

Achieving a Better Understanding of 'A8' Migrant Labour Needs in Lanarkshire

**Research report to North Lanarkshire
Council, Scottish Enterprise Lanarkshire and
South Lanarkshire Council**

by

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The report, together with any errors or omissions is, of course, our responsibility.

AUTHORS' NOTE

The contract for this research was awarded in September 2006 to the University of Stirling and the work has been conducted by the three named authors.

At the beginning of January 2007, the lead researcher, Dr Duncan Sim, moved to take up a post at the University of Paisley and so part of the research has been completed with University of Paisley support.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Introduction

Since 2004 and the accession of ten Eastern European nations to the European Union, there has been a significant movement of migrants to the UK, in search of employment. The numbers entering have been greater than anticipated by the Home Office and they are beginning to have an important impact on certain sectors of the economy and on local labour markets.

Although Lanarkshire has been affected less than other parts of the country, Scottish Enterprise Lanarkshire and North and South Lanarkshire Councils are concerned to find out more about the position regarding migrant workers within the area.

This research seeks to establish the current issues and future implications of migrant workers either living in or working in Lanarkshire, for public service delivery.

Methods

The research involved carrying out two questionnaire surveys (of migrant workers themselves and of local employers) and a series of workplace-based and community-based focus groups involving migrant workers and their families. There was also a series of consultations with a range of local organisations and these are listed in Appendix Four.

Characteristics of migrant worker study group

The majority of migrant workers within the study were relatively young and almost half were single. Most were from Poland.

Individuals possessed a range of employment skills but most were not using these and instead were undertaking relatively unskilled work in order to earn enough money to allow them to send a proportion home to their families. The ability to access better paid employment was by far the most important reason for moving to the UK.

The quality of life in the UK was also important and viewed as significantly better than that in Eastern Europe. In addition, all stressed the value of learning English and this had been perhaps the deciding factor in determining the West European country to which migrant workers had gravitated. English was seen as the main international language and competence in English was seen as important, especially for those individuals who intended to start up businesses of their own. Where families had begun to arrive and settle in Lanarkshire, children were now learning English in schools.

Employment

The employment experiences of migrant workers within Lanarkshire have been rather mixed. They appear to be employed on the same terms and conditions of other workers and all but two were being paid at a level higher than the National Minimum Wage. Employers have contributed to training (although mainly in job-related areas such as health and safety) and have often assisted employees to access services, and to set up bank accounts. There is clear evidence that migrant workers are appreciated by employers because of their work ethic, and they clearly make significant contributions to the local economy.

The biggest difficulty facing migrant workers appears to be recognition of their existing skills. Employers often have difficulty in recognising qualifications from Eastern European countries and, in any case, many migrant workers have chosen to undertake jobs below their skills levels in order to secure higher wages than they would have received in their home country.

There is a potential future challenge once more migrant workers settle in Scotland permanently and seek jobs more appropriate to their skills and qualifications. As they move into other jobs, this may leave unfilled vacancies in areas such as food processing, where migrants currently work. Local workers appear to be unenthusiastic about applying for such jobs, so unless there are further influxes of migrant workers on a longer term basis, then this could cause difficulties for local businesses; such businesses clearly need migrant workers in order to grow.

Housing

Most migrant workers were living in the private rented sector. Rents appeared to be quite high and some properties relatively poorly furnished.

We did not find evidence of overