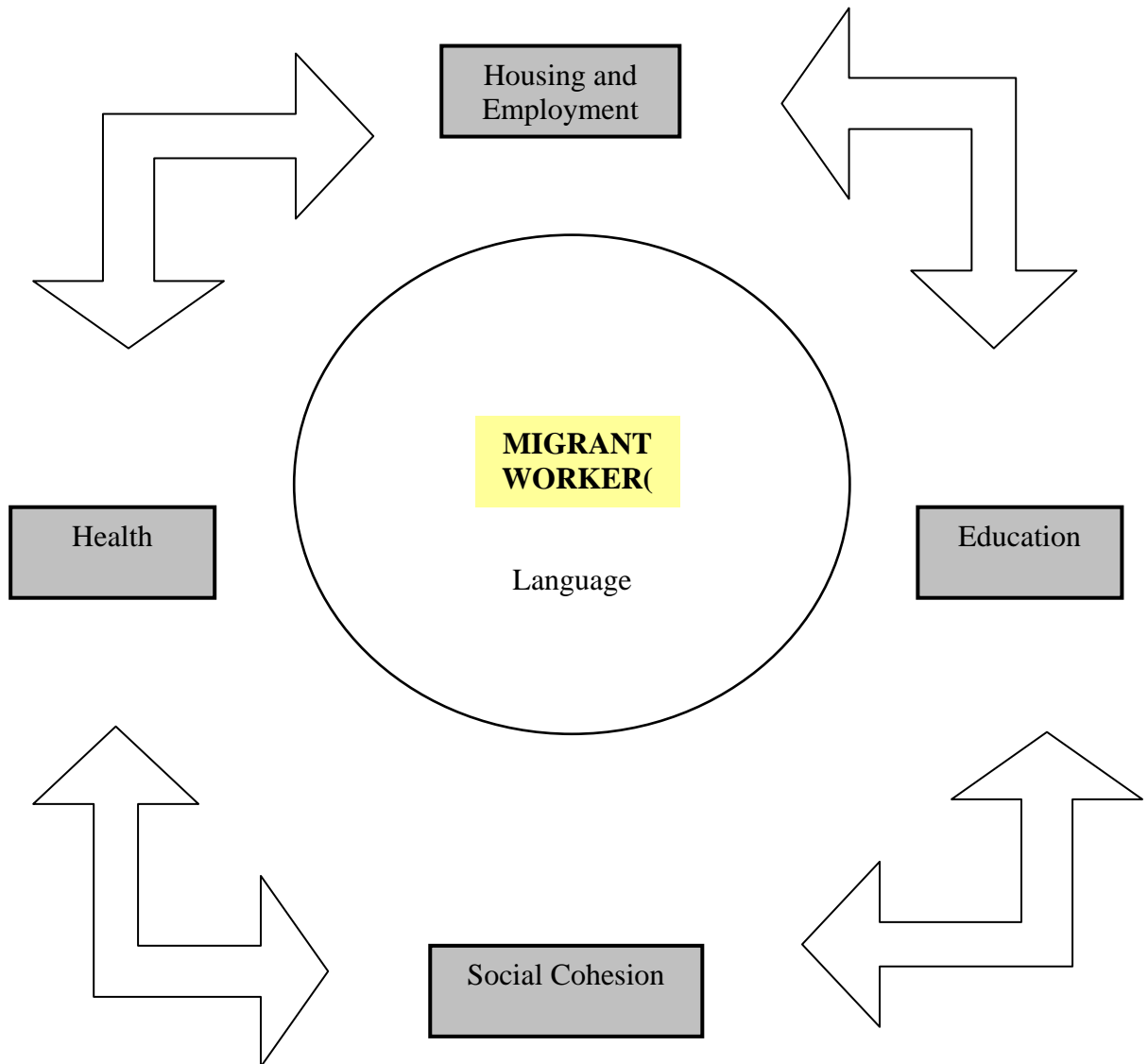
The migrant worker experience

- 3.16 Understanding the migrant worker perspective has allowed us to build a more complete picture of the current social impacts of migration from the A8 states.
- 3.17 The migrant workers tended to live in socially disadvantaged areas of the local authorities, as these are more likely than other areas to contain low cost rental accommodation. The host communities in these neighbourhoods often have low levels of skills and qualifications, and high levels of unemployment, and with the exception of Pill, in Newport, little previous experience of large scale immigration. Language barriers and cultural differences may exacerbate problems for migrant workers moving into these areas.
- 3.18 Discussions with migrant workers showed that often they used a variety of services, rather than one service in isolation, because their need was linked to different

service areas. In this respect they are probably no different to members of the host community. They are less likely than the host community to understand whose responsibility it is to provide particular services (policing, refuse collection, housing, education, and so on).

3.19 The following figure (3.2) depicts these relationships and explains the process further.

Figure 3.1: The Migrant Worker Experience



3.20 Figure 3.2 puts the migrant worker, as an individual or part of a group, at the centre of the model. Migrant workers face language barriers, do not understand the culture of the host community, and are themselves perceived as “different”. These

factors affect service use and operate between the migrant worker and the delivery of each group of services by public, private and voluntary agencies.

- 3.21 Different aspects of a person's life do not exist in isolation. For example, not having a job is likely to restrict access to accommodation and having an untreated health problem may increase the likelihood of newcomers not being able to afford their rent.

Language barriers

- 3.22 As much of the literature on this topic showed, language issues proved to be prevalent throughout each of the case studies. This was perhaps the most obvious barrier limiting access to local services, as well as sometimes restricting the ability of service staff to deliver a high quality service.
- 3.23 Feelings of frustration about language difficulties were demonstrated both by service users and by staff. For example, language problems faced by migrant workers appear to be lengthening the time taken to access services and in some cases may be reducing the quality of services or preventing migrant workers from registering with services. This was applicable to all services being accessed by migrant workers. Regardless of some language problems, migrant workers used certain services more or less than other services. This was often through personal choice or the stage of the migration process, rather than due to inadequate provision.
- 3.24 There has increasingly been a greater reliance on Language Line and certain local individuals for interpretation services. These services are being used on an ad hoc basis and are not always guaranteed or consistently delivered. Furthermore, interpreting over the phone is often not the most appropriate strategy for dealing with sensitive or personal issues and this is perhaps limiting how much use the migrant worker is able to make of some services, especially healthcare provision.
- 3.25 However, language difficulties do not seem to be preventing migrant workers from using services, and staff have proved innovative in overcoming the immediate challenges presented by communication difficulties. This did appear to be resulting in somewhat inconsistent services as some staff members were better in coping in this way than others. This sometimes put pressure on individual members of staff.

Understanding cultural difference

- 3.26 Much of the confusion about accessing local services appears to be underpinned by cultural difference. This factor was not as directly observable as language difficulties but became apparent during extended discussions in each of the case study areas. Cultural misunderstandings affect both the host society and migrant workers.
- 3.27 Cultural barriers for migrant workers include lack of knowledge about the UK administrative structure. Although many use council facilities, such as the library and other leisure facilities, they do not see any connection with the local authority/council. Furthermore, some feel intimidated by the council due to previous negative experiences of people in authority in their country of origin.
- 3.28 Informal networks of knowledge sharing are a vital source of information within the migrant worker population. Whilst this strategy may potentially reinforce some myths among the migrant workers, it can also act as a useful tool for spreading knowledge. The majority of migrant workers appeared to be more likely to trust other migrant workers or intermediaries¹⁴, rather than officers from the local authority,
- 3.29 In addition, there have been numerous examples of more formal approaches to breaking down stereotypes. Presentations about migrant workers or ethnic diversity more generally, have been delivered to school children and training events for local authority staff are currently being rolled out. These are intended to overcome stereotypes and encourage a more informed understanding of cultural difference and similarity. Another common strategy that has been developed within each of the case study areas is translating literature into other languages, Cultural differences have been celebrated with mini festivals, such as the regular cultural events held at Caia Park in Wrexham.
- 3.30 Many public and voluntary sector organisations are attempting to dispel myths about migration amongst the host communities in our case study areas; Carmarthenshire and Wrexham appear to have been the most proactive with this strategy. This is happening on both a formal and an informal basis.

¹⁴ For example, some voluntary sector workers or elected representatives fulfilled this role, providing access to information about the administrative system, jobs, accommodation, information and support.

Community cohesion

- 3.31 The continued use of informal networks for information gathering has increased the reliance on friends and family within the migrant worker population in the case study areas. Consequently, bonding social capital¹⁵ has been enhanced whereby relationships between newcomers have been developed and become stronger. Many newcomers have continued to buy food and listen to music from their country of origin, often speaking their own language in the home environment.
- 3.32 Bridging social capital, which refers to social relations and networks across different groups and communities, seemed less well developed in the case studies, although there are numerous examples of migrant workers making friends with members of the host society,
- 3.33 Similarly to other aspects of the migration process, interactions between members of the host society and newcomers differed according to age, their family situation and future intentions. Families were often very keen to build bridges within the community, in contrast to many of the younger or single migrant workers. The latter were more likely to be informally socialising in pubs and nightclubs. Some young people said that they did not want to learn English or Welsh. This pattern was also reflected by how long newcomers intended to stay. Not surprisingly, those wanting to stay a short while seemed less inclined to start friendships with members of the host society, whilst families planning to remain in the UK seemed more enthusiastic about socialising within the wider community.
- 3.34 The 'churn' effect which results from the arrival and departure of short term migrant workers seems to be increasing the need to focus on community cohesion issues. This is already recognised by the local authorities from each of the case study areas and a conscious effort is being made to develop the inclusion agenda.
- 3.35 There appear to be mixed opinions about how well the migrant worker population has been received by the host society. Whilst representatives from the private, public and voluntary sectors spoke about misconceptions based on media generalisations, the migrant workers that we interviewed did not demonstrate any major concerns of being unsafe or not welcome in Wales.
- 3.36 Furthermore, interviews showed mixed opinions on levels of racism or racial conflict in each of the areas. No major incidents have been reported by the police.

¹⁵ Bonding social capital refers to the value of social networks between homogeneous groups of people and bridging social capital refers to the value of social networks between socially heterogeneous groups.

- 3.37 The presence of local intermediaries has been integral to the process of integration; without such individuals migrant workers may have faced increased difficulties when moving to Wales. The formation of these groups of individuals has developed slowly and in a natural way, rather than following a pre-planned agenda. As such, the reactive nature of this work has promoted the development of a tailored yet informal network of signposting, as well as direct involvement with assisting migrant workers in accessing services. In some cases individuals have taken migrant workers to the doctor so that they are treated appropriately and can translate on their behalf and others have offered information on how to pay bills.
- 3.38 Despite the positive impact that local groups of intermediaries appear to be having in the case study areas, there is, perhaps, a risk that individuals may become dependent on these services, although there is no evidence that this is happening. In cases of destitution, migrant workers have had to depend on these services because they are not eligible for welfare benefits. The local intermediaries also provide what is, in effect a one stop shop for migrant workers, who often do not understand the administrative boundaries of service providers in a UK context.
- 3.39 Although migrant workers are perhaps in need of more information about where to go for help and advice, efforts need to be focused on developing a better understanding of specific entitlements, organisational roles and the types of services available. This needs to involve by disseminating information including how to access and use these services.
- 3.40 Work has already begun on sharing ideas and experiences from working at the grassroots level. For example, Caia Park Partnership and Wrexham County Borough Council are nearing completion of a toolkit to support voluntary sector organisations wanting to include migrant workers in their activities as volunteers, members or participants. This is a way of providing information on working with the migrant worker population and dealing with the needs that newcomers have when arriving in the UK. It goes some way to recognising cultural difference and promoting a better understanding of the cultural backgrounds from which migrant workers originate.
- 3.41 Much of the work that is currently taking place at the local level is developing alongside work by various organisations at the national level, including the WLGA and WAG. Confusions around entitlements and benefits permeate throughout the private, public and voluntary sectors. Better welfare rights training (led from the

national level) within these sectors would help to ensure that migrant workers received the correct entitlements.

- 3.42 Recognition of the existence of the informal advisory networks and the role of intermediaries, may lead to a more proactive and consistent approach at the local level.

The host community and migration

- 3.43 Although this research did not intend specifically to uncover the views or experiences of the host society, important insights about the perceptions and experiences of local residents was gained incidentally. Many interviewees, not all of them having an official role in relation to migration, were part of the host society and the participant observation part of the research also helped to reveal the views held by the host community regarding migrant workers.
- 3.44 The constant, and often misleading, media attention on the topic of migration proved to be a discussion point amongst many of the people we approached during the research. Interviewees were often keen to discuss what they saw as the inaccuracies in much of the reporting. Those providing services emphasised that their approach was based on providing equal service to all, rather than providing a special service for migrant workers.
- 3.45 The local authorities and voluntary organisations in our case studies have made considerable efforts to better inform their host communities about migration and by doing so have gone some way to dispel myths or prevent incorrect knowledge being circulated. This work has partly been achieved by the multi-agency meetings which take place in the case study areas but has also taken place through informal networks. The passion and dedication of key individuals within the case study areas has been crucial.
- 3.46 Continued effort is required in order to break down remaining barriers. Ensuring that residents are informed about changes in patterns of migration, by a reliable source, may facilitate the inclusion of newcomers.

Information provision

- 3.47 Each of the case study areas took different approaches to assisting with the inclusion process. For example, in Wrexham information was provided in different

languages by a range of sources, including the council, fire service and police. However, in Newport the diverse ethnic structure made it difficult to provide leaflets in all languages and there appears to be a need for better dissemination of information about procedures and entitlements, particularly for the health service and housing.

- 3.48 Local authorities should perhaps seek out more effective ways to make contact with newcomers, especially as migrant workers can be hard to reach with traditional methods. The promotion of a formally organised and considered approach to providing information would benefit migrant workers, as well as the network of agencies in contact with newcomers.
- 3.49 During the fieldwork, an information event was held at Caia Park Partnership for members of the local community. There was high attendance at this event and many of the migrant workers who attended thought that the session was extremely beneficial. A similar event or series of information workshops would offer migrant workers a tailored resource in a familiar environment.
- 3.50 Interviews with representatives from the local authorities indicated that presentations in schools have been effective in informing pupils and staff about the varied cultural background of migrant workers. Carrying out similar work with the voluntary sector would ensure information reached larger numbers of people.
- 3.51 A more consistent approach to this information provision would ensure that intermediaries were fully aware of the range of advice sources currently available and consequently promote a joined up approach between the private, public and voluntary sectors.

Translation and interpretation services

- 3.52 Many of the services that are in contact with migrant workers rely on a pool of individuals who are able to assist with translation and interpretation services. This has proved to be an invaluable resource throughout the case study areas but is applying increased pressure on certain individuals.
- 3.53 The level of demand for Language Line has been an unanticipated expense. In some services this has diverted resources from aspects of service delivery, while other services could not afford it at all.
- 3.54 Agencies who had frequent contact with migrant workers seemed to be facing particular difficulties in communicating with their clients. It was unclear how this

was impacting on the quality of the service, although in some instances staff had decided to learn Polish or Portuguese in their own time to minimise this problem.

- 3.55 Although many of the issues which participants spoke about focused on the need to remove language barriers, this did not appear to be affecting all participants in the same way, and the intensity of requirements varied. Whilst some people could speak only one or two words of English, others had more proficient language skills or merely did not have the confidence to talk over the phone.
- 3.56 Many participants from the voluntary sector felt that the positive contribution that migrant workers are bringing to Wales was frequently, and unfortunately, overlooked by members of the host communities.

Key conclusions

- 3.57 This research has provided an outlet for the voice of migrant workers and those working with migrant workers; some previous studies have omitted this perspective from debates about the impact of changing migration patterns and appropriate service provision for newcomers.
- 3.58 Including migrant workers in the research has produced a more comprehensive account of each area by illustrating differences in perspectives between newcomers and the private, public and voluntary sector staff. Taking time to understand the range of perspectives has achieved a more informed understanding of each community and the pertinent issues facing residents.
- 3.59 Most of the people who took part in the research were keen to participate and demonstrated an enthusiastic attitude towards contributing to research in this topic area. This was especially apparent in the voluntary sector as members of staff often based their involvement on personal interest or previous experience. The value of the positive contributions being made by these groups of individuals has been apparent throughout the research process.
- 3.60 The personal dedication and knowledge of these individuals has underpinned much of the informal signposting which has become integral to service delivery. This process should be acknowledged as an additional feature of the service structure within each area.
- 3.61 While the research has focused on different departments within the local authorities, findings show that issues facing these departments are not isolated. Discussions with migrant workers and service delivery staff revealed that the use or demand for

different services is often interlinked. Demand for one service can impact on the demand for other services.

- 3.62 There is a need for more translation and interpretation services in each of the areas and although ESOL provision generally appears satisfactory for current demands in Wrexham and Carmarthenshire, better provision in the workplace, or more appropriate times for the courses would be welcomed. The researchers were told, though, that there is still a shortage of provision in Newport, largely because it is a dispersal area for asylum seekers.
- 3.63 Although education departments have experienced the greatest primary impact of migration, secondary impacts, concerning how services are delivered, language barriers and understanding cultural differences, permeate frontline service delivery throughout the private, public and voluntary sectors.
- 3.64 The data generated during this project illustrate the fast pace at which patterns and experiences of migration are changing. Projects such as this are most useful for establishing ideas for guiding local authorities in dealing with the social impacts of migration and recognising the methodological challenges. Due to the rate at which change is taking place (as described by interviewees), and limitations on data sources, it is difficult to estimate current numbers or make projections for the future. Improvements in national data sources, and the development of knowledge at the local level will, over the longer term, result in more accurate, usable knowledge for local authorities

What is next?

- 3.65 It is hoped that the findings and conclusions that are presented in this report will enable policy makers, local authorities and the voluntary sector to better accommodate the needs of an ever-changing migrant worker population. The methodological discussions offer important advice for those wishing to conduct research of a similar nature; future research studies should use the findings presented in this report as examples of the real world difficulties associated with this type of work.
- 3.66 If patterns of migration are to be monitored effectively, changes at the grassroots level need to be recorded, together with a consideration of changes in social policy. This project provides only a snapshot of some of the experiences within Wales; longitudinal research would offer insights into the development of migration and

social impacts, perhaps also covering a wider geographical location. There is, of course, a distinction between developing long term knowledge of what has happened, and having mechanisms in place to identify new trends.

- 3.67 A longer-term exploration of the social impacts of migration would move beyond merely examining the immediate effects to consider the development of community cohesion within the host society. This would recognise that cohesive communities are ones where both migrant workers and members of the host community focus on the inclusion of newcomers. It would hopefully offer new perspectives on social inclusion, and provide additional perspectives to the debates already established within the policy arena about the economic effects of migration.

4. Case Study: Carmarthenshire

Introduction

- 4.1 Carmarthenshire is the third largest county in Wales with a population of 178,000 people in 2005, covering 2394 sq km and making up 11.5% of the Welsh land mass. It is the most diverse unitary authority in West Wales in terms of language, geography and socio-economic structure. According to the 2001 Census, approximately 64% of its population had one or more skills in the Welsh language. Carmarthenshire is a county that has lagged behind other areas of the UK in terms of its Gross Domestic Product and was the recipient of European Structural Funds 2000-2006; it will continue to receive such funding for the period 2007-2013 under the Convergence Programme for West Wales and the Valleys.
- 4.2 The geography of the county reflects that of Wales as a whole, with scattered rural communities and urban development, significant affluence and severe deprivation. Around 65% of the county's population live in 20% of its land mass, centred on the town of Llanelli and the Aman and Gwendraeth Valleys. Carmarthenshire's six designated Communities First Wards (Glanymor/Tyisha, Felinfoel, Llwynhendy, Pantyffynnon, Upper Brynaman, and Bigyn (4)) are situated in the Llanelli and the Aman areas. These are areas exhibiting some of the highest levels of deprivation as measured by the Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation (WIMD) 2005 and are specifically targeted by the Welsh Assembly Government in an attempt to reduce social exclusion.
- 4.3 Llanelli is the main urban centre of South East Carmarthenshire, with the built up area covering a population of around 45, 000 and forms part of the Swansea Bay and Western Valleys Spatial Plan Area. It is the north-western edge of "Industrial South Wales" (ISW). While traditionally an iron, steel and tinsplate manufacturing base, Llanelli now supports a number of automotive manufacturers, a growing leisure and retail sector and acts as an administrative centre for South East Carmarthenshire. In the Aman and Gwendrath Valleys, the coal industry has declined in line with other valleys in ISW. Some open-cast mining remains and new industries have developed in sectors including textiles, food processing (where a significant number of people from other European countries are employed), crafts and components.
- 4.4 Carmarthen Town serves the rural hinterland of the County; it has a strong economic base and is the main administrative, retail and leisure centre for West

Wales. The town is the location of the headquarters of the County Council, Dyfed Powys Police and the Mid and West Wales Fire and Rescue Service. Recent years have seen the growth of a significant agri-food sector, with significant numbers of workers from other European Union countries being employed. It is also home to major secondary, further and higher educational establishments.

- 4.5 WRS data for Carmarthenshire showed that in 2007 Poles made up 94% of the total migrant workers. Over three quarters (77%) of migrant workers registered to work in Carmarthenshire are working somewhere within the Llanelli area (postcode SA15). Over two thirds (69%) of migrant workers registered to work in Carmarthenshire work as “process operatives” (that is, as factory workers), 4% as packers, and 4% as care assistants and home carers. Information from the Welsh Assembly Government indicates that there were 2,635 WRS applications approved between May 2004 and 31 March 2007 (Welsh Assembly Government, 2007: 4).
- 4.6 There is some discrepancy between the WRS and the NI No data. Between 2002 and 2006, 2,060 NI numbers were allocated to migrant workers who resided in Carmarthenshire. Just over half of these NI numbers were allocated between 2005 and 2006 helping illustrate the more recent expansion of migrant workers to the area. Nine hundred were given to Polish migrant workers.
- 4.7 Analysis of the 2001 census shows that of the 112 LSOAs (Lower Super Output Areas) in Carmarthenshire, 6% are within the 10% most deprived in Wales. LSOAs in Carmarthenshire are overrepresented in the 10% most deprived in Wales in both the ‘employment’ and ‘access to services’ categories. The three most deprived LSOAs in Carmarthenshire are Tyisha, Bigyn and Glanymor, all of which are in Llanelli.
- 4.8 Over 99% of the population of Carmarthenshire were classified as being ‘White’ in the 2001 Census. No other individual ethnicities represented more than 0.3% of the total population of Carmarthenshire.
- 4.9 Statistics from the 2001 Census indicate that educational attainment for the populations of Wrexham, Newport and Carmarthenshire are, broadly speaking, average for the whole of Wales. One third (33%) of people aged 16 to 74 in Wales had no qualifications in 2001; this figure is also 33% for Wrexham and 34% for Newport and Carmarthenshire.
- 4.10 According to the Welsh Indices of Multiple Deprivation (WIMD), the unemployment rate in 2007 in Carmarthenshire was 5.4%, ranked 12th highest out of the 22 local authorities in Wales.

4.11 The following table presents the split of housing tenure across Wrexham, Carmarthenshire, Newport, and for the whole of Wales in 2001.

Table 4.1 Housing Tenure

Area	Owner Occupation	Rented from Council	Rented from Housing Association	Rented from Private Sector	Rented from 'Other'
Wrexham	65.5%	23.5%	2.7%	6.0%	2.3%
Carmarthenshire	72.4%	14.0%	3.1%	6.6%	3.8%
Newport	70.5%	16.6%	5.1%	4.8%	3.0%
Wales	71.3%	13.7%	4.2%	7.4%	3.3%

4.12 In Carmarthenshire in 2001, owner occupation was close to the national average. Housing rented from Housing Associations was slightly below the national average.

4.13 In the remainder of this chapter we present the findings from the Carmarthenshire case study. We interviewed migrant workers living and working in the area, staff from key organisations working directly with migrant workers and their families, and service managers and staff working in relevant strategic planning roles. A focus group with Polish migrant workers was also held in which migrant workers discussed their experiences; a total of 28 migrant workers were included in the research (see appendix B). We interviewed a further 15 individuals (eight from the local authority and seven from other agencies or organisations).

Local context

4.14 The majority of migrant workers in this area are Polish and most reside in and around the Llanelli and Carmarthen areas, while quite a large population of Filipino migrants live in the Ammanford area. We interviewed some of these to provide a comparison with the more recent arrival of Eastern European migrant workers.

4.15 Most, but not all migrant workers are in their twenties and thirties but there are also young families, and people in their forties and fifties.

4.16 Length of stay also varies; some migrant workers have been in Carmarthenshire for just a few months, others have been in Wales for 20 years (a small community of

Polish people has been living in Carmarthenshire since the Second World War). However, findings from the interviews and focus group with migrant workers showed that the majority of migrant workers have been in Carmarthenshire for less than three years. When questioned migrant workers were uncertain how long they will stay in the country; some felt it was too early to say, while others want to stay permanently.

- 4.17 Those migrant workers who had arrived in the last 3 years most commonly said they had moved to Wales for work and to earn more money. A common problem experienced in their home country was that it was much harder to find work and to earn a decent wage than it is in Wales. Often Polish migrant workers that were interviewed said they came to Wales for '*a better way of life*'. This generally meant that in their home country the wages that they could earn meant that their standard of living was very low, even if they could get a job at all. Economics may not be the only motivation; one interviewee in Llanelli said that for him an important factor was that civil servants treated him with respect, compared to Poland, where he would have to queue for hours and suffer bureaucratic procedures.
- 4.18 Based in Llanelli is the Polish Welsh Mutual Association. This is a drop-in-centre set up by Credit Union staff and Polish volunteers. Staff and volunteers at the centre are available to help Polish migrants with any issues that they have. They can directly help migrants by translating information for them and helping them to complete forms such as child tax credit forms or job applications. They can also signpost migrants to other service providers for help.
- 4.19 There appear from our interviews to be few other data sources that can be used to provide better estimates of the numbers of migrant workers in the local authority area. However, the Local Health Board (LHB) monitors GP registration figures. The data collected includes the nationality of the people registering and the GP surgery at which they register. Figures are available by month and year and show a rising trend since 2004 (all non British GP registrations). In 2004, 224 migrants had registered with a GP; in 2005, 490 had registered; and in 2006, 754 migrants had registered (see Figure 4.1). These statistics do not include those migrant workers in Carmarthenshire who have not registered with a GP, and consequently understate the migrant workers population in the County. Equally, the figures cannot be added together to give the total number of migrants (who have registered with a GP) who are present. Many of them may have left the UK since they registered.

4.20 Carmarthenshire County Council’s Scrutiny Committee set up a Task and Finish Group in 2006 to obtain better information about numbers of migrant workers and the potential impact on services and communities. The report (Carmarthenshire County Council (2008)) includes a detailed analysis of new GP registrations by foreign nationals, by country of origin, based on National Public Health Service for Wales data. There is also a report of a fact finding visit to the Dunbia meat processing firm, and reviews of ESOL provision, and of the Minority Ethnic Achievement Service. The latter provides support in schools for children of foreign nationals. Only 40% of the intake of MEAS were from Eastern Europe, but 90% of these were from Poland. Among the recommendations in the report are that the County Council and the Local Government Data Unit Wales, should lobby the Welsh Assembly Government and the Office for National Statistics for more robust monitoring of the migrant population.

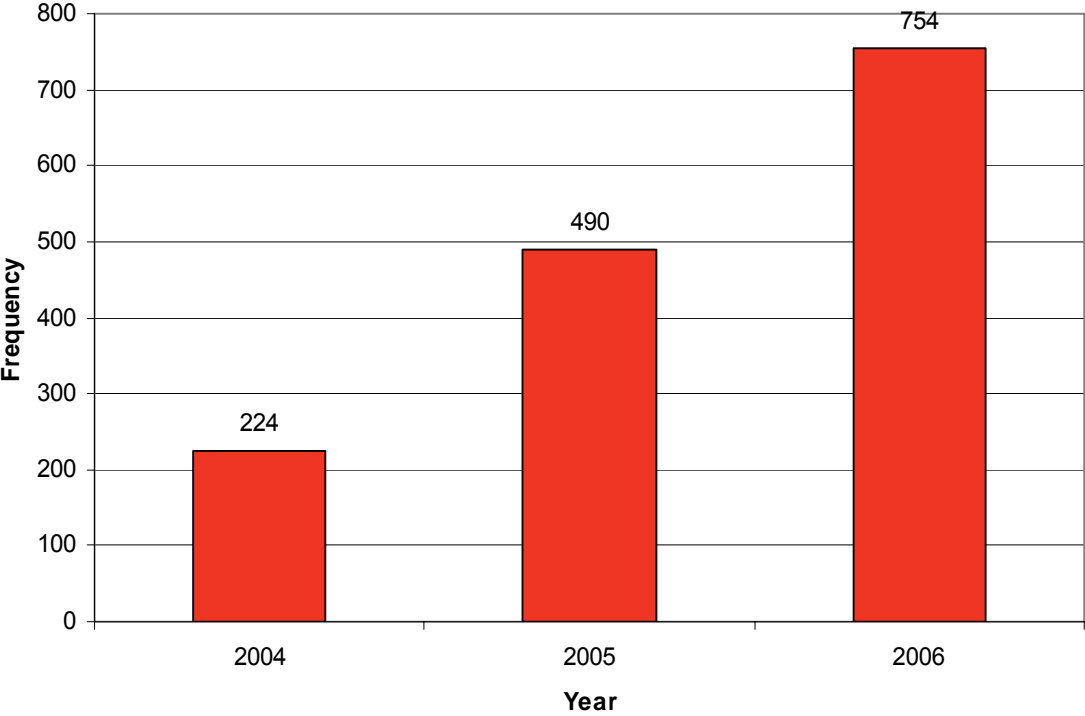


Figure 4.1 Numbers of migrants registering with GP surgeries in Carmarthenshire since 2004

Local Service Impact

4.21 The main issues that migrant workers face vary somewhat depending on nationality. Polish migrant workers that we interviewed identified the language barrier and difficulty in finding a job as problems for them. On the other hand, in a

discussion with eight Filipino migrant workers these issues were not prominent but there were descriptions of racially motivated verbal abuse. The greater level of racist abuse reported by the Filipinos may have been due to their colour (brown as opposed to white in the case of the Polish) and the fact that they lived in lower concentrations than the Polish. The Polish interviewees mentioned some verbal abuse and also some minor criminal damage (see below).

- 4.22 In terms of the specific services and subjects that this chapter covers, employment and accommodation generate the most complaints from migrant workers. This is perhaps because all migrant workers will have had a direct experience of employment and accommodation (compared to other services such as healthcare or education), and also because they may face exploitation in these areas.

Accommodation

- 4.23 Migrant workers in Carmarthenshire tend to live in rented accommodation either tied to their employment or privately rented through a managing agent or landlord. Very few have bought their own homes and none of the migrant workers that we interviewed were living in council or social housing. One Polish migrant family reported receiving housing benefits.
- 4.24 The most common example of tied accommodation in Carmarthenshire is of migrant workers employed through an employment agency, which owns and rents various properties to its migrant worker employees, deducting the rent from their wages. One of these properties was referred to as “*the Polish Hotel*” by migrant workers; (it had at one time been an hotel but had been converted to hostel-type accommodation by an employment agency that recruited in Poland). The researchers were told by Polish migrant workers that some migrant workers move into privately rented accommodation as soon as they can, either to reduce their costs or to improve their standard of accommodation.

“This particular agency was buying up houses, they were filling houses with people; we were getting complaints of overcrowding in housing and all sorts of things happening.” (voluntary sector)

- 4.25 Views on privately rented accommodation vary. Some migrant workers are quite happy with their homes while others are not so keen.

“[It] wasn’t bad at all.” (migrant worker)

Generally migrant workers comment on the size of their accommodation being a little small, or living in a flat rather than a house. Serious complaints such as overcrowding and damp problems in privately rented homes are less common, although they do occur. For example one female respondent from Poland said that she shared a small bedroom with her husband and their four year old daughter. She said the room is damp and they do not like it.

- 4.26 None of the migrant workers interviewed who lived in privately rented accommodation reported any problems with their landlord. One Polish couple said they did have some problems at one stage when they could not afford the rent, but their landlord gave them advice about housing benefits, which they now receive, and they no longer experience any problems.
- 4.27 Only one Polish couple reported receiving housing benefits and one other couple said they were on a waiting list for council housing. However, instances like this latter case are very rare as migrant workers usually need to have evidence of working in Wales and paying national insurance for at least 12 months before being eligible for council housing. Migrants can apply for Housing Association houses as soon as they enter the country.
- 4.28 Discussions with the local authority revealed that the demand for housing benefits is very low. On average just one or two applications a week in Carmarthenshire are from non-British nationals compared to well over a hundred applications from British nationals. Between mid 2005 and early 2008, there were approximately 120 applications for housing benefits from non-British nationals. Applicants have to complete a 32-page claim form so it is not an easy process to go through, especially if an applicant does not have very good English, as the form is available only in English or Welsh. Housing benefits are not actively advertised among the migrant worker population, so it is possible that even those who would be eligible do not know anything about it.
- 4.29 The main issue faced by housing benefits staff in dealing with applications from migrant workers is the language barrier. There has been no training within the Housing Benefits Service on how best to deal with these situations, but it is not considered high priority because there is little direct contact between staff and applicants. The majority of the process is done via forms and letters. We were told that on the few occasions when there have been meetings with foreign applicants, a friend or relative of the applicant who is able to speak English is usually in attendance to translate.

“They all should really produce booklets in the simplest language possible, the most obvious things you wouldn’t, we take for granted but to them the most obvious things should be spelt out in their own language so there is no misunderstanding.” (voluntary sector)

4.30 All correspondence from the Council in relation to benefits is in English. No translation is provided and the applicant is responsible for finding out what this correspondence is about. In such circumstances migrant workers with little or no English often go to the Polish Welsh Mutual Association for help. Volunteers at the Centre help with translations and filling out forms. The County Council has offered a Housing Advice Service to the Centre; however this has yet to be taken up.

“We are helping out with their forms and any information they have to fill in as their English is mostly poor.” (voluntary sector)

4.31 Homelessness is not a serious problem among the migrant worker population in Carmarthenshire, but isolated incidents sometimes occur. In early 2008 three Polish men were found to be sleeping rough. These men had lost their jobs and accommodation and had either been in the country for less than 12 months and were therefore not eligible to apply for council housing, or had no formal evidence of having been living and working in the UK for at least 12 months. This recent event highlighted the particular scenario of tied accommodation. The Polish Advice Centre is currently in dialogue with the Red Cross about setting up a crisis fund for these situations. The Housing Services Division will facilitate this and engage with other local authorities to find some best practice examples. It is primarily a funding issue but before funding can be applied for a thorough plan needs to be developed; *“We need to be key on what we want to provide first of all, and then cost that up”¹⁶.*

4.32 The Housing Service is responsible for licensing Houses in Multiple Occupation (HMOs). This involves checking the standards of such accommodation and also the types of tenancy agreements between landlords and tenants, or contracts between employers and employees in the case of tied accommodation. The Service is currently in the process of licensing about 800 HMOs in the county, which we understand is likely to take several years. Officers in the Service are now meeting with a major recruitment agency which uses approximately 200 properties (both owned and private rented) in the Llanelli area to house its migrant workers. They aim to establish a mechanism to share information and ensure that the quality of the accommodation provided meets the Housing Health and Safety Standards,

¹⁶ Quote from local authority staff member

particularly in relation to the numbers housed in individual properties and fire regulations, as well as licensing regulations. These properties will be subject to a program of risk assessment visits in order to determine compliance with current standards.

Health

- 4.33 Overall, the health services are proactive in dealing with migrant worker issues. In January 2008 the Local Health Board (LHB), in conjunction with the Carmarthenshire Association of Voluntary Services (CAVS), launched a booklet called 'A friendly guide to your local health services'. This booklet is available in English and in Welsh, both versions containing a Polish translation. The booklet contains easy to understand information about the health services, what is available and the various processes a person has to go through when using the health services.

"There is some literature available in Polish now, but it's four years down the road; in the beginning there was none." (public sector)

- 4.34 It seems this awareness campaign was seen as necessary because migrant workers were unsure of how to access health services (much like the problem the housing services are facing at present). With these booklets now available and information about the health services likely to be passed between migrant workers by word-of-mouth, it is possible that more migrant workers will register with GPs.
- 4.35 It had been said anecdotally that in some areas GP surgeries are turning migrant workers away because they are already full but no evidence has been presented to the LHB to suggest that any practices have reached full capacity.
- 4.36 The Local Health Board has received no additional funding from the Welsh Assembly Government (WAG) to cope with the recent level of migration to the area. It has therefore had to allocate its existing funding accordingly. The LHB has previously commissioned a telephone interpretation service accessible through all Primary Care contractors. This Language Line service is available at GP surgeries, community pharmacists and opticians.
- 4.37 There are many migrant workers, particularly Filipinos, working in the health service and also in care homes. Some local authority staff said they were contributing in areas where there was a shortage of staff.

“We have migrants in our teams of staff and there are also other migrant workers in the hospitality sections; care homes too.” (private sector)

4.38 According to the health services, the only barrier faced by migrant workers accessing the health care system is the language barrier. When a migrant worker has little or no English language ability it can be very difficult for them to communicate what they want. If already stressed due to ill health, this can make accessing health care an extremely frustrating and upsetting experience. One migrant worker spoke of her first experience of attending a GP surgery with her sick child; she found the inability to communicate made it a very negative experience.

“In practice as well there are most certainly different levels of access, because if you are a migrant, if you don’t know what the system is, if the language barrier’s there, there is a difference between your access levels and the Welsh or English.” (public sector)

4.39 The other issue for migrant workers is that health care services in their home country can be very different to those in Wales. For example, the migrant workers we interviewed said that in Poland if they are ill they can see a doctor straight away, rather than having to book an appointment at a GP surgery, which might not be for several days. The health booklet (*A friendly guide to your local health services* (LHB/CAVS) translated into Polish) is important because it explains to migrant workers how the system works in Wales

4.40 There have been a few instances of migrant workers and their families turning up at A&E needing assistance; for example a woman arrived who had gone into labour. However, because they have not registered with a GP there are no medical records for them that hospital staff can access. From interviews with migrant workers, it seems that the majority only register with a GP when it becomes necessary.

4.41 Sometimes it seems that one incident can affect perceptions for a long time. A representative of the LHB mentioned an incident that took place maybe two years ago (the interviewee was unsure), of two migrant workers in Carmarthenshire having TB, and thought that this could have been avoided if there was a screening system in place. However, there does not seem to be any evidence to support health screening for migrant workers, the great majority of whom are from Eastern Europe. A report from the Health Protection Agency¹⁷ makes clear that “Most

¹⁷ Migrant Health Infectious diseases in non-UK born populations in England, Wales and Northern Ireland, A baseline report-2006, Health Protection Agency. In 2004, the proportion of non UK born TB cases by world region of birth, England Wales and Northern Ireland, 2004, was Western Europe 2.8% (124 cases), Eastern

students and economic migrants are young adults who have voluntarily chosen to migrate and many originate from countries which have a low prevalence of infectious diseases, such as Western Europe, America or Australia.”

Education

4.42 Locally, the planning of education has taken account of the number of migrant workers. There are now over 70 children from migrant worker families (not just those from A8 countries) in Llanelli primary and secondary schools.

4.43 September 2006 saw an increase in the number of Polish pupils arriving in the county. Most of these pupils have entered the Catholic primary and secondary schools in Llanelli; others are spread across the county (Carmarthenshire County Council, 2007a).

4.44 On arrival in Carmarthenshire, many migrant workers possess only basic English language skills and this can present challenges both for the migrant workers as well as for service providers. To ensure that needs and concerns are suitably met, where possible, the help of a bilingual teaching assistant (for Polish) is enlisted in schools, otherwise the help of friends or extended family is sought. The use of Language Line is a further aid to interpretation.

“There is now less apprehension than initially because we have been there at the early stages to support them. So those schools where we were able to do, where we were able to support as we wished, as we have laid out in the handbook and so on, have had good experience and training from us at taking these children on board and putting in place very positive strategies to support them in schools, making them welcome.” (public sector)

4.45 When migrant workers arrive with families, their children need to be accommodated in nursery, primary and secondary schools right across the county. Teachers need to ensure that English as an Additional Language (EAL) needs are met and that the curriculum is made as accessible as possible for pupils to achieve their potential. The rise in the number of pupils needing support has placed pressure on schools and support services in addressing this need

“Its difficult sometimes, you know.” (public sector)

Europe 0.4% (19 cases), Central Europe 1.9% (86 cases) South Asia (45.3% (2013 cases), Sub Saharan Africa 38.6% (1714 cases).

- 4.46 The Minority Ethnic Achievement Service (MEAS) provides specialist support for pupils whose first language is neither English nor Welsh and who need support for English as an Additional Language (EAL). MEAS actively seeks data on all minority ethnic pupils in schools to ensure that EAL needs are clearly identified. The service is financed by an annual grant from the WAG based on a survey of EAL pupils which is undertaken by MEAS staff. The unpredictable numbers of new arrivals presents its own difficulties. EAL support teachers provide some hands-on support to individuals or groups of pupils as well as advice and guidance to all staff on all related issues. The MEAS handbook on practice and procedures provides further guidance to schools in this respect. Free INSET courses are arranged for schools in order to enable teachers to respond appropriately to what may be for some schools, a new experience.
- 4.47 However, MEAS has received increased requests for support and currently finds it difficult to adequately meet the needs of EAL pupils, given the present staffing levels afforded by the annual grant from WAG. The service is now reviewing its current strategy for support with a long-term view of training teachers so that schools are enabled to address this area within education. They feel that ensuring that minority ethnic achievement is established as an integral part of the school development plan would be an important step forward.
- 4.48 Of the migrant workers interviewed, only a small number had children, and of those who did, only some of the children were of school age. The vast majority of migrant workers with children attending Carmarthenshire schools are satisfied with the Welsh education system and pupils integrate well with all nationalities within school. However, one parent said she would move back to Poland when her daughter was old enough for school as she did not feel that the education system was as good as the Polish one.
- 4.49 Migrant workers who were interviewed felt that they must learn English because they were in the UK. Difficulties in communicating at the bank or post office were mentioned. Many rely on the volunteers at the Polish Welsh Mutual Association to translate documents. None of the migrant workers we interviewed was interested in learning Welsh; they thought it to be too difficult and that learning one language was enough. Welsh language proficiency is desirable for care workers in Carmarthenshire.

“Many migrant workers don’t know how to properly use the bank account and especially in Carmarthenshire. At the moment bank has a got a Polish speaker

and the banks have come out with sort of accounts tailored to their needs and all sorts of things... I took one lady because she kept getting in trouble with going below zero basically, overdrawing without authority and she was punished every month £30, £60 you know. So I said don't you check your, I said looking at the statement which I sent off to the bank for I said, don't you check in the machine what balance it is? She says, I don't know how to, so I said, I'll take you and you show me how you doing it and I show you which button to press to get your bank balance before you pull the money out."
(voluntary sector)

- 4.50 Most migrant workers have attended English classes at some point. Various classes have been available at different locations and at different times. The migrant workers interviewed did not think the classes they had attended were ESOL classes, but it is not clear that they knew what ESOL actually meant.

"Yeah, we need to teach them to start with, everybody who comes here they need this survival English." (voluntary sector)

Employment

- 4.51 Economic migrants, mostly from Eastern Europe, work in considerable numbers in the food processing, retail and hospitality sectors. In early 2007, Carmarthenshire had the highest number of NINo migrant worker applications in Wales, mostly in the Llanelli area. Discussions suggested that the total number of migrant workers in the County is significantly greater than the official number, but there is no firm evidence on which to base this assertion. The great majority of these workers are of Polish origin, though many nationalities are represented in the statistics (Carmarthenshire County Council, 2007).
- 4.52 One of the main employers of migrant workers in Carmarthenshire is a food processing company. However, migrant workers can be employed directly by this company or through a recruitment Agency. The main recruitment agency for migrant workers in the area has offices in the UK and in Poland. It is therefore quite common for Polish migrant workers to have travelled to Carmarthenshire as part of a contract with the agency. It also provides Polish migrant workers with accommodation when they arrive and arranges bus travel to and from the food processing company.

“I got my job when I got here but some people I know already had signed before they got here.” (migrant worker)

4.53 Although the food processing company is an important employer of migrant workers in Carmarthenshire, there are many other industries and organisations employing migrant workers. For example, many migrant workers are employed in the hospitality industry, as waiters, waitresses or bar staff, in the health service, in care homes as care assistants, in the construction industry, working for steel works, or working on water/ gas pipe lines and working in service areas such as in banks.

“We have a lot of the migrants in this area working in the big factories, like the food processing places; there are also some of the Filipino migrants employed by the hospital though.” (public sector)

4.54 Filipino migrant workers were more likely to say they had moved to Wales to fill vacant positions in the health service. Most had joined an Agency that had been set up to bring Filipino staff to work in Welsh hospitals with staff shortages.

4.55 Although many migrant workers do arrive in Carmarthenshire having signed a contract with an agency, both migrant workers and stakeholders said that many also arrive with no job lined up. These migrant workers say it is difficult to find jobs. However, in some instances migrant workers who have arrived with a job already arranged work for that employer for only a short while before resigning and trying to find another job, despite the difficulties they face in doing so.

4.56 During the interviews migrant workers gave reasons why they leave their employment, these include poor treatment by their employer or their employment agency; poor working conditions; poor accommodation; not being given enough hours; and, low wages due to not having enough work and deductions from their wage for accommodation and bus travel to work. Despite being faced with all these problems, many migrant workers interviewed were not willing to express their own concerns and dissatisfaction, although willing to tell us about the experiences of others.

“My brother left, he did not like travelling in the bus everyday.” (migrant worker)

4.57 Most Polish migrant workers said they were pleased with their employer or agency because they were guaranteed lots of hours, meaning they would earn lots of money. It was common for people to be working 14-hour days, seven days a week. We were told, however, that a reduction in hours for migrant workers began last year (2007). One major employer had a major contract that came to an end but Polish migrant workers continued to be recruited to work in Carmarthenshire. Some

of the Polish migrant workers said that they now only get work for one day a week. One migrant worker reported only having worked for between one and three days in every two-week period.

4.58 One migrant worker spoke of how he handed in his notice and asked his employer why there were so few hours; apparently his employer answered that there was not enough work for everyone but that they must still bring people over. It may be advantageous for the employer to maintain demand for the accommodation that they provide. According to the migrant workers we interviewed, it has been known for people to have their working hours reduced if they move out of the accommodation provided for them or if they cease to use the transport provided.

4.59 Migrant workers employed by various organisations described having mixed feelings about their jobs. Reasons given for being unhappy include not working in their preferred profession and being poorly treated by colleagues. Some of the migrant workers interviewed were highly qualified in the health services; one was qualified as a radiographer in Poland, another as a paramedic, one as a special needs worker; and one as a therapist. Some of the Polish migrant workers were working in completely different fields in the UK, for example in a bank or on the pipelines. Others were working in care homes but in roles that they felt were more junior than those for which they were qualified for in their home country.

“I have better qualifications than this work, maybe I should do more here.”
(migrant worker)

4.60 Many migrant workers interviewed who were not working in positions for which they were qualified in their home country wanted to be able to work in their trained professions. However, due to language barriers and their qualifications not being recognised in Britain they were unable to do so. One Polish worker said, *“The job is OK and my colleagues are nice enough but communication is sometimes difficult...we have to like it because there is nothing else”*. Discussions with migrant workers and representatives from the local authority showed that in most cases it seems migrant workers must re-train or at least do a conversion course in the UK before being allowed to work in these professions. However, due to the cost of living and also visa regulations it was often impossible for them to undertake these studies; they could not afford to give up work to study.

4.61 Some migrant workers said that they were poorly treated by colleagues; some said that they had experienced racism. Others said that people did not have time to communicate effectively with them; when there is a language barrier communication

takes longer than it does if people share a common language and in a work environment there is not always enough time to deal with this.

- 4.62 Very few migrant workers interviewed mentioned being a member of a trade union. None of the Polish migrant workers interviewed mentioned a trade union although several Filipino migrant workers did say that they are members of trade unions. The two trade unions mentioned were RCN and Unison. The researchers were unable to make contact with representatives of these organisations.

WRS and NINos

- 4.63 All of the employees at the above-mentioned agency are registered on the WRS. All paperwork is done by the agency so all employees were registered when they start work. The agency had told them that this was compulsory.
- 4.64 Polish migrant workers were not as aware about NINos as they were about the WRS. Four Polish migrant workers interviewed said they did not think they had an NI number. They had not realised that they needed to have one nor what the benefits were of having one. A representative from an advice agency said that the workers did have NI numbers, but that they would have been issued with temporary numbers in the first instance.
- 4.65 Those who did have an NI number said they knew that it was “*some kind of insurance*”¹⁸ but that was all. Many migrant workers thought that it would be beneficial to know about NI numbers at an earlier stage. They said that their employer or agency does not inform them about NI, however when they get their payslip they can see that deductions are being made. They would have liked to have been told about NINos, just as they had been told about the WRS.

Community issues

- 4.66 In general migrant workers seem to settle into living in Carmarthenshire quite well, making friends with other migrant workers and Welsh people alike. They say that many people are friendly towards them and smile and say hello. They also generally feel safe here. However, they do experience some racism, verbal abuse, and vandalism. Racism seems to be much more prevalent for the Filipino migrant

¹⁸ Quote from Polish migrant worker in Carmarthenshire

workers than for the Polish; however Polish migrant workers who we interviewed did comment that some Welsh teenagers are verbally abusive shouting rude words at them in the street. Some Welsh teenagers even swear at migrants in Polish. This reveals underlying racist attitudes among some groups, and there have been instances where windows have been broken at the agency's hostel in Llanelli, it is thought by Welsh teenagers.

"Drawing on walls like graffiti in the town but it didn't last too long." (voluntary sector)

- 4.67 It is estimated that about 2000 Poles live in Llanelli and many more in the surrounding countryside but there has been little systematic research on whether there is tension between them and the host community (see for example the report by Robin Turner in the *Western Mail*, "Poles immigrate to Welsh town by the thousands", 18 December 2007). There is now a Llanelli Polish Association and a centre offering support services for Polish workers and their families. A Polish community centre was opened in the town in September 2006, and is part funded by the Welsh Assembly Government. The BBC news item reporting the opening was headlined "Town's support for migrant Poles", suggesting a positive acceptance by the town (http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/wales/south_west/5378298.stm). The centre offers advice on employment, health care and other issues and aims to help Poles to integrate and prevent them being exploited. It also provides translation assistance for local businesses and services such as the NHS.
- 4.68 Isolation is also an issue for some migrant workers, mainly for women who come over with their children to join their husbands. Due to often having very little English, not knowing anyone and being at home all day looking after the children they do not meet anyone and it can be very lonely. One Polish parent who had experienced this for herself has now set up a mother and baby group at the YWCA in Llanelli that is attended by a number of Polish women and their children as well as Welsh women and children.
- 4.69 The Carmarthenshire Association of Voluntary Services (CAVS) feels that the YWCA is good because it is for Welsh mothers as well as Polish mothers, which means they get to meet and socialise and the Welsh mothers can make their own minds up about migrant workers instead of listening to stereotypes or reading inaccurate newspaper stories. It is a valuable facility for both the migrant workers and the locals. Currently, the mothers are trying to get funding to set up and run the

group themselves. This funding would cover the costs of room hire etc. The women are also keen to attend child-minding courses.

4.70 Migrant workers tended not to be aware that the council provides leisure facilities, and libraries, and is responsible for rubbish collection. When asked if they knew anything about the local council, migrant workers generally said no or that they did not know what was 'going on' in the area. However, some said that they had used the library and there were even some books available in Polish, albeit not very many.

4.71 Although many migrant workers interviewed were not aware of many of the services provided by the council, when asked about council tax the majority did know what this was and some also understood what it pays for in the county. A Polish couple expressed their satisfaction with council tax. They said that although it costs them money, they can see the results within the county and are grateful for the benefits they can receive. In Poland they say the Government takes but does not give back to the community.

"They don't fully grasp the language, so find it difficult to also understand the bureaucracy." (private sector)

4.72 A particular concern to some migrant workers was rubbish collection but their views were similar to those that might be expressed by people in the host community. Some of the migrant workers said it can get very dirty outside their houses on rubbish collection days and one complained that she lives in a first floor flat and that there are no rubbish bins outside so she has to keep all her rubbish in her flat until collection days.

4.73 The police in Carmarthenshire reported that generally there are no serious problems in the county in regards to migrant workers. There have been a few serious crimes in the past which appeared more than once in the local press causing some concerns among the local Welsh population, and there have been issues with drunk and disorderly behaviour, More recently it seems that there have been few problems.

"Certainly from a migrant worker side of things, a lot of, particularly, the Polish community have settled in Llanelli, for various reasons really, because of the work situation and the fact that there's availability of housing." (public sector)

"I think there have been some tensions that have come up. I think one of the other things we can say, as well as the drinking side of it, there is certainly -

we investigated some cases, didn't actually ever get to the bottom of anything - but certainly with regard to people going through bins." (public sector)

- 4.74 One concern the police do have is that migrant workers, particularly Polish migrant workers, do not trust them and that this can cause problems when they are trying to deal with situations in which migrant workers are involved.

"A lot of people that come over, they don't trust the police. They wouldn't go to a, what I've been told is that they've had a surprise when they come over here. Some of them have been either victims of crime or been involved in things, and they're quite surprised that you go to the police for help, because they said, if you're in Poland, the last place you're going to go is to go to the police" (public sector)

- 4.75 It seems though that migrant workers who have been in contact with the police in Carmarthenshire are pleased with the service. None of the migrant workers interviewed had been in trouble with the police, but some had met them and had been helped by them. For example, one Polish man said when he had first arrived he was out one night and could not find his way home; he did not know the area well enough and had got lost. He asked a passing policeman which way he needed to go and the policeman offered him a lift home. Another Polish man had been driving his car when it broke down. A policeman stopped to see what the problem was and took the man back to the station where he was given a cup of tea and biscuits. The Polish migrant workers that we interviewed said that this would never happen in Poland. They said that police in Poland and Wales are very different and that the Welsh police are very nice and speak to them kindly.

Summary

Impact on local services

- 4.76 In Carmarthenshire, the demands on services caused by migrant workers moving to the area are currently being met. This seems to be due to a number of factors, including the local authority's proactive approach in dealing with migrant worker issues. This includes taking account of all parties involved - migrant workers, service providers and local British residents.
- 4.77 Other factors possibly contributing to the current level of demand are that some migrant workers have not been living and working in the UK long enough to be

entitled to some services or benefits such as council housing; some migrant workers are not aware of the services available to them; and that third party organisations are not always effectively working in partnership with service providers to ensure migrant workers receive available services.

Issues for service providers

- 4.78 The main issues that service providers face, both in terms of current demand and in ensuring migrant workers can access their services, are as follows:
- having to plan without adequate data on numbers of migrant workers, now or in the future.
 - filling gaps in service provision;
 - a need for additional funding;
 - gaining the confidence of local employers and local employment agencies;
 - raising awareness of services within the migrant population; and,
 - gaining more support from other organisations and increasing partnership working.
- 4.79 Service providers are generally aware that they need to plan for the future and that thorough and meaningful reports need to be produced outlining the current situation and predictions for the future. Without funding it is very difficult to ensure actions, such as awareness campaigns, can be carried out.
- 4.80 It is also vital that services get backing and support from other organisations.

Barriers to services

- 4.81 The key problem that migrant workers face when accessing services is the language barrier and difficulties with communication. It means they find it difficult to find new jobs, difficult to sort any problems out, and difficult to fit into the local community. If migrant workers cannot communicate effectively with service providers then it is unlikely that the service will be provided to an adequate level and migrant workers will be left feeling dissatisfied, or with needs unmet.
- 4.82 Awareness of services is also an issue, though expressed as a concern by the service providers rather than the migrant workers because obviously if a migrant worker is not aware of a service then they do not know that this is a problem. But it is a barrier none the less.

- 4.83 Two other common problems for many migrant workers are finding jobs independently, and when employed, finding free or affordable childcare. Migrant workers' restricted entitlements to social benefits, such as council housing, are also preventing newcomers from fully engaging in society.

Support systems

- 4.84 Support systems are extremely important for migrant workers arriving in Carmarthenshire, especially in their early days there. Many of the migrant workers said that they had felt very isolated when they first arrived; this was mentioned more often by the wives of migrant workers, who had arrived in Carmarthenshire with their children to join their husbands, than by the men who had preceded them.
- 4.85 The main support system in place in Carmarthenshire is the Polish Welsh Mutual Association for Polish migrant workers. They help migrant workers with a whole range of issues, providing advice, signposting and support. This is an essential service and support system.
- 4.86 Our Lady Queen of Peace Catholic Church in Llanelli also provides support to migrant workers. The church runs a group called the Society of St Vincent de Paul and offers support to migrant workers in various ways, from helping them to find jobs to providing them with furniture for their houses. They even do gardening for some of the local Welsh residents. At one stage the church had organised English lessons for Polish migrant workers. These took place at the church every Sunday. Unfortunately the lessons have been discontinued as shift work made it difficult for people to attend.

Future demands

- 4.87 Although Carmarthenshire does appear to be on top of the issues around migrant workers, it is important to keep reviewing the situation and ensuring contingency plans are in place.
- 4.88 Some service providers are concerned that migrant workers are not aware of the services being provided. The awareness campaign recently undertaken by the health service (the launch of the booklet 'A friendly guide to your local health services'), and the planned campaign by the housing services could lead to an increase in the numbers accessing these services.

- 4.89 We asked migrant workers if they intended to remain in the UK or return home (or go to another country) but few had made a definite decision and spoke only in vague terms. It is therefore not possible to decide on the basis of this evidence how many will stay and how many will leave. Clearly, if more migrant workers settle permanently in Carmarthenshire, more will eventually become eligible for social housing and housing benefits.
- 4.90 If migrant workers settle here permanently, and bring family members over, this would also impact on schools and potentially mean an increase in the numbers of migrant workers' children in the education system. This would require additional support for those with little English language ability.

5. Case Study: Newport

Introduction

- 5.1 Newport is the third largest urban area in Wales with a population of about 137,000 people. Twenty six per cent of the working population are engaged in public administration, education and health, 18.1% in manufacturing and 17.3% in the wholesale and retail trade. The remainder are occupied in other business services (9.7%), transport, storage and communication (7%), hotels and catering (5%) and other miscellaneous activities (Newport City Council website).
- 5.2 As part of the sub-region of East Wales, despite some continuing economic problems such as high rates of unemployment among some sectors of the population and in some areas, Newport has experienced a significant economic improvement with rising employment, falling economic inactivity and higher average earnings than for Wales as a whole (Welsh European Funding Office, 2007). This economic buoyancy may be one of the reasons it has attracted migrant workers, although it has a long tradition of receiving migrants. Another reason may be that the city is also currently carrying out an extensive renovation programme that provides employment in the construction sector, and the jobs on offer make it an attractive place to live. Finally, it is close to Cardiff and is also on the main rail link to London.
- 5.3 The South East Wales Racial Equality Council¹⁹, whose geographical remit is the former Gwent region (Blaenau-Gwent, Torfaen, Monmouthshire and Newport), produced a report on economic migrants based on the experiences of its development officer (SEWREC, 2008). The development officer processed over 300 cases between 2004 and 2007 and these give an idea of the wide range of origins of migrant workers in the area who come from Africa, Asia, the Americas and different parts of Europe, including both A8 countries and other countries outside the EU
- 5.4 Data from the Home Office and National Insurance registrations recorded by the Department of Work and Pensions show that there has been a significant growth in economic migrants to the sub-region – particularly from Eastern Europe (Opinion Research Services, 2007: 16). Home Office WRS figures show there were 2,405 approvals (as distinct from overall applications) for A8 migrant workers in Newport

¹⁹ SEWREC was part of the Curiad Calon Cymru Development Partnership which co-ordinated the Equal Project, funded through the European Social Fund, which ended in December 2007

between May 2004 and March 2007. During the same period, 800 National Insurance numbers were issued to A8 migrant workers (WAG, 2007). This large difference between WRS and NI data in Newport may be due to the fact that NI numbers, which are predominantly recorded on a residence basis, may have been recorded in the original destination in the UK, with Newport receiving secondary migration. Alternatively, since WRS numbers are recorded on a workplace basis (this may be an agency), migrants may have registered with an agency in Newport, and be living or working elsewhere. Although there are significant numbers of Poles who have registered for National Insurance numbers in Newport, the borough has also had the highest number of registrations by Lithuanians and Hungarians and the second highest by Slovaks and Czechs in Wales, pointing to a distinctive character of migration in this area (Newport Council, 2007). It may be that there were already existing networks of migrant workers from these two countries, which might explain this concentration, but no evidence was obtained to support this hypothesis.

- 5.5 Of the 94 LSOAs in Newport, 15% are amongst the 10% most deprived in Wales. LSOAs in Newport are overrepresented in the 10% most deprived in Wales in the 'income', 'education' and 'physical environment' categories. The 3 most deprived LSOAs are the Pillgwenlly 4, Tredegar Park 2 and Pillgwenlly 3 areas of Newport. The most deprived LSOA has a Welsh Index of Deprivation (WIMD) score of 68.2, making it the 22nd most deprived LSOA in Wales.
- 5.6 The population of Newport is predominantly White (95.2% of the total population) with a higher percentage of BME groups than the average for Wales. The only other ethnic group representing more than 1% of the total population at the time of the 2001 Census was Pakistani (1.4% of the total population).
- 5.7 Statistics from the 2001 Census indicate that educational attainment for the populations of Wrexham, Newport and Carmarthenshire are, broadly speaking, average for the whole of Wales. One third (33%) of people aged 16 to 74 in Wales had no qualifications in 2001; this figure is also 33% for Wrexham and 34% for Newport and Carmarthenshire.
- 5.8 The unemployment rate in 2007 in Newport was 6.1%, with Newport having the 10th highest level of unemployment out of the 22 Welsh local authorities.
- 5.9 The following table presents the split of housing tenure across Wrexham, Carmarthenshire, Newport and for the whole of Wales in 2001.

Table 5.1 Housing Tenure

Area	Owner Occupation	Rented from Council	Rented from Housing Association	Rented from Private	Rented from 'Other'
Wrexham	65.5%	23.5%	2.7%	6.0%	2.3%
Carmarthenshire	72.4%	14.0%	3.1%	6.6%	3.8%
Newport	70.5%	16.6%	5.1%	4.8%	3.0%
Wales	71.3%	13.7%	4.2%	7.4%	3.3%

5.10 In Newport, owner occupation is close to the national average. Social housing rented from Housing Associations is above the national average.

5.11 The remainder of this chapter covers the findings from the Newport case study. The researchers interviewed staff from the local authority, voluntary organisations, and other key organisations to explore the impact of migration on service provision, barriers to accessing services, issues faced by service providers and likely future demands on services. In addition, migrant workers were consulted through one-on-one interviews, an informal group discussion and a focus group. Forty one migrant workers were included in the research, together with 11 local authority staff, and 16 interviewees from other agencies or organisations working with migrant workers (see appendices A and B for the details of these participants).

Local context

5.12 Newport has relatively long standing Pakistani, Bengali and Afro-Caribbean communities resident in the Pill (Docks) area of the city, although other areas of the city such as Victoria and Stow Hill also have significant minority ethnic communities. Newport is an asylum seekers dispersal area, which has added to the diversity of its population.

5.13 Since the accession of the A8 countries to the European Union in 2004, there has been a noticeable increase in the number of Eastern European migrant workers arriving in Newport. There are at least four supermarkets in Newport which stock Polish food and one shop dedicated to Czech and Slovak food products. Within the

last 12 months, a community group representing primarily Czech and Slovak migrant workers has formed, which provides support and advice to migrant workers. A Polish community group is in the early stages of development.

- 5.14 The area has also seen an influx of migrant workers, mainly from Eastern Europe, but also from Nepal; the Philippines; Pakistan; Africa and Sri Lanka. Local residents interviewed were of the opinion that the highest proportion of migrant workers came from Poland. This concurs with Local Government Analysis and Research data (based on WRS registrations May 2004 to September 2007) which identifies Poles as the largest group. Other prominent groups include, Slovaks, Czechs, Lithuanians, and Russians.
- 5.15 The main reason that respondents gave for coming to the United Kingdom was that their earning potential here is much higher than it is in their country of origin. Most of the migrant workers interviewed said they had already had either a friend or family member living and working in the Newport area, which is why they decided to come to Newport. Migrant workers interviewed said they were working in food distribution and packing, the hospitality industry, construction or factory work. A number were also employed in recycling in Cardiff. This work involves sorting refuse to put it in the correct recycling categories.
- 5.16 Little has been done to record numbers of migrant workers in the Newport area, with the exception of children in primary and secondary schools. Many staff in the local authority and other organisations interviewed could not hazard a guess as to the actual number of migrant workers in the area. They were aware of, but had little confidence in, the numbers reported from Worker Registration Scheme and National Insurance registrations. They felt that these numbers underestimated the actual number of migrant workers in the Newport area, despite themselves having little knowledge of actual numbers, with some reports of up to 1700 migrant workers being on the books of employment agencies in Newport. The researchers were unable to check these reports.
- 5.17 The difficulty of recording the number of migrant workers was acknowledged by interviewees from the local authority. They attributed this partly to the nature of the migrant worker population and partly to the way in which information is recorded. Little is known about the likely movements of migrant workers and whether they plan to stay in Newport or return to their country of origin, with one respondent describing migrant workers as a *'transient, mobile population'*. The other main

factor was how information is collected; a person's nationality is not normally recorded, in local record systems, only their ethnicity.

- 5.18 Three areas within Newport were identified as the predominant areas where migrant workers reside; Pillgwenlly (Pill) Stow Hill, and Maindee, all of which are within walking distance of the City Centre. The attraction of these areas is most likely due to the availability of low cost private rental accommodation close to the city centre, and the development of cultural institutions, such as ethnic shops.
- 5.19 Numbers of migrant workers have steadily increased since 2004 according to many of the stakeholders that we interviewed. However, some respondents suggested that the nature of the migration has changed. Previous research on migration to the UK from the 1950s has indicated that migrant workers would come to the UK, and gain employment and housing, before bringing his (or more rarely her) family over to join him or her. Whereas now, it was said, it was more likely that families would arrive together.
- 5.20 Although there are well-established support networks for asylum seekers and refugees due to Newport being a dispersal area, there do not appear to be similar support structures in place for migrant workers. There had been a development officer at SEWREC (South East Wales Racial Equality Council) whose remit was primarily dealing with migrant workers but the funding for this role (as part of a European Union funded project) ceased. Voluntary organisations and council staff said that they had signposted migrant workers to this development officer for assistance and advice.

Local service impact

Accommodation

- 5.21 There has been little systematic research on the impact of A8 migrants on the housing market in Newport. One report, however, suggests that many workers from Eastern Europe are living in overcrowded conditions in the city (Opinion Research Services (ORS), 2007). The same report states that restriction on access to social housing will be lifted for migrants from Eastern Europe over the next 4 years. Pressure on the social housing stock of the sub-region will increase as migrant workers become eligible.
- 5.22 Establishing exactly where migrant workers live within Newport is difficult. Many migrant workers take employment with accommodation provided. This often takes

the form of shared houses, which the employer rents from a private letting agency. Whilst this situation can work well it may not always do so. There is evidence that properties can be overcrowded, with high rents and poor conditions. The Local Housing Market Assessment identified “hot bedding”, where a bed is shared between day workers and night workers, as being a significant problem (see ORS, 2007: 28). Tied accommodation also offers little security of tenure, with complaints about accommodation or employment possibly leading to the loss of both. There is a certain amount of competition among different migrant groups, with landlords reportedly favouring Polish migrants because of their greater ability to pay because of their higher wages (ORS, 2007: 30). SEWREC (2008) noted that economic migrants experienced many problems with regard to housing in the Gwent area particularly among private landlords who frequently raised the rent, refused to carry out repairs and did not return the bond. The migrants’ poor English left them vulnerable to this kind of exploitation (ibid.). The report also noted overcrowding, particularly among Slovak, Czech and Lithuanian Romanians.

- 5.23 Migrant workers find accommodation through various avenues, including employment (tied accommodation); letting agencies; and informal networks (friends/family). When migrant workers first arrive in the area they tend to stay with friends or family members until they have secured their own accommodation.
- 5.24 Low-cost private rental housing, and houses of multiple occupation, (HMOs) are typical of the accommodation accessed by migrant workers.

“Many of the migrant workers we have residing in the Newport area are living in HMOs, with varying numbers of other migrant workers.” (public sector)

- 5.25 The local authority indicated that the demand for larger houses of multiple occupation, as it has at the lower end of the rental market. The increase in demand for these properties was attributed to Newport being a dispersal area for asylum seekers where accommodation tends to be communal housing in large properties, but also due to the increase in migrant workers who are housed by their employer in an HMO, or who favour low-cost rental housing.
- 5.26 The impact of migrant workers on social housing was considered to be minimal because most of them do not meet the eligibility criteria. Migrant workers are required to prove they have been employed for 12 consecutive months to be eligible for council housing. However, there has been an increase in migrant workers accessing the housing advice service, which has led to an increase in Language Line bills. The housing service is already stretched, with a waiting list of

approximately 7500 (“...have a horrendous supply and demand problem”). The council housing department is therefore looking into how many migrant workers would be interested in accessing social housing when they become eligible so that it may plan for any increases in demand.

“There is such a limited impact of migrant workers on the council housing in our area.” (private sector)

5.27 No figures were available for how many migrant workers had been housed by the local authority. The homelessness unit manager was estimated that it was less than 5% of those accessing services

5.28 Problems relating to accommodation experienced by migrant workers involve both private rented accommodation and tied housing. However, very few of these problems are reported to the authorities by migrant workers themselves. The council is aware of some issues through reports or complaints from neighbours and property inspections. The Environmental Health Department has noted a year-on-year increase in complaints received. Complaints about migrant workers include problems with bags of rubbish being left outside properties on non-collection days, and issues concerning houses of multiple occupation. The council felt that migrant workers do not fully understand how the refuse collection and recycling systems operate. This has a negative effect on community relations as the Environmental Health Department receives complaints from angry neighbours and there are associated health risks and environmental problems.

5.29 The local authority’s waste management service is trying to address this issue by producing information leaflets and signs to be displayed in private rented properties in different languages to inform people about how the refuse collection system works.

“There have been complaints from residents relating to refuse and long-standing residents complaining about bin bags being left on the pavements.” (public sector)

5.30 There have been reports from other agencies of migrant workers living in extremely poor accommodation and suffering overcrowding. For example, in one property, which was closed down, there were 28 Czechs living in a two bedroom apartment. The reasons for overcrowding are not clearly understood, but saving money by sharing a property with friends or family is one likely explanation. There is also evidence that some employment agencies that provide accommodation with employment are placing too many people in one property, although the standard of

the accommodation may otherwise be good. Migrant workers were asked if they were content with their current accommodation, but few were forthcoming on this point.

“Migrant workers are often too accepting of properties and then being too scared to do anything about the living conditions... they don’t have other support mechanisms around them who can intervene on their behalf so they just put up with it.” (public sector)

“Employment agencies try to wriggle out of it – say they don’t know about bad living conditions. They do know about.” (public sector)

5.31 Many problems are associated with overcrowding, such as health and safety risks, a restricted environment for children, noise and accumulation of domestic waste.

5.32 Some migrant workers have experienced difficulties with understanding what bills they had to pay, such as council tax, and have requested information in their own languages.

“We have had many migrant workers come to us with bills and forms, asking for help in understanding what they mean and how to deal with them.” (voluntary sector)

5.33 SEWREC has dealt with a number of cases where migrant workers have been exploited by their landlords. This has taken the form of confiscating passports under false pretences and not returning deposits. There was also one reported case of a landlord increasing the rent on a property every two weeks for his Slovak tenant. SEWREC aided these people with the help of Shelter, a charity offering independent housing advice.

5.34 Although reports of exploitation have been received, there is little evidence from migrant workers themselves about the problems they experience with accommodation. Migrant workers whose accommodation was linked to their employment were reluctant to discuss or comment on these issues. Interviews with other migrant workers (not in tied accommodation) and organisations indicate that there is concern about possible loss of employment and accommodation and a lack of knowledge about available support services.

5.35 Discussions with migrant workers revealed that they distrust civil servants and the police. In their country of origin, they said that would not bother reporting incidences of exploitation, as such problems were often not fully solved or dealt with appropriately.

- 5.36 A representative of the local authority told us that the local housing market assessment indicates that migrant workers are pricing refugees out of the rental market. Interviewees that participated in the local housing market assessment explained that in their view landlords favour migrant workers over refugees because of their greater ability to pay.
- 5.37 The council and police reported that there were feelings of animosity towards migrant workers from the local community in the Pill area, as locals feel that they are being disadvantaged by the newcomers.

Health

- 5.38 Migrant workers interviewed reported accessing healthcare services in Newport, most specifically general practitioners (GPs). The majority of migrant workers interviewed said they were registered with an NHS GP, but very few with an NHS dental practice. Some migrant workers who were not registered with a GP said that they would go to hospital if they had a health problem.
- 5.39 The Newport Local Health Board (NLHB) has not received any specific guidance from central government with regards to catering for the healthcare needs of migrant workers, therefore, little is known at an overall level of the impact of migration on the healthcare system and issues faced. However, the NLHB has been asked to include information on 'seldom-reached groups', which includes migrant workers, in their Health, Social Care and Well-being Strategy. The Board is currently assessing the healthcare needs of the BME communities in Newport to inform the strategy, this will include some migrant workers although they may not report specifically on them. The work is being undertaken on behalf of the Board by the National Public Health Service for Wales.
- 5.40 Service delivery staff have noted an increase in demands on health service provision, with an increase in numbers as well as a change in the nature of service provision. They attributed the increase in demand to the number of people coming into Newport and also to the increasing diversity of the population. A nurse who is responsible for the healthcare needs of asylum seekers and refugees in Newport has been receiving an increasing number of phone calls and queries relating to migrant workers, as there is no other person with specific responsibility for them.
- 5.41 One indication of the increase in demands on healthcare services was the increase in the use of Language Line. During a period of six months the Language Line bills

for migrant workers using healthcare services was twice that for asylum seekers and refugees.

“Language Line, basically, that’s the service that we use which is recognised, and then we do offer translation of forms, our forms.” (public sector)

5.42 One representative of the health service had no direct knowledge of an increase in demand on A&E due to migrant workers but had heard from colleagues that there have been incidences of migrant workers presenting at A&E with health problems because they were not registered with a GP. She had been told that a pregnant Polish woman recently arrived at A&E and gave birth; she had not received any ante-natal care nor was she registered with a GP. We do not know how common such instances are.

5.43 The language barrier has proved a problem for migrant workers in accessing health services. Completing registration forms, which were not in their own language and communicating health problems were difficult. A woman who had broken her leg required an operation but did not want to go to the hospital as she could not speak English. An interpreter was called who explained the necessity of the operation.

“My wife gets embarrassed if she gets pronunciation wrong and that adds to problem of seeing the doctor or nurse.” (migrant worker)

5.44 GPs and the hospital do have access to Language Line facilities; however, there are reports from a voluntary organisation that these are not being used. They reported that in some cases, the children of migrant workers accompany their parents as they have a better command of the English language. They felt it was sometimes not appropriate for children to interpret for their parents, as some issues to be communicated are sensitive and, furthermore, the child’s vocabulary might not be sufficiently developed to understand any technical matters.

“Much of the time Language Line isn’t offered to people who can’t speak English very well. People have told me before that they take their children with them so that they are able to interpret the conversation for them, as without them it would not be possible to communicate.” (voluntary sector)

5.45 Some interviewees from the local authority and other organisations felt that many migrant workers did not know how to access healthcare services due to a lack of understanding of the processes involved. People from Poland and the Czech Republic noted that the healthcare systems in their countries work differently to those of the United Kingdom. For example, in those countries you do not have to see a GP in the area in which you live and you can go directly to specialists rather

than through the referral system. These differences presented a problem for one individual who had been in Newport for one year and was not registered with a GP. He had tried to register with a GP but was told the surgery was not in his area (according to residential address) and therefore he could not register there. He could not find out which GP surgeries were available near his place of residence so was not registered.

“I’m not convinced that they know how best to get access to healthcare in Wales, it’s a different process to what they are used to in their country of origin, and with the added problem of language difficulties it makes it even harder for newcomers.” (private sector)

5.46 Many people were not registered with a dentist due to a lack of knowledge of which dental surgeries they could register with and a lack of NHS dentists.

5.47 The majority of migrant workers interviewed were unaware of NHS Direct.

5.48 Most migrant workers who were registered with a GP had learnt about the process from asking fellow workers or other migrant workers. A development officer asked all the migrant workers who approached him for help if they were registered with a GP. If not, he provided them with a list of GPs in their local area and explained the process for registering.

“My friend told me what I should do.” (migrant worker)

5.49 The main issue faced by service providers is the language barrier. Linked to this is the cost of using Language Line, which places pressure on their budget. It was also noted that frontline staff need to be trained in using interpreters and that the interpreters themselves need to be trained to remain objective in sensitive situations and avoid using jargon.

“There is a clear need for better interpretation and translation services in this area.” (public sector)

5.50 There may be a need for further training in cultural understanding for all staff, including receptionists, on how to register migrant workers. One migrant worker who had tried to register with a GP surgery was told by the receptionist that she did not know how to register migrant workers.

Education

5.51 In the field of education the greatest impact as a result of migrant workers and their families moving in to the Newport area has been experienced by the Primary

Schools. The Catholic schools have been particularly affected because of the high numbers of Polish people in the area. Schools within the Pill area have also experienced substantial impact due to migrant workers settling in the area. More resources and support have been allocated to these schools to cope with the extra demand and requirements, however, resources are stretched and GEMSS (Gwent Education Multi-Ethnic Support Service) and a school said that additional resources/funding would be welcomed. It was noted by a teacher that the arrival of children of migrant workers did place a strain on the school due to the extra resources and time required but that with support from GEMMS and their experience of dealing with children from different nationalities they were able to cope better than other schools.

- 5.52 The education department has started to monitor the number of children of migrant workers in primary and secondary schools. They hope this will provide insight into the likely movements of migrant worker families so that they can better plan and provide support. Within the next two years, they hope to be able to have a better idea of any patterns of migration.
- 5.53 There is evidence that some migrant workers plan to stay in Newport for the longer term (Newport Council, 2007). As of January 2007 there were 47 children whose ethnic origin could be defined as East European attending school in Newport. The majority of these children attend schools in inner city wards, such as Pillgwenlly and Shaftesbury, although some attend schools in wards further away from the centre such as Ringland, Lliswerry and Bettws. The other notable factor is the age of the children. The great majority are attending primary school, so are aged 11 or under (Newport Council, 2007).
- 5.54 Class sizes have increased, but this has not as yet posed a problem as numbers of pupils are still at an acceptable level.
- 5.55 Budgeting is a key issue as it is very difficult to predict the number of children from migrant worker families. Special education provision is funded retrospectively. It is unknown whether they will stay in the area, move into a suburban area or return to their country of origin. Also, little is known about the numbers of migrant worker families who will be arriving in Newport. This has implications for which schools are given the additional support and resources needed to meet the needs of these children.
- 5.56 It was reported that less support is now being provided for the children of asylum seekers and refugees because more resources are being allocated to deal with the

increasing number of children of migrant workers in schools. One interviewee from the voluntary sector felt that the emphasis on migrant workers from the A8 states had shifted resources somewhat to cater for their specific language needs, rather than addressing the needs of asylum seekers and refugees.

- 5.57 The foremost requirement of these children from migrant worker families is help with learning the English language. The general impression of those working within the education system is that the children of migrant workers are academically able and when they become confident in the English language they will achieve well within the Welsh school setting. Those children who had been to school in their home countries were seen to have received a very good standard of education so they have a bank of transferable skills (eg. reading). In some cases children have not been to school, typically within the Traveller and Roma populations, and the whole school institution is '*alien to them*'.

"If you can't speak the language, you can't integrate in any way. You can't have any independence." (voluntary sector)

- 5.58 The schools receive support through GEMSS, which supplies home language support workers and teachers to schools who have children who do not speak English. Home language support workers support the pupils in their home language within the classroom setting, whilst the teachers, who are specialist EAL (English as an Additional Language) teachers, support children either individually, in small groups, or within the classroom team teaching with their mainstream colleagues.

- 5.59 Children of migrant workers often arrive mid-term. GEMSS has an induction programme for these children and again, integrates them gradually, with half a week of school then full attendance.

"The fact that many children from migrant workers arrive within term time makes it hard to integrate them altogether or in the same way." (public sector)

- 5.60 Migrant worker children coming into secondary schools also require support as the school systems are very different to what they are used to. GEMSS would like to introduce a two week introduction and assessment programme to help their integration.

- 5.61 The schools have tried to provide information to parents about the school systems and rules in their home language. The home language support workers also play an important role in communicating with the parents of these children to answer any

questions, resolve any issues and to help with filling in forms and translating documents.

- 5.62 Funding is retrospective and has caused a problem for service providers when budgeting as it is not known how many children of migrant workers they can expect that year, and what support they will be required to provide. In addition, migrant workers may move between areas and the children are, therefore, moving schools, which mean resources are then incorrectly allocated.

“its has proven especially difficult to plan for the future given the lack of warning about changing trends in numbers of migrant workers in this area, and throughout Wales. This is also problematic as funding has not considered future changes and is mainly based on past developments.” (public sector)

- 5.63 Some children of migrant workers preferred to wear their own clothes to school rather than a uniform; it was not clear whether this was because their parents could not afford a uniform. This was seen as a problem as it made them stand out from the rest of the children.

- 5.64 GEMSS is building capacity within schools to develop competence in meeting the needs of the children of migrant workers. This is done through training courses, staff meetings, and inset days. Most recently, GEMSS has organised a conference for all mainstream teachers in Gwent regarding newly arrived migrant workers. Teachers have also received training in what to do if they have ‘new to English’ children in the class and how to promote the use of home language through the curriculum.

- 5.65 There is a ‘Diversity’ award which is awarded to schools; at least a third of schools have gained this award and the others are preparing for it.

- 5.66 Discussions with migrant workers revealed why many of them are not accessing English courses. The reasons for this included: costs, long working hours, shift patterns, shortage of available places and a lack of confidence.

“I can’t always get to the lessons due to my work.” (migrant worker)

- 5.67 Apart from the overall level of provision, the main difficulty with regard to English classes for migrant workers is the poor attendance and retention rates. Staff tried to address these issues through changing the structure of the course to two lessons per week over a 12 month period. This has resulted in increased attendance and retention.

Employment

- 5.68 The majority of migrant workers that we interviewed were in employment, whilst a few were seeking employment. The jobs that they had were predominately low skilled and low wage, such as, food distribution and packing; factory work; construction; or within the hospitality/catering sector. However, there were several migrant workers who had been in Wales for a number of years and were now in more skilled work (e.g. teachers), despite having started in low skilled jobs when they first arrived. There are also cases of migrant workers, specifically Polish, setting up their own small businesses (eg a car valeting service).
- 5.69 Most migrant workers accessed jobs through employment agencies, with equal numbers organising employment before arriving in the UK and getting jobs on arrival. An interviewee from the council mentioned that certain employment agencies actively recruit Slovaks, Polish and Estonians in their home countries. Some employment agencies have recruited Eastern European migrant workers to work in the employment agency as they receive high numbers of migrant workers seeking employment.
- 5.70 Interviews with voluntary organisations and informal conversations with members of the local community showed that, in general, people felt that migrant workers have had a positive impact on the economy, as they were a much needed labour force. Respondents from some organisations felt that some members of the local community had negative feelings towards migrant workers, who they perceived as taking their jobs, but they said that these jobs had been available before migrant workers had arrived and were not attractive to locals due to the low wage.
- “They are doing the jobs that others simply will not do nowadays.” (private sector)*
- 5.71 SEWREC (2008) found that, while many migrants were educated only to primary or secondary school level and sought unskilled work, others were educated to university level and were highly skilled. These, however, often because of their poor knowledge of English, were employed in work that was not appropriate to their training. For example, many doctors and nurses, including those from countries outside the EU (but not refugees), were employed as care workers in medical centres and worked for the minimum wage.
- 5.72 Discussions with migrant workers and organisations indicated that migrant workers are willing to take these jobs as the minimum wage paid is often more than they

could earn back in their home country. We discussed with migrant workers their feelings about working in positions below what they would expect given their qualifications in their country of origin, and found a mixture of views. Some accepted it as a consequence of their limited English language ability; others were not happy that their qualifications were not recognised in the UK, obliging them to take lower skilled jobs.

“We should get more money really...but this is more than many jobs pay in Poland.” (migrant worker)

5.73 A representative from one employment agency thought that the work ethic of migrant workers was better than that of local people, but that there were differences within the migrant worker population. He thought that the Polish and Czech migrant workers had a better work ethic than those of Hungarians and Romanians.

5.74 There was some evidence from migrant workers that the job market is becoming saturated, due to the numbers of migrant workers still arriving in Newport. Some migrant workers complained about work being intermittent and that they were not allocated sufficient hours. One migrant said he could go for three to four days without work.

5.75 There was an indication by an employment agency and Job Centre Plus that recently there have been migrant workers who have accessed their services who were not willing to accept low paid jobs, even if they didn't have the relevant qualification or level of English to be put forward for a certain job role. In some cases it seems it was not just a question of pay but the unpleasant nature of the job itself, e.g. recycling (which involves sorting through refuse by hand to remove recyclable items). This sentiment was echoed by a development officer working with migrant workers.

“Many in actual fact are not willing to be employed in a job which does not match their skills, experience or qualifications gained in their country of origin.” (public sector)

5.76 Employment is the primary reason for the vast majority of migrant workers coming to the Newport area. We were told of some examples of migrant workers being exploited by employers or employment agencies but migrant workers interviewed were not willing or were unable, to provide specific details. One example was where a migrant worker was employed as a construction worker but had £300 deducted from his wages as he was told he had to buy his own wheelbarrow and

shovel. There were other instances given of migrant workers working overtime and not being paid accordingly.

- 5.77 Almost all migrant workers knew of a friend or family member who was working below their level of qualifications or experience. They said that the main reasons for this occurring were lack of fluency in English or that their qualifications were not recognised or not transferable.

“My education certificates just aren’t useful here.” (migrant worker)

- 5.78 Many migrant workers are employed through employment agencies on temporary contracts or zero hour contracts. A zero hour contract means that they are given work only when it is available. Due to a saturated labour market this leaves some people with insufficient hours. Another issue is that migrant workers are often notified only an hour before work started that they are required to work that day. When such employees are ill they do not receive sick pay.

- 5.79 There have been reports from a voluntary organisation that some migrant workers have been turned away from employment agencies because they cannot speak English as there are enough migrant workers who speak English to fill the available positions. One employment agency, whose caseload was 60% migrant workers, pointed out the health and safety risks if workers can not understand or read English. Some of the larger companies are employing migrant workers who cannot speak English, but they have bilingual supervisors who are able to communicate with workers.

“It doesn’t seem very fair to us at all, seems as those migrant workers who are not having the same skills in English as others are often not chosen for employment, but employers are still willing to take those that don’t speak English as they are still cheap but if they had to choose they would rather go for those that can and do speak better English.” (voluntary sector)

- 5.80 Some migrant workers reported difficulty when visiting the Job Centre as they are unable to speak English. They are pointed in the direction of the computers to view available positions but it is not explained to them how to use the computer systems.

“Better language skills is going to enhance their employment prospects.” (voluntary sector)

- 5.81 As with poor standards of accommodation, few migrant workers are actually reporting these incidences for similar reasons: the English language barrier; not knowing what support systems are available; not knowing what their rights are; and fear of losing their job and accommodation. There was also a report from a migrant

worker that some employment agencies had threatened a form of blacklisting when employees had made a complaint.

- 5.82 All migrant workers interviewed said they were registered with the Worker Registration Scheme (WRS). People had learnt about the need to register through talking to friends and through the employment agencies, however, some were not aware of the need to re-register when changing employment. One employment agency reported that only approximately one in five migrant workers who walk through their doors was actually registered on the WRS. The Job Centre was unable to comment on this figure.
- 5.83 As with the WRS, all migrant workers interviewed had a National Insurance (NI) number. The Polish people in the focus group indicated that this had not been a problem applying for a NI number as the application form was in Polish. One female migrant worker who entered the country seven years ago noted that the process for acquiring a NI number was much easier nowadays than previously.

Community issues

- 5.84 The arrival of migrant workers in Newport over the past four years has added to the already diverse population. There were mixed views as to whether local existing communities accepted migrant workers into the community, but it was felt that migrant workers had not fully integrated into the community. It was felt that in areas where the existing population was not as diverse, such as the Valleys, the arrival of migrant workers would have a greater impact on the local community.

“I have sometimes heard people saying things like, “them migrants *coming in and taking our jobs*” and “*I feel like an ethnic minority in my own community.*”
(voluntary sector)

- 5.85 Little research has been carried out on this question and thus there is little literature to review. The development officer of the SEWREC (2008) reported that there were numerous allegations of racism and of discrimination against members of minority ethnic groups. Some tensions had arisen because of local misperceptions about migrant workers. One such was that migrant workers were taking jobs from local residents. When examined, however, it was seen that these jobs had been available for several years and had not been taken up by locals before the migrants arrived (ibid.).

5.86 Another source of information on this question is the local media, although this needs to be treated with caution as coverage is often determined by the needs of journalism to find a striking story. A search of the website of the local newspaper, the South Wales Argus, showed a mixed picture with regard to the acceptance of A8 migrants in the area. One item presents the story of a Polish butcher setting up shop in Newport in a positive light and emphasises his acceptance by the community²⁰. Other items were more negative and dealt with incidents such as three Poles charged with attacking two men in Newport city centre; Bangladeshis working illegally in a take-away; a Romanian involved in a credit-card scam; and an opinion piece worried in case the 2007 inclusion of Bulgaria and Romania would bring an increase of gypsy immigration.

5.87 Newport has seen the recent formation of a Czech/Slovak support group (CASIW) and there is currently a Polish group being established in the area. The Czech/Slovak group has 60 members and has a weekly gathering in a community centre to discuss any issues and inform members of their rights and what support services are available. They also provide information to members of their group in their home language (Czech or Slovak) on different services, such as, education; healthcare; housing and benefit matters; WRS; and National Insurance documentation.

“It’s a good place for support” (migrant worker)

5.88 Many of the migrant workers interviewed were accessing library services, specifically to use the internet facilities available. One individual was delighted to find that the main library stocked books in her native language and often used the library as a signpost to local services.

“Find it difficult knowing who to refer them to for what service.” (public sector)

5.89 A common view amongst those we interviewed (migrant workers as well as stakeholders) was that migrant workers were not always seen to be integrating into the local community. Not being able to speak English was the main reason for this but other factors included long and unsociable working hours, a lack of understanding about cultural difference and differences between migrant workers, refugees and asylum seekers. A member of a voluntary organisation, the Czech and Slovak in Wales (CASIW) group, explained that many members of the group work together in packing and distribution, with accommodation tied to their

²⁰

http://www.southwalesargus.co.uk/search/display.var.1272726.0.butcher_employs_pole_to_help_customers.php

employment. Therefore, they spend the majority of their time together, working, living and socialising. As the majority of them do not speak English, they socialise only with other people from their own country.

“My mother doesn’t speak very good English and people living or working here treat her as dumb or a complete imbecile.” (migrant worker)

5.90 There have been very few reported incidences of hate crime towards migrant workers. There was one case where there was some anti-Polish graffiti in Pill; but this seems to have been an isolated incident.

5.91 Some respondents in organisations that dealt with migrant workers mentioned that some Polish people’s attitudes towards people from the Black and Asian communities revealed an underlying racial prejudice. The respondents who mentioned it also saw it as a potential area of tension within the community. Our researcher observed an incident of racially motivated verbal abuse whilst in the area. There has also been a reported incident between Polish and Lithuanian migrant workers.

5.92 The attitude of migrant workers towards the police was seen as a barrier to reporting crime. One migrant worker whose car had been broken into twice did not report these incidences to the Police as he felt they would not be able to help him. When the car was burgled for a third time, he tried to report this to the police station on a Sunday, but was told to come back another time. This experience left him with little confidence in the police services.

“What can they do anyway?” (migrant worker)

Summary

5.93 To summarise, the main findings from the Newport case study are:

- organisations providing services to the public, including migrant workers, acknowledged the need for service provision to take into account the needs of migrant workers and their families;
- support systems and networks catering for the needs of migrant workers in Newport were not as developed as were those for asylum seekers and refugees. A similar approach to migrant workers as is in place for asylum seekers and refugees was suggested, as many of the issues faced by both groups overlap. Suggestions to address the needs of migrant workers and their families included

multi-agency meetings and a key individual to deal with issues relating to migrant workers;

- there has been an increase in the number of migrant workers arriving in Newport since 2004. The main nationalities represented in the community are Polish, Czech and Slovak;
- with the exception of monitoring the number of children of migrant workers in schools, there have been no known attempts to record the number of migrant workers in Newport. Some migrant workers plan to stay; whilst others were unsure of how long they would remain in Newport. This lack of knowledge about numbers and the likely movements of migrant workers leads to difficulty in planning and budgeting for service provision;
- there is an indication that migrant workers are arriving with their families, rather than bringing family members over at a later date when they have settled in to the area. In some cases the families consist of women with children who have left an abusive partner in the country of origin.
- in general, services have experienced some increase in demand due to the arrival of migrant workers in Newport. This increase in demand not only relates to numbers, but of equal significance is the change in the nature of service provision. The specific needs of migrant workers, such as interpretation services, mean that additional resources and funds are required by various service providers to meet these needs; and
- language is the foremost barrier for migrant workers in accessing services and integrating into the community. Linked in with this is a lack of knowledge about the processes or systems or what support is available to them. Migrant workers requested information about services in their home language and the need for information to be specific to the Newport area.

6. Case Study: Wrexham

Introduction

- 6.1 Wrexham is a market town and is often described as the capital of North Wales. It is an important shopping town and attracts shoppers from a wide surrounding area of Mid and North Wales. The town has a population of 40,145 while the County Borough has a population of 131, 000 (Wrexham County Borough Council (WCBC), 2007). There is a strong business community and the local economy has seen substantial growth since the 1990s. All these are factors that may have attracted migrant workers to the area.
- 6.2 The Migrant Worker Action Plan (WCBC, 2007) recognises that there has been a significant impact on public services and on two services in particular: education and public protection²¹ (WCBC, 2007: 1). Two voluntary organisations working with migrant workers, the Caia Park Partnership (CPP) and the Citizens' Advice Bureau have also reported increasing service pressure due to the growth in numbers of migrant workers (ibid.). The CPP is currently working in partnership with the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) to develop a model for local integration and with the Wrexham County Borough Council to develop a toolkit for integration. The Council led multi-agency Community Cohesion Co-ordination Group monitors migrant worker issues as part of its remit.
- 6.3 WRS figures show 2,565 approvals (rather than applications) by A8 nationals in Wrexham between May 2004 and the first quarter of 2007. During the same period 1,680 National Insurance numbers were allocated in the Borough (Welsh Assembly Government, 2006). A report on the Migrant Worker Action Plan drawn up in April 2007 by the Director of Corporate Governance of Wrexham County Borough Council (WCBC) states that *"It is difficult to be precise about the numbers of economic migrants in Wrexham, but estimates put numbers at several thousand ... Allocations of National Insurance numbers to overseas nationals have provided only a general indication of the number of economic migrants in Wrexham County Borough ... Partner organisations share our difficulty in obtaining accurate data in relation to the number of economic migrants and their social and cultural needs"* (WCBC, 2007: 1-2).

²¹ Public protection includes Environmental Health and Trading Standards services.

- 6.4 Of the 85 Lower Super Output Areas²² in the Wrexham district, 6 were among the 10% most deprived at the time of the 2001 Census. However, 26 of Wrexham’s LSOAs were in the 10% most deprived in Wales in the ‘housing’ deprivation category. Fifteen percent of Wrexham’s LSOAs were in the 10% most deprived in Wales in the ‘education’ category. In all other measures Wrexham was shown to have lower than the national average deprivation levels.
- 6.5 The 3 most deprived LSOAs in Wrexham district were Queensway 1, Wynnstay (both in the town of Wrexham itself) and Plas Madoc. Queensway was the most deprived area in Wrexham with a Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation (WIMD) score of 72.5, making it the 7th most deprived LSOA in Wales. This is shown in figure 5.1.
- 6.6 The population of Wrexham at the time of the 2001 Census was predominantly ‘White’ (98.9%). The minority ethnic population (1.1%) is below the average for Wales.
- 6.7 Statistics from the 2001 Census indicate that educational attainment for the populations of Wrexham, Newport and Carmarthenshire are, broadly speaking, average for the whole of Wales. One third (33%) of people aged 16 to 74 in Wrexham had no qualifications in 2001, the same as for Wales as a whole, and close to the figure (34%) for Newport and Carmarthenshire.
- 6.8 Unemployment was lower in Wrexham (4.7%) than the other two areas, and is ranked 16th highest out of the 22 local authority areas).
- 6.9 The following table presents the split of housing tenure across Wrexham, Carmarthenshire, Newport and for the whole of Wales in 2001.

Table 6.1 Housing Tenure

Area	Owner Occupation	Rented from Council	Rented from Housing Association	Rented from Private	Rented from ‘Other’
Wrexham	65.5%	23.5%	2.7%	6.0%	2.3%
Carmarthenshire	72.4%	14.0%	3.1%	6.6%	3.8%
Newport	70.5%	16.6%	5.1%	4.8%	3.0%
Wales	71.3%	13.7%	4.2%	7.4%	3.3%

6.10 In 2001, owner occupation was lower than the national average in Wrexham. Council housing was approximately 70% higher than the national average. Housing rented from Housing Associations was below the national average in Wrexham.

²² LSOAs are geographical areas for which Census data can be provided. They are small areas, below the Council ward level, and typically correspond to a number of streets.

6.11 This chapter sets the scene for the Wrexham case study and sets out the findings that we gathered during visits to the area. This comprised two focus groups, face to face interviews and telephone interviews, and observations. A total of 28 migrant workers, 11 representatives from the local authority and 29 participants from other agencies or organisations working with migrant workers were included in the Wrexham research (see appendix A and B for demographic breakdown of participants). The local context is introduced and then the social impacts of migration considered. Barriers to service use are explored and possible future needs discussed.

Local context

6.12 The predominant group of migrant workers in Wrexham are Polish, although there is also a substantial Portuguese population. The latter have been residing in the area for longer than most of the Polish people, who have mainly arrived since 2004. However, there is also a much smaller group of Polish residents who arrived during the Second World War. Many of the latter are fully integrated into the local community.

6.13 Interviewees from the local authority and voluntary sector acknowledged the lack of reliable data on the number of migrant workers in Wales. Most interviewees thought that this was an information gap that needed to be addressed. All interviewees were asked if they had any data on the numbers of migrant workers accessing their services or residing in the area. Estimates ranged between 7,000 and 17,000. The interviews with local authority staff confirmed the view that these figures were largely based on personal estimates.

6.14 Employment is generally high in the area and few of the migrant workers included in this research were without a job. Polish newcomers tend to be concentrated in factory work and to work mainly on Wrexham Industrial Estate. The major employers of migrant workers include a food processing plant and an electronics factory. In addition, smaller numbers of migrant workers are employed in the hospitality industry.

6.15 Polish people are relatively dispersed across Wrexham County Borough, with a particular concentration in Smithfield ward. When arriving in Wrexham, migrant workers have typically settled close to the town centre or in housing estates containing private rented accommodation. According to representatives from

Wrexham County Borough Council, newcomers from the A8 states have been steadily moving outwards from the central areas for some time, and those who have been living in Wrexham the longest are now starting to move to the outskirts of the town, or to local areas such as Llay or Mold.

- 6.16 The growth of the migrant worker population in Wrexham has brought an increase in demand for Polish consumables, such as food and drink. There is a Polish delicatessen and Portuguese café and an aisle in each of Tesco and ASDA dedicated to Polish products. Many migrant workers can also receive Polish television via satellite and, until recently, there was also a public house that was mainly used by Poles.

Informing migrant workers about services

- 6.17 The increase in the number of migrant workers moving into Wrexham has taken place at the same time as WCBC has established a Community Cohesion team. The topic of migrant workers features high on the agenda for this team, along with overcoming the effects of other potential social divisions. Members of the Community Cohesion team are represented on a number of action groups and informal discussion forums with other representatives from the private, public and voluntary sectors. It was noted during interviews with the local authority that this team helps to co-ordinate of much of the work to integrate migrant workers, including sharing information and promoting a more consistent approach to the treatment of newcomers to Wrexham from the A8 states.
- 6.18 Information provision has been an important part of the strategy employed by WCBC. The Council has produced an information booklet, (*One Wrexham*), containing advice about settling into the area, and has supplied copies to specific agencies and public services that are used by migrant workers in the area. This booklet has been translated into Polish, Portuguese, Czech and Slovak. It provides a short introduction to the geographical location of Wrexham, a list of local services (dentists, doctors and schools) and guidance on searching for jobs and accommodation. It also contains contact details of relevant organisations.
- 6.19 In accordance with the inclusion agenda (referred to as *The One Wrexham agenda*), the police and fire service have also provided information leaflets in different languages. These have included home safety precautions, as fire has proved a major concern in some areas with regard to HMOs. Some of this work

has been initiated by staff at the local fire station, whilst the Welsh Assembly Government has also provided some posters and leaflets. The local authority has provided information on refuse collection and recycling in several languages.

- 6.20 Discussions with service delivery staff revealed that this literature is reaching the desired audience and that it is believed to be having a positive effect as there have been few incidents of house fires. Equally, local authority staff reported that previous problems with recycling and refuse disposal had diminished over the last two years since literature had been translated into other languages
- 6.21 However, this literature does not appear to be reaching all newcomers. Migrant workers and even some of those acting on behalf of migrant workers often do not realise that this information exists and is freely available.
- 6.22 Informal networks used to share information and to pass on advice to newcomers are of increasing importance. Interviewees from both the public and voluntary sectors reported that newcomers from the A8 states would, when accessing a particular service, often ask questions about a different service. The information pack provided by WCBC contains a directory of services, but signposting continues to take place within and across departments, as well as sectors. For example, several migrant workers felt that they did not fully understand how to register for a National Insurance number but were aware of how to contact employment agencies.
- 6.23 Service providers reported that this had become a feature of the way in which migrant workers use local services in Wrexham. This has caused some frustration (due to lack of resources) but generally stakeholders were happy to assist with signposting migrant workers in the right direction or answering queries based on their own knowledge. In some instances interviewees, especially from the voluntary sector, said they had helped migrant workers in their own time or out of hours.

Local service impact

- 6.24 As outlined in Wrexham County Borough Council's Migrant Worker Action Plan, the growing population of migrant workers has affected the delivery of services in various ways and with varying intensities.
- 6.25 In discussions, frontline staff said that added service pressures was primarily due to increasing numbers of clients, although some departments experienced the effects more than others. Local authority staff said that when newcomers arrive in

Wrexham, accommodation and employment are the primary issues, followed by education. As a result, housing and public protection services are the first statutory service areas affected.

- 6.26 The impact of migration in Wrexham has also been noticeable in the voluntary sector; especially impacting upon the Caia Park Partnership and the Citizens Advice Bureau.

Accommodation

- 6.27 It became apparent during discussions with staff from the local authority that there are many misconceptions held by local residents about migrant workers' entitlements to social housing. Some members of the host community, when interviewed, said that the increase in migrant workers was adding pressure to housing services but this was contradicted by interviews with local authority staff. Only seven properties of local authority housing were allocated to Polish people in 2007, compared to four to white Portuguese residents and 721 to people identifying themselves as White British.

- 6.28 It was reported by the local authority that when newcomers first began to migrate to Wrexham from the A8 states, accommodation was frequently tied to employment and organised before workers arrived in the UK. However, this is now becoming less common and discussions with the police and employment agencies suggested that migrant workers find somewhere to live after they arrive. Migrant workers interviewed said that they often chose to lodge initially with friends or family before finding alternative accommodation once they could afford to do so and knew the area better.

“When migration first began from Poland to Wrexham, the workers often already had their housing organised, before arriving. There is a notable difference now however, more and more migrant workers arrive without having already organised accommodation.” (organisation)

- 6.29 This finding would suggest that migrant workers are having a greater impact on private sector housing than on social housing. Private letting agents described an increasing number of clients from the A8 states; roughly half of these were single males looking to rent a room in a HMO but there has also been an increase in the number of families renting entire houses.

“We have a larger number of Polish now than compared to two years ago, its grown quite significantly.” (voluntary sector)

- 6.30 “Hot bedding” (where different people share the same bed at different times of day) was acknowledged by the local authority as a problem when the first newcomers moved to the area in 2004. Interviewees from the voluntary sector also felt this was the case but is now less of a concern. Many migrant workers themselves spoke about the unsanitary and often unsafe living conditions in HMOs and generally feel happier in renting self contained flats, or sharing houses with a few friends.

“In the early days when migrant workers began moving to Wrexham there was a problem with bed lice, something that had not been a problem in Wrexham before, where the number of bed lice infestations had risen due to these people sharing rooms, even beds in some cases. Thankfully this is not the case now.” (public sector)

- 6.31 Similarly to members of the host society, most new tenants begin on a six month contract, but this is usually renewed two or three times. One letting agent noted that she had tenants on her records that had first signed a contract in 2004 and are continuing to rent from the agency.
- 6.32 Migrant workers do not seem to experience any significant problems in accessing the private rented housing market. For example, many people had already organised accommodation before entering the UK or had informal arrangements to lodge with family members already living in Wrexham. Migrant workers felt at ease when seeking out accommodation, which was usually accomplished with the help of friends who could speak better English or had previously rented from the agent.
- 6.33 Despite the increasing number of Polish families wanting to rent private houses in the Wrexham area, estate agents did not believe this was resulting in higher prices. At the time that we interviewed them, the average cost to rent a three bedroom house in this area was at a similar level to five years before. The current state of the housing market in the UK was described as much more influential than the growth in numbers of migrant workers renting houses.
- 6.34 Estate agents noted that a small minority of Polish newcomers were starting to buy houses in the Wrexham area. This was confined to smaller terraced housing outside of the town centre, which was suitable for young families. This was identified as a very recent phenomenon, taking place during the last six months.

“There are not many migrant workers, or their families that come in with the intention of finding a house to buy, although the number has increased over the

last year...its mainly smaller terraced housing that such people are looking at.”
(estate agent)

Health

6.35 Although most newcomers are aware of dentists’ and doctors’ surgeries in the area, many felt less sure of how best to access health services. Discussions with the voluntary sector also demonstrated that migrant workers are not fully aware of the range of services in the primary healthcare system or able to differentiate between different types of surgeries. For example, when we asked migrant workers about the difference between NHS walk-in centres and pharmacies, most were not able to answer correctly.

“To be honest, I am not sure that there is much difference.” (migrant worker)

6.36 A guide to health services in Wrexham was due to be released in other languages; until now, advice on this has been provided on an ad hoc basis and with little consistency (although the Wrexham information booklet contains Health Service information).. Most migrant workers reported that they have typically relied on information from other migrants or asked representatives from the voluntary sector. One representative from the voluntary sector was concerned that the increase in self-diagnosis amongst migrant workers may actually lead to increased health risks, rather than removing pressure from the service.

“My friend told me about this cough medicine that I could use for my daughter, I did not know about it before but then she said that its similar to something we have back in Poland.” (migrant worker)

“There are lots of migrant workers advising other migrants about health issues and there is a great danger with doing this as they can not say for sure that they are correct.” (migrant worker)

6.37 Although there are no specific health services targeting only migrant workers, representative from the public and voluntary sectors explained that there are three Polish dentists and one Lithuanian in one practice. However, long waiting lists for the dentist were reported and none of the migrant workers interviewed had used a dentist whilst living in Wrexham.

“Me and the family just go back to Poland when we need to get any dentist work done, it’s cheaper than here.” (migrant worker)

6.38 Additional services have been provided by the health service but these have a broader agenda than specifically focusing on meeting the needs of migrant workers. For example, a weekly clinic was established at Caia Park Partnership; this was running for 12 months and is still available on request. The practitioner focused on the promotion of healthy eating, issues around breast feeding and also answered other queries which newcomers had. However, demand was not high enough for a weekly session; none of the migrant workers that we interviewed had used this service or knew that it had existed. This service was replaced by a more successful mother and baby group.

6.39 Many of the service delivery staff noted that the language barrier had restricted patients from receiving a similar level of care to that usually experienced by the host population. One interviewee spoke of a past instance when a Polish lady refused pain relief when giving birth as she did not realise it was free; whilst this may no longer be happening, memories of such events continue to be discussed. Language Line is widely used (the phone numbers have been made available to opticians and pharmacists), but this had proved expensive and was not always appropriate when dealing with sensitive issues. However, opticians and pharmacies do not employ face-to-face translators and, consequently migrant workers reported difficulties when buying medication.

“Its difficult to ask for what you want when you need medicine or to describe it (to) the person behind the desk.” (migrant worker)

6.40 One member of the health service who is working at a strategic level suggested that more funding was required in order to cater for the specific needs of the migrant worker population in Wrexham. A number of possibilities were identified for using additional funds in an appropriate way, including a face to face interpretation service and providing posters and signage in different languages. However, the problem is not merely the level of funding, but is also the shortage of translators.

“It’s a simple answer really, the health service clearly needs more funding so that the language issues can be dealt with and the service delivery needs of migrant workers fully supported.” (public sector)

6.41 It was unclear from discussions with representatives from the health service and voluntary sector how many of the migrant worker population in Wrexham are registering with doctors. The majority of Polish migrant workers indicated that they were registered but fewer Portuguese newcomers had a doctor in Wrexham. However, several healthcare professionals felt that not all newcomers are

registering with a GP and those that do register often do not do so until they have lived in the area for at least 6 months. These interviewees reported that particular surgeries had experienced added pressure to cater for newcomer's translation needs; town centre practices were identified as experiencing the heaviest demand. Country of origin is recorded for those registering with a GP for the first time in the UK. Most GP surgeries (15 out of 23) have the facility to record ethnicity and language on their computer systems.

"It is extremely difficult to even guesstimate the number of migrant workers we have using the services, although it seems clear that they are not all (are) registering with a doctor." (public sector)

6.42 The researchers thought there was no evidence of plans for recording users' nationality by each health service in the near future; many thought this should be done at a national level. Several interviewees from both the public and voluntary sectors mentioned the difficulties involved in forecasting demands for health services. This was because more people registering does not necessarily lead to added service pressure, as not all those who register will use the service in question. No other health profession (apart from GPs) currently has the facility to record either ethnicity or country of origin.

6.43 Interviewees from the voluntary sector felt there was a lack of cultural sensitivity within the health service. Some migrant workers choose to go home to fulfil some of their healthcare needs. Interviewees suggested that more support is required, to enable migrant workers to use the UK health service, rather than merely supplying information on the location of dentists or GP surgeries in the area.

"Its just pretty much useless not to support newcomers more in the health care system, we can't just expect them to use the same service as Welsh or English people, it's a different culture and so there are cultural differences which must be respected." (public sector)

6.44 One representative from the health service felt that migrant workers have a greater impact on the local housing and education sectors, than on the Wrexham health service. This was mainly because many migrant workers prefer to travel to their country of origin for health care.

"To be honest, there aren't many migrant workers using the health service in Wrexham, attention needs to focus on other areas of service, like the housing, education." (public sector)

6.45 All of the migrant workers spoke freely about the differences in the healthcare systems in Poland and Wales. This was not mentioned by newcomers from Portugal. In making these comparisons, migrant workers often exhibited high expectations which are resulting in negative impressions of the UK health provision, particularly of the dental service. According to interviewees in the public, private and voluntary sectors, many newcomers are returning to Poland for short trips in which to receive treatment as they believe it will cost less and may result in a better quality of treatment than in the UK.

*“I’m not sure about the UK health service and if it’s that good really.”
(migrant worker)*

6.46 Some migrant workers use a particular gymnasium in Wrexham. Although the membership database does not currently monitor ethnicity or nationality, a member of staff estimated that approximately 45% of all members are from continental Europe, mainly from Poland.

6.47 Some language problems have been encountered between gym staff and new members but these were described by gym staff as only minor. This was because migrant workers usually attend the gym in small groups and rely on the person with the most developed language skills to communicate on their behalf. There was once a Polish trainer at the gym but this particular employee transferred to another gym. There have been some enquiries about employing a translator in exercise classes but this request has not been taken forward.

Education

6.48 Interviews with local authority staff showed that the education sector has experienced the impact of migration at both the strategic level and on the front line. It was reported by the local authority that the numbers of children from migrant worker families peaked in 2005/06 but growth has now begun to slow down and become more manageable. Schools are now more confident in dealing with pupils from Poland and Portugal; the majority of whom attend Roman Catholic schools.

“In our biggest school we have about 65 pupils now who are mainly Poles or Portuguese and that takes a lot of support really.” (public sector)

6.49 For the last two years the education system has prioritised the immediate needs of both the schools and new pupils, rather than organising a more long term strategy. They are keen to ensure that those involved have enough information to begin the

schooling process. In the longer term, the service hopes to engage more with the parents of new pupils in an attempt to overcome problems associated with cultural differences and expectations. For example, interviewees noted the frequent misunderstandings about uniforms, completing homework on time and not taking children out of school for holidays during term time.

- 6.50 Evidence showed that extra resources have been required in the classroom in order to accommodate the needs of pupils from Poland and Portugal. This provision has been sourced quickly and efficiently, and included information for parents on understanding the enrolment process, additional materials for teaching pupils who are unable to speak fluent English or Welsh and providing bilingual classroom assistants. In some cases, staff have been recruited for these roles from the migrant worker population and act as mediators rather than simply providing a translation or interpretation service.

“About 4 or so years ago, it was a very small percentage of what we do and although we had a range of languages in Wrexham we basically had a group of 5 ladies but it was quite static and nothing much happened but in the last couple of years we have had a huge influx.” (public sector)

- 6.51 The geographical concentration of migrant workers has so far been beneficial to the education service as it has allowed resources to be concentrated in particular schools rather than having to spread resources more thinly. However, migrant workers are now becoming more geographically dispersed, as families begin to move out of the town centre. The education service has consequently changed its approach to support for the children of migrant workers by providing information packs for schools rather than providing additional staff.

“What we are finding now is that as they have settled in a bit, certainly the Poles, they are starting to move out of the town centre and that’s causing some difficulties as some people then become isolated without the adequate resources.” (public sector)

- 6.52 There are also differences in the levels of English. Whilst earlier migrant workers had some knowledge of the English language, more recent newcomers seem less competent. This has resulted in a change in the types of service offered by the education system, as schools are not merely providing education in traditional subjects but providing a better understanding of cultural differences, and socialising pupils as well as providing English language tuition.

- 6.53 Achieving competence in English was described by staff on the frontline as the most important factor in education. Interviewees noted that it is often difficult to communicate with pupils from Poland or Portugal and that their grades may be suffering in consequence.
- 6.54 For adults, fluency in English is a key skill:
- “Language is the key need because when they have language skills they can access anything and everything.” (voluntary sector)*
- “Language is a big barrier so we often have to go further than merely signposting where to go, we often have to call people, or go along with them to the office for example...very resource intensive.” (public sector)*
- 6.55 Several of the migrant workers interviewed have children who are enrolled in local primary schools and reported that their children were happy and were enjoying going to school. Many reported their children had made friends with the host population, yet others felt these children were staying together in the playground
- “My daughter has made lots of English (sic) friends at school” (migrant worker)*
- “There seems to be lots of migrant workers’ children staying together in the playground, especially the boys. This may have some influence on their integration into the local community.” (public sector)*
- 6.56 A small number of migrant workers felt that the Welsh education system was not as good as the Polish one. It was assumed that the Polish system provided a broader platform of knowledge. In some cases, parents noted that they would return to Poland once their children reached school age.
- “Myself and my wife will be returning to Poland once our child is born, this is so that our child will have a better education back there. Children here don’t seem to be taught as many subjects as in Poland where I had a much wider education.” (migrant worker)*
- 6.57 Fewer migrant workers had experience of the secondary school system and there had been less need for a strategic response from the Local Authority. It was reported that many secondary schools are now offering Polish or Portuguese GCSEs.
- 6.58 Several migrant workers were keen to mention their religious beliefs and that this was a major part of the decision making process when choosing a school for their children. Discussions with representatives from the local authority revealed a greater demand for the children of Polish newcomers to be enrolled in Roman

Catholic schools. Evidence from the church shows there are currently nine pupils in the Roman Catholic secondary school in Wrexham and 35 pupils in the two RC primary schools.

“As most the migrant workers here in Wrexham are Polish and many follow the Roman Catholic religion, they are keen to get into the religious schools.”
(private sector)

- 6.59 Several local authority staff indicated that schools are now coping much more efficiently with the volume and types of demands stemming from the increase in pupils from migrant worker families, than they did when newcomers began arriving in Wrexham. However, it seems that further training for those working in the schools would still be useful. For example, one interviewee from the education department reported that cultural awareness still needs to be raised. Some teachers are seeking out opportunities for pupils to learn about Polish and Portuguese cultures from pupils from those countries.
- 6.60 The further education colleges in Wrexham have also responded to growing demand from migrant workers. The greatest impact has been on ESOL classes. In one college additional staff are now working on ESOL provision, with around 100 people on the waiting list for the course. However, demand has begun to slow down, making it difficult to forecast future need and required resources.
- 6.61 Interviewees emphasised that the need for ESOL was primarily about acquiring language skills rather than helping migrant workers to achieve the necessary qualifications to enter university. One college has recorded that 74% of ESOL enrolments are Polish and 79% are from the A8 states.
- 6.62 According to staff at Wrexham’s FE colleges, there has also been a requirement for specific courses on British culture and improving personal and professional communication skills. In response, new courses have been designed to accommodate this demand and provide a tailored service to the service user; classes take place at different times in the day to cater for those working on different shifts. The main aim of these courses is to promote cultural diversity and improve students’ confidence in using English. A total of 112 migrant workers completed these modules in the 2006/07 academic year.

“There are modules at the college designed for those migrant workers who are keen to learn about the new place they are living, therefore enabling a better assimilation.” (private sector)

Employment

- 6.63 Employment practices in Wrexham are extremely diverse. Many of the larger employers have had time to learn and adjust to the numbers of migrants employed by them and are taking measures to support integration. For smaller employers this is more difficult due to capacity issues. There remain some employers who behave less well, can be unscrupulous and display a lack of knowledge about their responsibilities towards migrant workers (WCBC, 2007).
- 6.64 Wrexham CBC Economic Development Department is prioritising work with employers to encourage good employment practice and to secure commitment to a voluntary Confederation Code of Practice. It has held seminars focusing on employment issues and a series of awareness-raising events. In Wrexham this work is part of the mainstream business development support offered by the department (ibid.). An Information booklet has been provided for economic migrants (WCBC, 2007). Internet access to the booklet, in a range of languages will enable potential economic migrants to access this information prior to migration. The Council also produced its business newsletter entitled *Profile: focusing on employing migrant worker employment issues*, giving information both to the business community and to the migrant worker population.
- 6.65 Most Polish migrant workers reported that the main reason for coming to the UK was to work and save money. Representatives from Wrexham Citizen's Advice Bureau and employment agencies spoke about differences in how employment was organised and how this has changed over time; many people now arrive in Wales without having made prior arrangements for employment. This contrasts with the early stages of the migration process when the majority of employment was organised through agencies (both UK and Polish based) before newcomers arrived in the UK.
- "I am here to work." (migrant worker)*
- "I want to earn money and save it all to go back to Poland with." (migrant worker)*
- 6.66 Migrant workers frequently spoke about what they described as corrupt employment agencies which once operated in Wrexham. Discussions with the local authority, as well as migrant workers, demonstrated that such problems had been experienced over a short period in the very early stages of migration during 2004. A small group of newcomers from Poland spoke about their own experiences or people they knew

who had signed contracts in Poland but due to a lack of English skills were often unable to understand fully the terms of employment. These agencies also wrongly informed people about accommodation and transport to work. It was reported by the local authority that in some cases agencies took passports in order to register newcomers with the WRS and obtain an NI number on their behalf; this did not happen in most cases. Subsequently, on arriving in the UK, many newcomers found they were earning less money than they had expected and living in worse accommodation than they had expected.

“It was not so good, I was expecting to, like they told us before we arrived, that we would be getting more than the money we were given.” (migrant worker)

“Many migrant workers told me stories of arriving into Wrexham with the understanding that they would be picked up from home and taken to work with the other workers. However, what actually happened in reality for many people is that they got here and then had expenses for travel and accommodation deducted from their pay packets.” (private sector)

6.67 All of the interviewees agreed that a collective response to these problems was taken by the public, private and voluntary sectors in Wrexham. According to the local authority, problems with the corrupt agencies were initially identified through informal chats between migrant workers and grassroots representatives from the Council and voluntary sector organisations, rather than being reported to the police. The dedication of specific individuals from the local authority helped identify the offending agencies and eventually removed them from working in the area.

“A vast amount of employment issues have now gone away but in the early days we had problems with particular employment agencies” (public sector)

6.68 Generally speaking, Polish newcomers are pleased with current employment opportunities and their recent experiences of working in Wrexham; Portuguese newcomers were less positive about their work experiences. Migrant workers in Wrexham are mainly concentrated in factory work but a smaller proportion work in office administration or hospitality roles. Although most of them have manual jobs, such as packing and working on production lines in food factories, others have taken on more senior semi-skilled positions in the same factories or in hospitality venues. Most newcomers are shift workers but several have become shift supervisors. Portuguese workers are mainly concentrated in less skilled factory work.

6.69 Nonetheless, most migrant workers, both Polish and Portuguese, did not show any great desire to seek out other types of employment more appropriate to their qualifications. Half of the migrant workers we interviewed had previously been working in jobs which required degree level qualifications, including: accountants and teachers, while others had been chefs. According to employment agencies, many migrant workers are currently being paid the minimum wage and yet they did not identify any dissatisfaction with wages in Wales. Some Polish newcomers noted that it may not make financial sense to stay in Wrexham if exchange rates continue to change.

“In general, I am happy with my job here.” (migrant worker)

“I was trained as an accountant back in Poland, I had to go to university...here I work on the industrial estate at the contact lens factory.” (migrant worker)

“I would like to find out more about studying here, then I can use my qualifications from Poland.” (migrant worker)

6.70 However, Polish and Portuguese migrant workers focused on the positive aspects of their jobs. One mother who was working in an office-based role hoped to transfer her qualifications by completing further education in Wales and hopefully carry on with her previous employment as an accountant. There was also one case where a migrant worker had moved to the Isle of Wight with the company he worked for in Poland, before eventually settling in Wrexham with the same company. As he had moved to the UK with the same company he had been working for in Poland, he had, unlike many of the migrant workers in Wrexham, a stable job which also provided accommodation for him and his wife. He worked as head chef with eight other Polish migrant workers working for him.

6.71 Migrant workers, both Polish and Portuguese, reported that their work was short-term and based on temporary contracts. This suited employers but often led to problems for migrant workers as many had abruptly found themselves out of work in the past. The lack of stability inherent in casual work caused much concern and stress for some participants due to the ongoing need to find money for rent and food.

6.72 There was no reporting of unfair treatment or racial abuse in the workplace. However, one person did mention they had been unable to take their holiday entitlement as other workers on the shift had already booked up the available time. It was unclear from the discussion whether this was due to a lack of understanding

about procedures on the part of the worker, a simple timing issue or discriminatory behaviour from the employer.

Community issues

- 6.73 The situation on the ground in Wrexham is changing in that cohesion appears to have overtaken labour market inclusion issues in importance (WCBC, 2007). Wrexham is seeing changes in the pattern of migration. Originally this was largely single men and women, but now there is some evidence of parents and even grandparents arriving. This may indicate a shift to more long-term residence among some migrants.
- 6.74 Wrexham County Borough Council has produced a Charter of Belonging which is a certificate that partners, such as local voluntary and community organisations, faith organisations, businesses, and public bodies, can sign up to stating their support for the principles of recognition and respect for diversity. Its purpose is to promote a better understanding of diversity issues including immigration and inclusion and to build networks of contacts.
- 6.75 The Multi-agency Community Cohesion Co-ordination Group has identified “the urgent need to work more closely with the indigenous population to facilitate integration and community cohesion across all strands of diversity” (WCBC, 2007). The CPP provides a range of services which seek to assist migrant workers to integrate into the community. First, they help them to organise among themselves by providing support to establish their own community organisations and support mechanisms. Second, it provides a drop-in Information and Advocacy service for three days a week. Third, it provides support to agencies working with migrant workers and organises training for agencies working with migrant workers.
- 6.76 Other measures to promote community cohesion and migrant inclusion in Wrexham include (WCBC, 2007):
- a migrant worker myth buster booklet produced and distributed (Wrexham Community Strategy Partnership, 2006);
 - a translated information booklet for migrant workers which has been printed and distributed. It explains how to access services and support, and ‘how things work round here’;
 - the police have a Polish speaking officer dedicated to work with the community;

the Roman Catholic Church in North Wales has appointed 2 Polish priests to support the community;

community events, translated service information, housing allocations newsletter, inclusion toolkit 'Making Links'; and

the Caia Park Partnership has developed a comprehensive approach to integrating migrant workers into the local community and work with a wide range of stakeholders including: Citizens Advice Bureau, CATS (Caia Park Tenancy Support Team), Income Generation Department, Crèche, Community Beat Manager for Ethnic Minority groups, WEA (Workers Education Association), Wrexham County Borough Housing Department, WCBC (Wrexham County Borough Council) Service Level Agreement, Local Organisations, Community Cohesion Officer (Social Audit Report, 2006).

- 6.77 It was apparent through discussions with Polish migrant workers that local services are often not accessed directly but through other individuals or agencies. In Wrexham there is a specific group of key individuals associated with offering help and attending to the needs of the local migrant worker population. Many interviewees within the local authority and other agencies working with newcomers noted the positive impact this group of people are having. Discussions with migrant workers also showed that this group is heavily relied upon for translation, interpretation and advice services. For example, one migrant worker described how he had been helped when looking for a job; another person spoke about a misunderstanding regarding a payment.

"If it wasn't for [NAME] then I wouldn't have been able to find a job." (migrant worker)

"We do a lot of signposting amongst ourselves as we either know who people should (go) to see to settle their queries or where they can get advice." (voluntary sector)

- 6.78 However, several interviewees from the local authority and voluntary sector felt that this practice may actually be hindering the successful integration of newcomers and preventing newcomers from becoming more independent.

- 6.79 Nonetheless, it seems that these intermediaries have become an integral feature of how Polish residents are accessing and using services in Wrexham. Representatives from the voluntary sector felt this was removing pressure from statutory services since many queries were being dealt with without any help from service staff.

6.80 Representatives from the local police force reported that there have not been any major problems or criminal activity within the migrant worker population in Wrexham. Two interviewees said that they could not access Polish criminal records of migrants living in Wrexham.

“There just haven’t been any major issues since migrant workers from Poland and Portugal have begun to move to Wrexham, despite cultural differences.” (public sector)

6.81 Interviewees from all sectors noted that there are generally few problems between the host population and Poles in comparison with the situation during the Caia Park disturbances when there was conflict between the host community and Kurdish refugees. There has been little racial conflict formally reported by either the Poles or host community since 2004. Discussions with the public and voluntary sector about a pilot anti race-hate campaign, with Third Party reporting²³, does indicate that there may be a higher rate of racism in Wrexham than is being reported through police records.

6.82 Despite Polish migrant workers reporting different cultural perspectives on the role of the police and figures of authority, a distinct relationship has been established between newcomers and the police in Wrexham. This has been achieved through close and continued contact in the environments in which migrant workers socialise, including the Caia Park Centre. This strategy is helping to prevent the emergence of barriers due to migrant workers’ preconceptions of the police (based on previous experiences in Poland). Instead, it is helping produce a more friendly and approachable image of the police. This view was supported by stakeholders and Polish migrant workers themselves.

6.83 In addition, one Polish migrant worker has recently become a Special Constable. According to representatives from the local authority this is evidence that barriers are being removed, which may have otherwise been preventing newcomers from contacting the police. Migrant workers are using the police for a range of advice needs, as well information about the law. This is taking place on an informal basis and the police suggest that this is lessening the chance of criminal behaviour as the police are seen as friendly rather than as authority figures to be afraid of.

²³ The anti race-hate campaign (which is being led and developed by the Council) encourages victims of racism to report their experiences in a private and confidential way at a third party reporting centre, such as Caia Park or the Citizen’s Advice Bureau, rather than going directly to the police.

“I am helping these guys with all sorts of problems, questions and even form filling. There is not much resource available for helping people with general queries so I am quite happy to do this with them.” (public sector)

6.84 According to most of the Polish migrant workers that we interviewed, the police are easily accessible and are providing an alternative information source. This is proving invaluable as many newcomers stated that they often need to have rules and regulations explained, particularly for driving licences and benefit entitlements. The Polish language skills of the grassroots police representative were described as integral to their work; the language barrier is not hindering migrant workers when they meet this policeman, who shows personal commitment in welcoming and integrating newcomers from Poland and Portugal. This also facilitates multi-agency support.

6.85 The proactive approach taken by the local fire and rescue service in the form of leaflets and posters appears to have minimised problems highlighted in previous studies, such as kitchen fires or hazardous living conditions. This has formed part of the service’s wider strategy to target vulnerable groups, including drug users and the elderly. For example, leaflets in Polish have helped inform newcomers about using plug adapters which had resulted in several fires in 2004. Firefighters are educating this group of residents about such dangers and ensure that information literature deals with any new issues.

“We have information about taking precautions in the home in Polish so that everyone in Wrexham is able to understand about fire safety. There has not been any increase in fires since the growth in numbers of migrant workers in Wrexham.” (public sector)

6.86 Our interviews with migrant workers showed that they were aware of the emergency services and how to contact them. In contrast, the fire service reported that asylum seekers face greater difficulties than do the Polish and Portuguese migrant workers when accessing the fire and rescue service, due to language difficulties. There has not been a serious increase in the number of house fires since 2004, nor a high number of fires within the Polish or Portuguese population in Wrexham.

6.87 Evidence showed that library services are frequently used by migrant workers. This is mainly to use the free internet provision in the evenings. Wrexham library now also provides a Polish book collection on loan from the British library and it was described as being well used.

“We have the Polish section in the library and the books are frequently lent out on a regular basis and of course the computers are used every day by the migrant workers, usually in the afternoon or evenings.” (public sector)

Summary

- 6.88 Most interviewees from local organisations demonstrated an enthusiastic and passionate attitude towards developing services in line with localised patterns of migration. A strong and consistent approach to the inclusion of migrant workers has been communicated across the private, public and voluntary sectors in Wrexham.
- 6.89 Interviews from the Polish and Portuguese migrant worker population have showed that newcomers have a range of needs, specific requirements for better service delivery and often varying intentions for their future. This was often dependent on the personal circumstances of the migrant and corresponded to their length of residence in the UK (those who had recently moved had more needs compared to those at a more advanced stage of the migration process).
- 6.90 Strong leadership is provided by the leader of Wrexham County Borough Council. This has led to a clear direction in the work of the Community Cohesion team, particularly in relation to the development of a comprehensive network of local advisory services. Information and knowledge continues to be shared within this network.

Impact on local services

- 6.91 The impacts which migrant workers are having in Wrexham appear to be changing over time and doing so at a quicker pace than was originally anticipated. Whilst these have been varied and wide ranging, some trends are also apparent. For example, during early stages of migration immediate impacts seem to have been most heavily experienced by the education and public protection departments and the voluntary sector.
- 6.92 The community cohesion agenda has recently grown in importance as a result of the increase in newcomers and is continuing to identify and attend to issues associated with migrant workers living in Wrexham. However, several of the interviewees were concerned that this could be disadvantaging other minority

groups in the area. These issues are being addressed in the Wrexham Community Multi Agency Strategy.

Issues facing service providers

- 6.93 The migrant worker population in Wrexham is not a homogenous group. Interviews showed a range of needs, requirements for better service delivery and intentions for the future. This was often dependent on the length of residence in the UK and the stage of the lifecycle the newcomer had reached.
- 6.94 Interviewees from the voluntary sector and local authority described the importance of providing appropriate access to services to all service users rather than modifying services based on the opinions of those delivering services. WCBC is taking an integrationist perspective to migrant workers from the A8 states and newcomers from elsewhere. In terms of access to services, the needs of service users are addressed within overarching Customer Access Policies, which focus on the needs of the individual service user. The views of migrant workers have so far been taken into consideration by other organisations in Wrexham but this has often been by accident or not planned in advance; services have largely been reactive to the needs of migrant workers.
- 6.95 Estimates are wide ranging on the numbers of migrant workers in the Wrexham area. This is discussed in more detail in chapter six but it is clear that this had made it difficult for services to forecast or make plans for the future design of services.

Barriers to services

- 6.96 Language remains a barrier when Polish and Portuguese residents are accessing local services. This is impacting on both the quality and frequency of service use; examples of misunderstandings between those delivering services and service users were frequently cited by interviewees. There is also a lack of understanding about the systems in place.
- 6.97 Underpinning the impact of the language barrier is a lack of understanding of cultural differences. This applies equally to newcomers and to the host society. By encouraging schools and community groups to explore cultural difference, as well as similarity, and engage in discussions about cultural backgrounds, Wrexham has

already made a start on displacing stereotypes, thus encouraging a more socially cohesive environment in which all can live.

Support systems

- 6.98 Observations within the case study area showed the importance of a few key individuals who work informally with migrant workers. Although these individuals are assisting newcomers in finding accommodation and employment, some interviewees felt that this may restrict some migrant workers from developing their independence. For example, one Polish migrant worker noted that he had no need to learn English as information was translated for him by one of the people working informally on behalf of migrant workers in Wrexham.
- 6.99 There is also a substantial amount of information sharing taking place on an informal basis within Wrexham's migrant worker population. This is being conducted in many different aspects of social life and on an ad hoc basis. For example, advice is being sought from work colleagues, friends and family and acts as a useful support network.

Future demands

- 6.100 Despite the uncertainty regarding the future plans of younger migrant workers, interviews showed that a large proportion of newcomers from Poland and Portugal intend to remain in the UK for the medium to long term future. Whilst many of the young and single (usually male) migrant workers plan to return to their country of origin relatively soon, the service demands of those planning a future in the UK are developing in a similar way to those of the host society.
- 6.101 The needs which migrant workers currently have, or are likely to have in the near future, do not differ greatly from those of the host community in Wrexham. However, the delivery of services perhaps requires further development in order to accommodate all service users' language needs.

7. Guidance for Local Authorities: how to develop better knowledge on migrant workers

Introduction

- 7.1 One of the aims of this research was to “Produce detailed guidance for conducting similar research, suitable for use by other local authorities, and to enable the local authorities included in the study to update the data on a regular basis”
- 7.2 This section is based on the lessons learned during the conduct of the research, along with other recent d.i.y. guides (see resources at end of this section), particularly *A Resource Guide on Local Migration Statistics*, (Green, Anne E., Owen, David and Duncan, Adam, (2008))
- 7.3 The focus is not just how many migrant workers there are, but also on issues such as community cohesion and extent of settlement.
- 7.4 On reflection, the Social Impact of Migration research may have suffered from the “hidden filing cabinet syndrome” - the expectation that there would be a local database on migrant workers that someone had forgotten to tell us about.
- 7.5 A better way to approach the task at a local level is the creation of a virtual database - identifying the various pieces of information that are available, cross referencing them, and developing the data, for example by exploring the reasons for mismatches between sources. Suggestions are made in this document on how this to do this, with examples from across the UK. Local initiatives are needed because of weaknesses in national data sources, such as the Worker Registration Scheme and National Insurance Numbers, and different patterns, and impact, of migration at the local authority level.

Background

Definitional issues

- 7.6 The focus of interest in this guidance is international migration, particularly from the A8 countries (Poland, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Slovenia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia), from 2004, and the A2 countries (Bulgaria and Romania) from 2007. The reasons for focusing on these groups are, firstly, that the issues concerning the, by now well established, immigrant communities from Ireland, the West Indies, Africa and Asia, who arrived in the 1950s and 1960s, are different from

those concerning the more recent arrivals. These differences include different skin colour (apart from the Irish), and, for migrants of Asian origin, different language, culture, and religion; experience of racial discrimination (including for migrants of Asian origin the “residency rule” which excluded them from Council housing); in some cases disadvantage from the country of origin (Pakistan, Bangladesh) in the form of low levels of educational attainment; concentration in decaying inner city areas; in the first generation manual employment, often in industries which have subsequently disappeared or been drastically reduced (e.g. the cotton mills in the North of England); original immigration primarily in the 1960s-1980s, with now second and third generations of the original migrants, who have grown up in Britain; and great distance from the country of origin. The case of Irish immigration to Britain is somewhat different, since there has been large scale Irish migration to Britain before and after the Irish famine in 1846, and the establishment of large scale Irish communities in several British cities. The Irish migration in the 1950s and 1960s was in response to the availability of jobs in construction and road building. There are similarities with more recent migration in terms of overcrowding (several single men sharing a room), lack of social facilities, recourse to the pub and the development of a heavy drinking culture, Catholic religion, and a degree of hostility from the resident population (evidenced in signs in the windows of boarding houses: “No Blacks No dogs, No Irish”).

- 7.7 Secondly, most of the concern about the impact of migrant workers is around those who work in the low wage economy, rather than the migrants from the E15 (those countries which were members of the EU before 2004) who mostly work in technical and professional occupations, and who have been dubbed the “highly invisible” migrants by the head of the International Labour Organisation’s migrant workers section (cited in Castles and Miller (2003) p. 184).
- 7.8 A notable exception of E15 workers relative affluence is the case of the Portuguese workers employed, for example in the St Merryn Foods meat processing plant, in Merthyr Tydfil. This guidance is not aimed at getting better estimates of numbers of irregular (illegal) migrant workers because of the inherent methodological difficulties.
- 7.9 Also, this guidance does not generally cover legal migration from outside the EU, since such migration is controlled by a points based quota system, designed to limit migration to occupations where there is a skills shortage. Filipino nurses and care

workers are an exception, since there is either a skills shortage (nurses) or a shortage of native workers willing to work in the care industry.

- 7.10 Internal migration within the UK is also not the focus of this guidance, except inasmuch as it covers international migrants. Green, Anne E., Owen, David and Duncan, Adam, (2008) for example, suggest that some local areas may act as “gateway” or “reception” areas, where migrants stay for a short time before moving to a secondary destination. In addition, migrants may live in one local authority and work in another. Some of the migrants interviewed in Newport, for the Social Impact of Migration research, for example, worked in a recycling plant in Cardiff. To make sense of these patterns, it is necessary for neighbouring local authorities to cooperate in the collection and analysis of data.
- 7.11 The ONS produce estimates of long term migration using the UN definition of a long term migrant as someone who moves to a country for a period of at least 12 months. They also have a programme for producing estimates of short term migrations of at least three months but less than 12 months, and for local areas, one month to three months.
- 7.12 Sources such as the WRS and NINOs for foreign nationals, measure inflows, and cannot be used directly without other evidence to produce estimates of how many migrants there are in the country at any one time (referred to by statisticians as “stocks”. Equally, a fall in the number of new WRS or NINo registrations may not necessarily mean that the “stock” of migrant workers is decreasing. Those who are here may be staying longer, or many of those who are returning to Britain will already have registered with the WRS or NINo, and so won’t be included in new registrations.

Patterns of Migration

- 7.13 It makes sense to identify types among migrant workers rather than assuming that they are all the same. The Rural Observatory (2008) study, for example, developed a typology - “gap Year”, Guest Worker”, “Settler”) based on the age (life stage) and skills/qualifications of the migrants, the type of work they did, and where in Wales (type of receiving community) they lived.
- 7.14 A basic knowledge of the literature on international migration is useful in making sense of the evidence on current migration. In brief, it seems that international migration often involves a dual labour market, in which migrants do low paid jobs

that native workers do not want to do. Migration is often a group phenomenon, based on support networks of family and friends (see the evidence for this in the case studies in the Social Impact of Migration research. This process develops its own momentum, to an extent impervious to changes in economic conditions, and there is a tendency of migrants to stay in the new country in spite of initial intentions to return home after making some money (see Castles and Miller, (2003)). Others, (e.g. IPPR) argue that the recent migration from Eastern Europe exhibits “super-mobility” and that migrants will return home, or go to another country, to maximise economic returns.

Available official sources

- 7.15 All official sources have weaknesses, including inadequate sample size in surveys (Labour Force Survey) to provide numbers of migrant workers at a local authority level, and measuring inflow, and not stock or outflow (Worker Registration Scheme (WRS), National Insurance numbers allocated to foreign nationals (NINOs)).
- 7.16 The International Passenger Survey (IPS) is based on sample survey interviews of passengers arriving at, and departing from, the main UK airports, sea ports, and the Channel Tunnel. It excludes land routes between the UK and the Irish Republic, and most asylum seekers. Migration estimates are based on what people say they are going to do, with regard to length of stay and destination. These intentions may change. In addition, only about 4,000 migrants are interviewed, and analysis is not available below Government Office regions or nation (i.e. the whole of Wales) levels.
- 7.17 The IPS is used as the source (with adjustments) for the ONS estimate of Total International Migration (long term international migration) for England and Wales as a whole. It is also used in the production of mid year population estimates for local authorities.
- 7.18 The next **National Census of Population** will be conducted in 2011, with results available in 2013. It will potentially provide a very valuable snapshot of numbers of migrant workers in Wales at one moment in time, along with information on gender, age, educational qualifications, housing conditions, area of residence, and so on. Migration can be measured by country of birth, and by possible questions on short term migration, and intended length of stay. The weaknesses of the Census as a source are its infrequency, which means that it will miss short term changes that

may have occurred in the 10 years since the last Census, that it will not be able to record the level of “churn” (turnover) of short term migrants, and that the response rate for migrant workers may be lower than expected (due to migrants’ long hours of work, living in multiply occupied houses, and, possibly, suspicion of authority).

- 7.19 The **Labour Force Survey** (LFS) is a sample survey which interviews people in around 60,000 households per quarter. Those living in temporary accommodation, such as hostels and mobile homes sites are excluded, and the most mobile element of the population tend to be underrepresented. Data can be aggregated over several surveys to provide estimates at a regional or national (i.e. Wales) level.
- 7.20 The Worker Registration Scheme and National Insurance numbers (allocated to overseas nationals).
- 7.21 Both of these sources suffer from the weakness that they measure (first time) inflows, and do not measure outflows. They cannot be used, on their own, to estimate how many migrant workers are present (the stock).
- 7.22 The **Worker Registration Scheme** (WRS). A8 citizens who wish to work in the UK are required to register with the scheme and pay a registration fee to the Home Office. Self employed workers are not required to register (many are employed in the construction industry) and a proportion of those who should register do not do so, either because they do not know about the scheme, or because they do not want to pay the fee. Short term migrants may be less likely to register. The workers are meant to re-register each time they change jobs, until they have worked for 12 out of 13 months. At this point they become eligible for UK welfare benefits, such as Jobseekers Allowance if they become unemployed. Data provided includes the post code of the employer (or agency) who employs them, the sector of employment, occupation, wages, hours worked (this may underestimate the hours subsequently worked) nationality, age and details of dependents (under 16/over 16). The WRS is due to be phased out at the end of April 2009, but it may be extended. The WRS provides useful information at a local authority level on the flow of migrants into the area, together with useful supplementary information, although the high percentage recorded as working in “Administration, Business and Management Services” probably reflects employment by recruitment agencies, not the employment the migrant workers are engaged in. When combined with other evidence, WRS data can be used to develop estimates of numbers of migrant workers in a local authority area.

7.23 **National Insurance Numbers** (NINOs) for foreign nationals are required for anyone wishing to work in the UK. Information is recorded on age, gender and nationality, and generally the local authority in which the worker lived at time of allocation. Data are available at the local authority level. The Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) has information on the postcode of people allocated a NINO when allocated and at the end of the financial year. Potentially this could be used to track movements of groups of migrant workers between local authorities.

Other Sources

7.24 **GP registrations.** New patient registrations with General Practitioners in England and Wales are recorded (flag 4 status) if the previous address is given as outside the UK. The National Public Health Service Wales is currently compiling this data for each local authority in Wales. It may be possible to obtain this data down to a sub local authority (GP practice) level.

7.25 These data have some limitations in that only a proportion of migrants (and dependents) will register, and they may have left this country after registering, or, conversely, may have registered elsewhere in the UK before moving to this local authority (and would not be recorded again). GP registrations are a useful additional source for movements of migrants to a local authority, and the act of registering may indicate an intention to stay for the medium term or longer.

7.26 **School Census/Minority Ethnic Achievement Service data.** Pupil census data include ethnicity and first language when not English, for primary and secondary schools.

7.27 Data can also be accessed in Wales from the specialist teams that exist to provide support for children whose first language is not English. In Carmarthenshire support is provided by the Minority Ethnic Achievement Service (MEAS), in Newport by Gwent Education Multi-Ethnic Support Service (GEMSS), and in Wrexham by the English as Additional Language (EAL) service.

7.28 **Electoral Register.** The electoral register is a potential source of data, although only a certain (unknown) proportion of migrants will register. Possible barriers or disincentives to registration include a self completion registration form that is bilingual English/Welsh, the long hours that many migrants work, meaning that they may be out when a registration officer makes a home visit, and not understanding the reason for completing the form (EU citizens would be able to vote in EU

elections). On the other hand, it may provide an additional source of information for relatively little effort. There are two possible ways of making use of this data source. The first is to send a monitoring form with the registration form (this has been done by the London borough of Barking and Dagenham). Secondly, surnames can be matched against common surnames from the A8 countries. Tesco has reportedly done this with a sample of *Clubcard* holders, and the market research company Experian has developed a similar approach, using special software.

Students and Soldiers

- 7.29 Some areas may be centres for student migration or have concentrations of armed forces personnel, including some from overseas (e.g. Gurkhas). They may be counted in some sources e.g. National Census) but not others.

Post war immigrants

- 7.30 There are also populations of some national groups who have been settled in the UK for a considerable time. These include not only the post war migration from Ireland, the Caribbean, East Africa, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, already referred to, but also Polish ex soldiers, who were settled in Britain at the end of the second World War. These groups need to be taken into account in interpreting survey results.

Local Surveys

- 7.31 Local surveys can provide useful information which can also enhance the value of other sources, such as WRS data.
- 7.32 One of the benefits of designing a survey study is that it makes us formulate questions in a systematic way, and to consider, for example who we need to ask, and how we can approach them, as well as the content of the questions.
- 7.33 Local surveys can be of migrant workers, employers, or other organisations or bodies which provide services for, or are in contact with migrants (advice or community organisations, employment agencies, trade unions, estate agents,

health service, police, environmental health and other sections of local authorities), and of receiving communities.

- 7.34 The absence of a sampling frame (a way of identifying and contacting) migrant workers, presents a practical difficulty in carrying out representative surveys. Random samples are the ideal, but without a sampling frame this is not possible. A second best is stratified or quota sampling, in which quotas are set for particular sub-groups of the population we are interested in. Quotas can be used to make sure that there is an adequate gender balance and sufficient respondents in particular age and occupational groups. Local WRS data, on nationality, age groups and gender, can be used as a rough check on the representativeness of a local survey of migrants. Making sure that major types of employment and areas of residence are included, together with a high response rate, and a large sample size will also increase the representativeness of the survey. There is a trade off between effort (cost) and representativeness, and even a small scale survey of migrants, that could not claim to be representative, could produce useful data, which could be followed up in other ways. Equally, a small scale telephone survey of employers could also produce some useful data at low cost.
- 7.35 Possible ways of contacting migrants to survey include via an employer (but don't expect honest answers about working conditions) or in the community, either via community organisations (they may select individuals they think will make a good impression) or East European shops, or on the street. Good response rates may be facilitated by having the support of a member of the community. Other issues to consider are translation of the questionnaire (and responses) and interpreters who can explain the reason for the survey in the relevant native language.

Surveys of individual migrants

- 7.36 Surveys of individual migrants are a good way of investigating:
- Length of stay in UK (and Wales) to date;
 - Type and standard of accommodation;
 - Area of residence;
 - Job (task);
 - Full time or part time;
 - Wage rate;
 - Working conditions;

Nationality;

Age;

Gender;

Qualification level;

English (Welsh) language level

Intentions (length of stay, future type of work in UK, future residence in UK);

Estimates of numbers. This is not an ideal way to do this, but for small employers it may be the only source. In principle, one worker from each shift should be able to give good estimates for the numbers of migrant workers of each nationality employed on that shift;

Attitudes of fellow workers and members of the receiving community; and

Attitudes to the host community.

Employer Surveys

7.37 Employers can be asked for demographic data on the migrant workers that they employ (nationality, age group, gender, skill level, job, pay rate, full time or part time employee, when recruited, etc).

7.38 Issues with employer surveys include:

Sampling frame – how do you decide which employers to survey? Options include targeting the large employers who are known to employ numbers of migrant workers, or to attempt a 100% survey of employers. The latter will not be achievable because there is not a single up to date list of employers in most local authority areas (the Chamber of Commerce may not include smaller employers).

Response rate – this may be low, in part because the employers will have to put effort into collating this data.

7.39 Employer surveys are good for obtaining figures of how many migrant workers from each nationality are employed in the local authority. However, there are a number of problems:

How many of them live in the local authority? (This can be a question in the survey; liaise with neighbouring local authorities).

The survey will miss those migrant workers who are self employed, work in the informal economy (cash in hand), or are illegal or irregular migrants, dependents.

Depending on when the survey is carried out may underestimate the “real” number of migrant workers due to seasonal, or economic cycle effects (short term (loss of an order) or long term).

Integrating Data

7.40 In Southampton, data from the Schools Census and the WRS were used to produce an estimate of the total stock of A8 migrants.

According to the Schools Census for Southampton, there were 651 pupils (under 17) of Polish nationality.

Local data from the WRS showed the percentage of dependents under 17 within the total population of A8 nationals was 4.6%.

Local data from the WRS showed that 85% of registrations were Polish nationals.

The Polish population (children and adults) was estimated by combining the % of dependents under 17 (4.6%), with the number of Polish schoolchildren under 17 (651): $100/4.6 \times 651 = 14,152$.

The total A8 population was estimated by taking account of the proportion of the WRS population accounted for by Poles ($100/87 \times 14,152 = 16,649$)²⁴

Types of Evidence

7.41 Green et al (2008) distinguish between:

Official data – in Censuses, surveys and government administrative sources, such as NINOs.

Information - from local surveys, and records, often inconsistent across areas because of different methodologies in different studies.

Intelligence - about emerging trends. Intelligence is not defined but appears to refer to anecdotal evidence that may be held by key stakeholders, voluntary organisations, and migrant workers within the local authority workforce.

Green et. al. argue that it is necessary to bring together all available data, information and intelligence, and to triangulate (bring together) the findings.

²⁴ There is a small arithmetic error in the version reproduced in Green et al, (2008)

Developing the data goes further than this by identifying inconsistencies between different types of evidence, and seeking further evidence to reveal the reason for the inconsistencies.

Organisational Issues

- 7.42 Gathering and analysing evidence at a local authority level is essential if current data are to be obtained at the local authority level. This section outlines the necessary organisational elements of this function.

Leadership

- 7.43 Whoever gathers and analyse the evidence, needs to have support from the highest levels and across the local authority. This is because those who are in contact with, and have information about, migrants, will be spread across a range of council departments, and functions including housing, education, environmental health and community cohesion. Support is also needed from elected members, not least because they are in contact with members of the public and can pass on information about possible conflict issues, at an early stage.

The evidence gathering role

- 7.44 A named person within a local authority needs to have responsibility for collecting and analysing the evidence, and passing on summaries to colleagues inside the local authority and to partners in multi-agency groups. This role requires someone with analytical skills, knowledge of evidence on migration, and an enquiring mindset, able to see inconsistencies between different pieces of information, and to be able to see ways to develop the data by seeking further information. Ideally, it should not be a deskbound role, but should also include keeping in touch with those who are working with migrants, such as advice agencies, employers or ESOL providers.
- 7.45 Research carried out for the Local Government Data Unit, Wales (MVA 2008) found that most local authorities (13 out of 22) have a central research unit, but that research is also carried out in individual departments. Only one authority had a

wholly centralised approach. Some 14 of the 22 authorities surveyed did not have any mechanism for co-ordinating research within their authority.

External links

- 7.46 One way of obtaining information about migrant worker issues, and developing appropriate responses, is through a multi-agency group led by the local authority. These currently exist in a number of local authorities in Wales, and typically include representatives from relevant local authority departments, the voluntary sector and the police, along with other groups in contact with migrant workers, such as employers and trade unions.
- 7.47 It is also important to liaise with other, neighbouring local authorities, as one local authority may act as a gateway destination for migrants settling in another, and migrants may live in one local authority and work in another.
- 7.48 Links with the Welsh Assembly Government, the Welsh Local Government Association and the Welsh Strategic Migration Partnership are also important. These links are one way of sharing experience, learning about policy initiatives, training opportunities and conferences, and about research findings and good practice from Wales and elsewhere in the UK.

Phasing

- 7.49 Although collection and evaluation of evidence will be carried out on a continuing basis, an initial stage, (this may already have been carried out) will be an audit of evidence. This audit, possibly facilitated by the convening of a multi agency group of relevant partners, will consist of identifying evidence to provide a snapshot at one moment in time. It will also identify sources (databases, organisations, individuals) which can be used to update the snapshot on a regular basis, on at least an annual basis.
- 7.50 The audit will also identify gaps in evidence, and also inconsistencies in evidence from different sources. The gaps and inconsistencies in evidence can be addressed by a programme of small scale surveys, or by improving the collection of administrative data, so that migration status (and nationality), are recorded.

Topics

- 7.51 The relative importance of topics will vary across local authorities. There are, however, certain key themes which will be important in all local authorities, such as getting better estimates of numbers. While the list of question areas which follows may look like a list of topics for a questionnaire survey, it will be possible to address many of the question areas in other ways: for example, estimates of the proportions (not numbers) of migrants who are of particular nationalities, can be estimated from WRS data for the local authority. Numbers of GP registrations, from NHPS Wales data, along with numbers of school registrations, can be used as possible indicators of medium or longer term residence.

The Impact of the Recession on Migrant Labour

- 7.52 Research carried out by the OECD (2008, International Migration Outlook) cited in LGA (2008) suggests that in deciding whether to return to their home country, migrants weigh up the economic situation in their host country and opportunities in their home country. Evidence from the IPPR (cited in LGA (2008)) suggests that an increasing number of Hungarians are coming to the UK as Hungary hits economic problems. It is likely that the decision to stay in the UK or return to the country of origin will not be made purely on economic grounds. Factors likely to lead to a decision to stay include the length of residence in Wales, the number of friends or acquaintances among locals and other migrants, having young children, and speaking English or Welsh.
- 7.53 Factors leading to a return to the country of origin may include strong ties, evidenced by sending remittances home, and having children in the country of origin.
- 7.54 Castles and Miller (2003) emphasize the social dynamic of migration, usually facilitated by family and social networks. This means that "Migration may continue due to social factors, even when the economic factors which initiated the movement have been completely transformed". (Castles and Miller (2003) p31)
- 7.55 Others (e.g. IPPR) suggest that the recent migration from Eastern Europe exhibits "super-mobility" with migrants prepared to return to their country of origin or to travel to other countries, as economic circumstances dictate.

- 7.56 The underlying logic of the IPPR approach is that recent migrants come from advanced industrial countries, with education systems comparable to our own, and that movement is facilitated by the relatively short distances involved, and by electronic means of communication. It remains likely, however, that only the highly educated will make decisions purely on grounds of economic advantage.
- 7.57 The LGA (2009) study suggests that both highly skilled migrants and those with very low skills are likely to return, while those with an intermediate level of education are more likely to stay. The fall in the number of foreign nationals National Insurance registrations in the last quarter of 2008, compared to the last quarter of 2007, cannot be simply read as a reduction in the number of migrant workers in Britain, as it measures the number of new inflows (the number that have not previously been to the UK and registered) not the stock of migrants who are here.
- 7.58 In general, migrants from Eastern Europe are employed in jobs which locals do not want, and are unlikely to be in direct competition for these jobs, even during a recession.
- 7.59 If migrant workers are beginning to return home, in significant numbers, it may lead to labour shortages, in the Social Care, Food Processing and Hospitality sectors.

Super diversity/Super mobility

- 7.60 Rutter, Latorre and Saskandarajah, (IPPR, 2008) use the terms “super mobility” and “super diversity” to describe recent migration to the UK. By “super mobility” they mean temporary and circular international migration. By “superdiversity” they mean an increase, since the 1990s, of migration from countries that did not have close ties with the UK. In contrast, in previous decades, immigrants to the UK had tended to come from the Commonwealth and Western European countries. They have a point, although migration from, say, Pakistan and Bangladesh, in the 1970s and 1980s was surely more diverse (in comparison with the host communities in the UK) than Polish migration post 2004. They contrast the earlier patterns of migration, where half of the foreign born migrants to the UK in the 1980s and 1990s, stayed for longer than two years, with evidence for the more temporary nature of recent migration. The evidence for the latter is surveys on the intentions of more recent migrants, and outflows from the UK. Comparisons of actual behaviour (earlier migrants) with intentions (more recent migrants) is not valid, because many of the

earlier migrants intended to return home (one book on Pakistani migration to the UK is titled *The Myth of Return, Pakistanis in Britain* (Anwar Muhammad, Heinemann, 1979).

- 7.61 There may well be other factors that encourage short term and circular migration, such as the growth of electronic communication, the availability of cheap flights, and the short distances to Eastern Europe, and the smaller disparity between levels of economic development between Eastern Europe and the UK, and the countries of origin and the UK in the case of earlier migration.
- 7.62 Further evidence in the report, concerns the growth in the numbers of foreign students, many of whom will return home, the likelihood that skilled migrants on work permits will not settle in the UK and the low probability the UK government will grant an amnesty for irregular migrants(those liable to be deported for issues related to their immigration status).
- 7.63 The authors also point to evidence that there are 500,000 Polish nationals in Poland who have spent some time the UK (evidence from 2007) and that there is reported to be a high level of internal mobility within the UK, particularly with regard to seasonal agricultural work.

Action Points

Recognise the value and limitations of official data sources (WRS, NIN0, LFS)

Understand the recent history of, and types of, migration to the UK

Do a community profile of the local authority area (and sub-areas)

Give leadership from the local authority

Political support (elected members)

Cross cutting issue (support from the Chief Executive)

Lead information analyst-research skills and active approach

Convene a multi-agency forum

Liaise with neighbouring local authorities

Carry out an initial evidence audit

Use intelligence as well as data

Triangulate and develop data

Consider small scale surveys

Produce annual reports and regular updates

Use links with WAG, WLGA, and the Wales Strategic Migration Partnership

Key sources

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Appendix A - Interviews with Local Authority Staff and Other Agencies/Organisations Working with Migrant Workers

Interviews were organised with contacts from the original lists supplied by the case study representatives on the steering group. A total of 82 participants were included in this stage of the research process (numbers of participants are in brackets).

In some cases, multiple interviews have been carried out within the same department or agency; this has enabled us to include people working with migrant workers on a daily basis as well as those involved in strategic roles. Furthermore, whilst some of these conversations have been carried out on a one to one basis, others have taken place as group discussions involving several team members at one time.

In accordance with the Market Research Society's Code of Conduct, names have been removed and titles provided where appropriate to ensure that data remains confidential and anonymous.

Carmarthenshire	Newport	Wrexham
Carmarthenshire Association of Voluntary Services (2)	Chief Education Officer (NCC) (1)	Yale College (2)
Dyfed Powys Police (2)	Principal Community Learning Officer (NCC) (1)	Caia Park Partnership (4)
LA – Education department (1)	Gwent Education Multi-Ethnic Support Service (NCC) (1)	Community Cohesion Section (WCBC) (2)
LA – Housing department (1)	Head teacher at a primary school (1)	Housing Department (WCBC) (2)
LA – Policy and Customer Service department (3)	RISE ESOL Support Group (2)	Leader (WCBC) (1)
LA – Revenues and Benefits department (1)	Asylum Seekers Nurse (NLHB) (1)	WCBC Elected Members (2)
Local Health Board (1)	Strategy Manager (NLHB) (1)	Equalities Team (WCBC) (1)
National Public Health Service (1)	Housing Strategy Officer (NCC) (1)	Economic Development Department (WCBC) (1)
Polish Welsh Mutual Association (2)	Homelessness Unit Manager (NCC) (1)	North Wales Fire and Rescue Service (1)

Appendix A

Carmarthenshire	Newport	Wrexham
Catholic Church (1)	Environmental Health Officer (NCC) (1)	Primary Care Officer, Local Health Board (1)
	Housing Eligibility Officer (NCC) (1)	North Wales Police (1)
	SEWREC, development officer (1)	BAWSO (1)
	BME Community Development workers (GAVO/NCC) (3)	NWREN (1)
	Young Asylum seekers support service (1)	Citizens Advice Bureau (2)
	Refugee Liaison Officer (NCC) (1)	Job Centre Plus (1)
	Hate Crime development worker (1)	National Public Health Service (1)
	Diversity Officer, Police (1)	AVOW (6)
	Community safety Inspector (1)	NEWI (2)
	Czech Slovak organisation (1)	Tesco (1)
	Polish Community Group (1)	Recruitment Agencies (2)
	Careers Wales, Gwent (1)	Letting Agencies (2)
	Recruitment Agency (1)	Fitness First (1)
	Job Centre Plus (2)	Wrexham Library (1)
		Roman Catholic Church (1)
Total number of participants - 15	Total number of participants - 27	Total number of participants - 40

Appendix B – Interviews with Migrant Workers

As discussed in the methodology chapter, migrant workers were accessed through intermediaries. As such, a range of access points were used in each case study area, including: individuals, religious groups and education environments. A total of 97 migrant workers participated in the research.

We have not identified people by name to preserve their anonymity.

Carmarthenshire	Newport	Wrexham
Polish Welsh Mutual Association	RISE ESOL Support Group	Caia Park Partnership
Carmarthenshire Association of Voluntary Services	Czech/Slovak Food Shop	Roman Catholic Church
	Polish Community Group	NEWI
	Czech/Slovak Community Group	WCBC Elected Members
	GEMSS	North Wales Police
		Polish Food Shop
Total number of participants - 28	Total number of participants - 41	Total number of participants - 28

Interviews were conducted with participants from a range of nationalities, age and gender profiles.

Carmarthenshire

Nationality	Gender	Age
Polish	Female	Late 20s/ Early 30s
Polish	Female	Late 20s/ Early 30s
Polish	Female	Late 20s/ Early 30s
Polish	Female	Late 20s/ Early 30s
Polish	Female	Late 20s/ Early 30s
Polish	Female	Late 20s/ Early 30s
Polish	Female	Late 40s/ Early 50s
Polish	Male	Late 40s/ Early 50s
Polish	Female	Mid-30s
Polish	Male	Mid-30s
Filipino	Female	Early 60s
Filipino	Female	Early 60s
Filipino	Female	Mid-50s
Filipino	Female	Mid-50s
Filipino	Female	Late 20s
Filipino	Female	Late 20s
Filipino	Male	Late 20s
Filipino	Male	Late 20s
10 x Polish	5 Female (<i>including the translator who expressed some of her own views</i>) 5 Male	5 x 20s 2 x 30s 3 x 40s

Newport

Nationality	Gender	Age
Polish	Female	Mid-20's
25 members of Czech and Slovak Community Group	3 females 22 males	ranged from early 20's to late 50's (majority aged between 20 and 35)
Hungarian	Female	Mid-20's
Czech	Female	Late-20's
Slovak	Female	Early-30's
Czech	Female	Late-30's
Polish	Male	Late-40's
Polish	Female	Mid-40's
Polish	Male	Early-20's
Polish	Female	Mid-20's
Polish	Female	Late-20's
Polish	Female	Late 30's
Polish	Male	Early-20's
Slovak	Female	Late-20's
Pakistani	Male	Early 20's
Croatian	Male	Late-40's
Pakistani	Female	Late-30's

Wrexham

Nationality	Gender	Age
Portuguese	Female	Late 20's
Portuguese	Female	Early 20's
Portuguese	Male	Early 20's
Portuguese	Male	Mid 20's
Polish	Male	Mid 20's
Polish	Male	Late 20's
Polish	Male	Late 20's
Polish	Male	Mid 20's
Polish	Male	Mid 20's
Polish	Female	Early 20's
Polish	Female	Late 30's
Polish	Male	Mid 30's
Polish	Male	Mid 20's
Polish	Male	Mid 20's
Polish	Female	Mid 20's
Polish	Male	Early 40's
Polish	Female	Early 40's
Polish	Male	Early 30's
Portuguese	Female	Early 30's
Polish	Male	Mid 20's
Polish	Male	Mid 20's
Croatian	Male	Mid 20's
Latvian	Male	Late 20's
6 x Polish	Male	Mid 20's to early 30's

Appendix C – Glossary

A8	The eight Central and Eastern European countries that joined the European Union in May 2004 (Poland, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia and Slovenia)
A2	Bulgaria and Romania, which joined the European Union in January 2007
EEA	European Economic Area, a free trade area of 27 EU member states plus three of the four countries of the European Free Trade Agreement (EFTA) – Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway. The fourth member, Switzerland, decided in a referendum not to join the association.
EU	European Union
Grounded Theory	An inductive method of analysis that uses specific instances to develop a theory
HMOs	Houses in Multiple Occupation
IPS	International Passenger Survey
Language Line	A global interpreting and translating service and offers a pay as you go interpreting service over the telephone in over 170 languages.
LFS	Labour Force Survey
Migrant Worker	<i>"Those who have come to the UK within the last five years specifically to find or take up work, whether intending to remain permanently or temporarily and whether documented or undocumented. The focus is on those migrant workers employed in the low wage sector of the economy. The specific groups are migrant workers from the countries which joined the EU in May 2004, those workers from outside the EU who have permission to work in Britain, with certain conditions attached, and those workers from outside the EU who have the right to work in Britain. Migrant workers from EU countries who joined before 2004 are to be included if there is evidence of substantial involvement in the low wage</i>

sector (e.g. workers from Portugal). The interest is in those groups of people who have moved to Wales for work. It would therefore exclude those students who travel to Britain to study but who may work part time whilst studying."

NI	National Insurance
NINo	National Insurance Number
ONS	Office for National Statistics
Social capital	Bonding social capital refers to the value of social networks between homogeneous groups of people and bridging social capital refers to the value of social networks between socially heterogeneous groups.
Snowball sampling	A technique is used to obtain a sample when there is no adequate sampling frame. It involves contacting a member of the population to be studied and asking him or her whether they know anyone else with the required characteristics
Tied accommodation	Accommodation that is contingent on the occupant's employment.
WRS	Worker Registration Scheme

Appendix D – Methodological Reflections - Views from the Researchers

Introduction

This chapter discusses the research process and considers the different challenges that were faced during the fieldwork. The strategies that we employed to overcome these challenges are then considered and the strengths and limitations of the case study approach highlighted with the use of examples from the research.

The research process

The three case study areas were specified in the original brief. These were chosen because of the reported numbers of migrant workers in the localities and to cover a spread across North and South Wales.

It was agreed that qualitative research methods would be employed to conduct the case studies. This was because we were not attempting to test a hypothesis or generalise indicators across a larger population but to explore subjective experiences in more depth at the local level. By using a combination of interviews, participant observation and focus groups, we were able to build up a detailed understanding of the situation of migrant workers in each of the three case study areas. In total we interviewed 179 people, either singly or in groups. They included migrant workers as well as other stakeholders.

Each researcher was allocated one case study area and was responsible for conducting all of the research in that location. Researchers spent almost two weeks in their case study area, and outside this period were in contact with participants by telephone and email. The time spent in the project areas helped the researchers to develop a deeper understanding of each study area. It was also useful for building a set of contacts in each location and improving levels of trust with participants involved in the data collection.

Literature review

The review of literature, documents and policy that was undertaken as the first stage of the project helped in the design of the research. Themes that had been highlighted in past research provided questions to be addressed, while methods used previously provided a starting point in choosing appropriate methodologies

Interviews with staff from local authorities and other agencies

Steering Group members provided an initial list of contacts for each of the areas. We contacted each individual or agency by email or telephone and informed them that they had been recommended to us. This acted as a useful way to introduce the project to key stakeholders and ask for their participation in the research.

During the data collection process, interviewees were also asked for contact details of other individuals or groups that might be suitable for inclusion in the research. Snowball sampling²⁵ took place in all three areas to ensure that the most relevant people were included in an attempt to better reflect the specific organisational structures of each area, as the same range of services and organisations were not present in each area. This strategy ensured that we spoke to as many of the relevant groups and individuals as possible. The flexibility of this approach allowed us to quickly fill any gaps identified during discussions with representatives from the local authority or other agencies. We acknowledge that we may not have captured an entire cross section of the migrant worker population in each of the case study areas, but we are confident that we reached the key groups identified by local stakeholders.

²⁵ Snowball sampling is used to obtain a sample when there is no adequate sampling frame. It involves contacting a member of the population to be studied and asking him or her whether they know anyone else with the required characteristics (Gilbert, 2001: 63).

A total of 82 participants were included in the first stage of interviews. The breakdown of these interviews is shown in Table D.1 and a detailed list is in appendix A.

Table D.1 Breakdown of participants by case study area

	Carmarthenshire	Newport	Wrexham	TOTAL
Local authority	8	11	11	30
Other agencies and organisations	7	16	29	52

As was the case with interviews with local authority staff, contacts in the voluntary sector were mainly identified through snowball sampling. Steering group members suggested relevant agencies or individuals and further names were supplied over the course of the interviewing. In some cases, we interviewed all those who were identified but in other cases this was not possible due to their limited availability. In only a few cases did people not agree to participate in the research.

In response to the variety of roles of interviewees and the variety of departments that they came from, separate topic guides was designed for each sector and the type of role within that sector. A guide was produced for frontline staff, as well as housing, education, community cohesion, employment and health departments

Each discussion lasted between 45 minutes and two hours. In most cases, discussions were recorded and transcribed. However, some interviewees asked that discussions were not recorded and researchers took notes. Handwritten notes were also made during telephone interviews and typed up as soon as possible once each interview had been completed.

At the start of each interview, participants were informed that the research was being carried out in accordance with the Market Research Society's Code of Conduct and that all data would remain anonymous and confidential unless respondents specifically gave us

permission to identify them. We also explained the main aims of the study.

A semi-structured topic guide was developed, identifying the issues of importance. The researchers used the guide to help discussions develop naturally without omitting any of the required information. Each interview was tailored to the role of the interviewee so that their views and experiences shaped the discussion, rather than defining the conversations by placing a potentially inappropriate structure on the interview. This strategy consequently enhanced the value of the data that was generated during this stage of the research process.

Most interviews were conducted in the interviewee's workplace and on a one-to-one basis. This was often easier for the interviewee and so encouraged more people to agree to take part in the interview. Whilst this was more convenient for interviewees, it was also a better environment to conduct the interview as it was familiar to them, therefore encouraging a more open and frank discussion.

In addition to the findings that were collected during the interviews, data was also generated through participant observations. Each researcher kept a fieldwork diary throughout the duration of the fieldwork. This acted as a useful tool for recording ideas, specific interactions and observations. All findings have been included in the report and the particular data collection method identified where appropriate.

Interviews and focus groups with migrant workers

We conducted a focus group with migrant workers in each of the case study areas and supplemented it by interviews. We chose these as the most appropriate tools for this stage of the research as the group environment encouraged participants to share experiences in a familiar environment. As with the previous interviews, the topic guide was designed in close consultation with the steering group and based largely on the themes emerging from the literature review.

A total of 97 migrant workers participated in the research (Carmarthenshire 28, Newport 41 and Wrexham 28). The demographic profile of these participants is shown in appendix B. We did not include irregular migrants in the research.

Much consideration was given to the access issues associated with this group of participants. Participants were recruited for the focus groups based on the nationalities in each location. Whilst some of the groups consisted of only one nationality, others were attended by people from various countries. Each of these approaches generated rich and detailed information but conversations in the groups which consisted of only one nationality flowed more naturally. Each of the groups had a mix of gender but groups did not have age quotas set.

We transcribed discussions or noted findings as soon as possible after each conversation. This was particularly important for the interviews; although interviewees were informed about the reason for the discussion, it was not recorded as this may have limited the number of people who agreed to take part in the research. We did not ask interviewees if they would allow the discussion to be recorded as it was thought that this may have reduced the chance of building a trusting relationship with them from the outset.

A list of intermediaries, and agencies, used to reach participants, can be found in appendix B.

Secondary data

In addition to collecting qualitative data about the impacts and experiences of migration in Carmarthenshire, Newport and Wrexham, the research also strived to produce better estimates on the numbers of migrant workers from the A8 states.

There has been a reliance on national statistics, with acknowledged weaknesses, and data collected at the local level. As highlighted by the ICCO (2007), a range of data sources are currently available, including: censuses, surveys and administrative records. The sources frequently cited as the most accurate measure of the number of

migrant workers are the Workers Registration Scheme (WRS), National Insurance Number (NINo) registrations and to a lesser extent, the Labour Force Survey.

However, despite the growth of literature in this field, there remain serious challenges in identifying the exact number of migrant workers at the local level; *“quantifying the numbers of EU accession nationals who have moved to live and work in the UK since 2004 is difficult”* (CRC, 2007:4). The difficulties may be seen by comparing the figures of A8 nationals in Wales given by different reports. The Accession Monitoring report produced by the Home Office and other government departments in August 2006 showed that the number of A8 workers registered on the WRS during the period May 2004 to June 2006 in Wales to be 10,770 (Home Office et al., 2006). This is 2.5% of 427,095, the total number registered on the WRS in the UK. It must be remembered though, that the WRS does not estimate the number of A8 migrant workers in the UK, as many who register under WRS come for short periods and may have left the UK, after registering on the WRS during the period quoted (May 2004 to June 2006).

The then Home Office Minister Mr Tony McNulty thought the actual number of A8 workers in the UK to be about 600,000; this would suggest that the estimated number of A8 workers in Wales would have been about 15,000 at that time (Dyfed-Powys Police, 2006).

There were 16,200 registrations from A8 nationals to the Worker Registration Scheme in Wales between May 2004 and March 2007 and 17,300 National Insurance Number (NINo) applications over the same period. In both cases Wales accounted for a little less than 3 per cent of all applications from A8 nationals in the United Kingdom. Just four local authorities account for over half of the applications to the Worker Registration Scheme in Wales (Carmarthenshire, Newport, Wrexham and Cardiff). These authorities have also seen the highest numbers of NINo applications from A8 nationals. Two thirds of applications to the Worker Registration Scheme in Wales have been from Poland and a further 15 per cent from Slovakia. The latest data from the Annual Population Survey, covering the year to September 2006, shows 4,700

employed residents in Wales born in the A8 countries, up by 3,800 since 2004 (Welsh Assembly Government, 2007 “Statistics on migrant workers in Wales”, Economic and Labour Market Statistics, Statistical Directorate).

Nonetheless, information contained in statistical sources should always be treated with caution (Bryman, 2001). This is particularly relevant for databases providing numbers of migrants, due to the transient nature of this population. For example, although a migrant may work in Newport, they may be registered in Wrexham, or have registered in Newport but work in Carmarthen. The geographical movement of migrants thus hinders the task of identifying exact numbers.

Furthermore, the regulations under which migrant workers are able to register with these databases further increase problems of reliability. This is because migrants must satisfy differing criteria for each of these registers and so some people fail to be represented within these statistics at all. For example, self-employed migrants are not required to register on the WRS. The Audit Commission (2007) also points out that the number of irregular migrants is not included in administrative databases. The numbers identified in registers like the WRS may include migrants who have already left the country, since departing migrant workers are not required to ‘deregister’ (Cooley, Laurence and Srisandarajah, 2007).

The Institute of Community Cohesion / LGA (2007) suggest a number of supplementary sources that might be used to compile a more complete picture of migration inflows: “There is a range of administrative and other data available which relates to migration, including NINo; the Workers Registration Scheme (WRS) for A8 migrants; first health registration of new arrivals – Flag 4; the annual School Census (PLASC); the Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) count of students; Electoral Registers (ER); and the LFS, a sample survey of 60,000 households per quarter. All have limitations, particularly around recording de-registration, but taken together they can offer a fuller picture and help to pick up rapid change in flows of

migrants. There is also scope to enhance these sources and make better use of the information they collect.” (ICCO, 2007: 4).

Whilst local level data can assist with filling some of the gaps in national level data, the quantity and quality of this information often varies significantly between local authority areas. Consequently, the amount of data available for each of the three case study areas has proven to be quite different. There are also subsequent dangers of both duplication (over counting) and an under-representation (under counting) when combining different data sources.

As stated above, an initial understanding of secondary data sources was undertaken during the literature review. This showed that National Insurance numbers (NINo) and data from the WRS (Workers Registration Scheme) are the sources most commonly relied upon by policy makers and researchers. The Labour Force Survey has been used to a lesser extent.

The advantages and disadvantages associated with these data sets are comprehensively documented in much of the literature. Although this research did not attempt to offer a specific critique of current data sets, drawbacks of relying on these sources have become apparent. This is especially important due to the transient nature of the migrant worker population.

A log of possible data sources was collected throughout the various stages of the project; we asked each interviewee if they were aware, or had access to, any relevant data. We also conducted an internet search, but this produced little useful information. This process formed part of the first round of interviews with local authorities and other agencies; all interviewees were asked if they were aware of any such information. It became clear during the interviews that many registers of service users do not monitor ethnicity or nationality. In some cases, interviewees were unaware of how useful their data sources may have been, or perhaps overlooked their importance to the research.

Interviewees from the private, public and voluntary sectors acknowledged the lack of formal or accurate data collection regarding numbers of migrant workers. The difficulty of recording the number of

migrant workers was especially emphasised by interviewees from the local authorities. They attributed this partly to the nature of the migrant worker population and partly to the way in which information is recorded. Little is known about the likely movements of migrant workers and whether they plan to stay in the area or return to their country of origin, with one respondent describing migrant workers as a *'transient, mobile population'*²⁶. The other main factor is how information is collected; a person's nationality is not normally recorded, only their ethnicity, which is not sufficient to determine whether they are migrants.

This research has exhausted many avenues for utilising existing registers or databases at the local level but only a few data sources were uncovered. These included:

GP Data;

school enrolments; and

ESOL register.

Information which we gained from these sources offered a partial insight into the numbers of migrant workers in comparison to the national level data. However, getting this information proved time consuming. We also faced difficulties in obtaining this information, and requesting other sources, due to a lack of enthusiasm to share data. This was often related to people's concerns about data protection, but in some cases also reflected fears about the inaccurate nature of such data (both duplication and under-representation).

In many instances, local registers or membership details were being collected but these did not provide the necessary information about ethnicity or nationality. For example, the electronic databases used by libraries, or membership details collected by gyms, showed an increase in the number of members, without explicitly referring to nationality or ethnicity.

We also explored the possibility of using health registers, for example from doctors' or dentists' surgeries. Interviewees from these sectors

²⁶ Quote from a Polish migrant worker in Newport

were usually unable to share this information due to issues of confidentiality. We were able to obtain some information through this method for Carmarthenshire.

The voluntary sector proved more willing to offer some insight into the number of migrant workers accessing their services. For example, the Caia Park Partnership was able to provide some insight into the number of migrant workers accessing the service (see chapter four). In consequence, we relied on different sources in order to comment on the estimates of migrant worker numbers in each of the areas.

Overall, the availability of data was inconsistent across the three areas. For example, we were informed that we could share data from Job Centre Plus in one area but not in the others; interviewees were not able to provide such data either because it was not collected or was considered too sensitive. Similarly, we also contacted employment agencies and employers in each area in the hope that they might be able to supply us with the numbers of migrant workers either working for them or registered on their books. However, whilst some agencies were willing to share this data, others were not.

In addition we were able to identify alternative ways of obtaining data on numbers, although they did not form part of this study. For example, a quantitative survey of the largest employers in the locality may result in good estimates for the numbers of migrant workers who are employed by the largest employers. This would provide a bottom line figure, since not all migrant workers would be captured in such a survey. This strategy would constitute a separate research study employing quantitative tools. The electoral register may be a further possibility but the accuracy of this measure is questionable since it would rely on subjective understandings of what were thought to be European surnames, and transient populations are unlikely to register. The quantity and quality of this local data varied between the case study areas.

There was no attempt to forecast future numbers in this study. Recent changes in the UK economy, developments in home economies and exchange rate movements are creating a situation where newcomers

will gain fewer benefits from moving to the UK. We do not know how many migrant workers will stay in Wales in the long term and whether newcomers will continue to travel to their country of origin for certain healthcare services, such as dentistry.

Analysis procedures

We analysed all of the data in a systematic and sequential process to identify the emerging themes, both within and across the sectors of each case study area. The use of Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS), such as NVIVO, was initially considered by the project team. However, we decided that it would be more appropriate for researchers to code the text by hand, thereby maintaining a more informed understanding of the data; CAQDAS has often been criticised in the past for detaching the researcher from the data (Bryman, 2001). The notes from the fieldwork diaries underpinned this procedure.

Rather than merely describing or presenting information as objective findings, we interpreted the qualitative data and compared it with other findings. This was done by the researcher who had been assigned to the particular case study so that their in-depth understanding helped inform interpretations. The identification of key experiences and perspectives subsequently generated theory (applying a grounded theory approach²⁷), thereby allowing the data to speak for itself.

Methodological limitations

The data collection for this research took place between February and May 2008. The findings illustrate a snapshot of the local level rather than an exhaustive account of migration from the A8 states to the UK,

²⁷ Grounded theory – an inductive method of analysis that uses specific instances to develop a theory.

or even Wales. The project did not set out to accomplish this and recognises the need for continuing research at a national level. This is essential as the grassroots situation is changing rapidly against a background of developments within the policy arena.

We acknowledge that due to the different languages and cultural differences between researchers and participants that there may have been some misunderstandings during interviews. It is not certain that data from discussions with migrant workers was always understood correctly, because of differences in cultural perspectives and previous experiences. Where interpreters were used this added another layer of complexity.

Furthermore, as researchers may have been viewed as strangers by migrant workers, it was sometimes difficult to begin conversations without having previously established rapport with the participant. This was especially significant due to the sensitivity of some of the issues being covered. Input from intermediaries, whom the migrant workers trusted, helped overcome this problem. The researcher's prolonged presence in the areas also allowed some relationships to be built with participants.

We tried to ensure that different groups of migrant workers were included in the research. One approach was to use a range of agencies or venues to reach participants, rather than relying only on the organisations most commonly used by migrant workers. This meant that different nationalities were included in the research and as many community or church groups were covered as possible.

Nevertheless, the reliance on intermediaries sometimes caused problems as the informality of arrangements meant it was often hard to make firm plans. On several occasions, meetings with intermediaries and migrant workers were cancelled, due to other commitments, without prior notice. This caused some disruption for the researchers whilst in the field and meant that other avenues were explored to ensure that as many groups as possible were reached.

We did not undertake the same number of interviews in each case study area. The coverage of interviewees within local authority

services and voluntary sectors largely depended on the structure of organisations in each case study area and the availability of participants. A cross-section of the most appropriate organisations and departments were identified by each researcher and interviews undertaken with the most appropriate members of staff. All interviews lasted longer than was originally anticipated and the quality of data was very rich and detailed in most cases

Each of the topic guides consisted of many questions due to the extent of corollary dimensions related to the social impact of migration. The researchers used somewhat different questions from the guides for each interviewee, as not all were relevant to all individuals. The researchers needed to be sufficiently familiar with the material in the guide so that they could conduct the interviews without relying on a hard copy as a reminder. In any case it would not have been possible to ask each person every question due to time constraints, although doing so would have resulted in more data.

Overcoming the challenges

As discussed above, this project has encountered challenges at different stages throughout the research process. Nonetheless, we have been able to minimise the impact of these challenges by open discussions with the steering group and developing appropriate responses.

Access issues were perhaps the most significant challenge facing the research team. A range of options for accessing migrant workers were considered with the steering group, including the use of market research interviewers or training migrant workers to interview other migrant workers. It was finally decided that the most suitable way in which to conduct the collection of this data was by using MVA researchers.

The language difficulties were minimised by interviewing migrant workers in the presence of local intermediaries who were able to speak the appropriate language. In other instances, interviews took place in

small groups so that participants could help translate for each other. The project team spent time discussing the possibility of language difficulties prior to entering the field. These conversations prepared researchers for likely challenges and strategies for limiting their effect, such as using simple language or asking other members of the group to translate. Although these solutions may have added a further layer of interpretation to the data, without researchers speaking the language themselves it would not have been possible to include the views of migrant workers in any other way.

The project team remained in regular communication with each other whilst in the field. This acted as a useful way to share advice and to discuss positive and negative experiences. Carrying out research in an unfamiliar location was often isolating. The presence of intermediaries also helped researchers feel more at ease.

Furthermore, the presence of intermediaries encouraged participants to be honest as levels of trust had already been established with them through their long term contact with migrant workers. This may not have been the case had interviewers approached participants without being introduced by someone they already trusted. Constructing relationships with intermediaries during the fieldwork proved essential in the study as they helped recruit participants for the interviews and allowed researchers into the venues occupied by migrant workers.

The researchers were aware of the advantages of having the intermediaries sit in during discussions with interviewees but also acknowledged that this may actually have prohibited discussions in some instances. This is because participants may not have felt comfortable enough to discuss sensitive issues in the presence of the intermediaries.

As the project team had only basic knowledge of the case study areas before beginning the study, researchers spent time gaining a better understanding of the location prior to the fieldwork. Examining Census data and participant observation also helped to get a better feel for the area and to acquire an understanding of some of the wider issues facing the community. This knowledge provided a useful platform for

each researcher to interpret the data but it remained difficult to ascertain how well the project team members were accepted by participants and accepted within the community.

The absence of reliable data on numbers of migrant workers was both a barrier to be surmounted in carrying out the research, and (in attempting to improve estimates of numbers at a Local Authority level), one of the aims of the research. It was clear from the start that the research would need to involve the use of multiple types of evidence, including: available statistics, reports of previous research, interviews with those in contact with, or who provided a service for migrant workers, interviews with migrant workers, observation, and so on. The research plan also needed to involve a degree of flexibility to enable new sources and types of evidence, discovered during the course of the research, to be used.

Recommendations for future research

This research study has generated interesting and valuable knowledge about the social impact of migration in Carmarthenshire, Newport and Wrexham. In addition, we would like to highlight some of the important lessons we have learnt during the research process as we hope that this information will benefit other researchers undertaking similar studies.

The study should begin by gaining an understanding of the community that the project is working in, and the particular demographic profile of the area. Knowing these things at the outset is the key to effective work. Recognise that factors such as the local culture, the quality of previous and current work with migrant workers in the area, and the role of intermediaries will influence the shape of the research.

This information will be gained through Census material, discussions within the host community and from any local data sets or registers. A review of available literature and documents should be conducted before data collection begins. Most of the published literature will be national (Wales) or UK wide, but an understanding of patterns of

migration and policy responses can inform the current study. Have a system of keeping up to date through information alerts, set up by a librarian. Update the literature review as needed, and make it available to local partners.

Any study will benefit from involvement of key contacts in the area(s) that are being investigated. These individuals will prove useful sources of information, provide guidance on selecting interviewees and help to review information on the local policy framework. This will ensure that the study is up and running quickly, especially if these contacts inform potential interviewees of the study before the researchers contact them.

Take care when using local data sets or registers. Surveys taken out of context or not accompanied with an explanation of aims, where the data was collected and by whom, may increase chances of duplication. Be cautious in interpreting statistics setting out inward/outward flows of newcomers as the definition of migration may differ depending on location.

Record these in a logical and transparent way so that others can follow the argument. Recognising both the strengths and limitations of data sources will lead to a more robust and trustworthy account of the local context.

By spending extended periods of time in the chosen area(s), researchers are able to develop a background understanding of the location; this will help inform the analysis stages and also generate further data by recording observations (researchers should keep a fieldwork diary throughout the study). It is also useful if research participants are able to recognise the researchers or have spoken to them before. Researchers should develop a sufficiently long and active presence in the community to become trusted and so already have established some level of rapport; this will encourage open and honest discussions during interviews.

Take time to understand the issues and the perspectives of different groups in the community, including public, private and voluntary

sectors. Different groups within each community may face different problems and might have different perspectives.

Familiarity with the area may enable researchers to target appropriate sites more effectively than would be done by someone new to the district. Beware though, of allowing this familiarity to skew the direction of the work away from the evidence that was collected as part of the initial analysis of the local area. Beware of setting the main focus of the project in response to the needs and wants of interviewees.

Try to be flexible when selecting interviewees and be aware that there will not be a ready made sampling frame. A snowball sampling technique will help you to make contact with otherwise hard to reach groups. This strategy will also allow researchers to capture an understanding on the informal social networks within the local migrant worker community.

Cognitive interviews may be used to ensure that discussion guides are appropriate to the target audience, but bear in mind the likelihood of misunderstandings when interviewees are not fluent in English. A competent translator, trained in cognitive interviewing techniques (one day's training) can overcome this problem. The nature of the misunderstandings can be an additional data source, because they can reveal different cultural perspectives.

When possible, use local facilities to interview participants. This should encourage participants to feel more comfortable in discussing sensitive issues in their own environments and hopefully result in more valid and reliable information.

Focus groups may or may not encourage more open and honest discussions; in some cases one-to-one interviews were more suitable. In either case, researchers should be fully aware of the discussion guide and the reference material so that hard copies are not required in the interview scenario and a natural dialogue develops. Interviewers should also be prepared to take notes rather than recording discussions. We found that because of the sensitivity of the topics, participants often did not want discussions to be recorded.

It may be useful to employ independent interpreters in some cases. This should reduce any negative impact resulting from language barriers but may well compromise how honest the interviewee's responses are in the presence of strangers.

Do not be afraid to revise the project's objectives following better understanding of the issues in local areas during the research. This, in itself can be a research finding, provided, of course, that the effort to meet the original objectives are clearly documented.

If possible, employ a participatory agenda to working with your target communities. By involving representatives from private, public and voluntary agencies, as well as migrant workers, the study may increase understanding and break down stereotypes for both migrant workers and service providers. The researchers should endeavour to disseminate findings back to participants and the local community.

Finally, the researchers should develop their own evaluation at key stages of the research process, during which they should stand back and consider the project as a whole, aided by stakeholders or steering group members. They should review the rationale of their approach and the method of its implementation by acknowledging the strengths and weaknesses of the research approach and implementation. This can encourage them to be reflexive and acknowledge the limitations of their study. Reflexivity - the conscious awareness of the researcher of their thoughts, feelings and perspectives, during the course of the research-is particularly appropriate in this kind of exploratory research, where there is not a clearly defined evidence base.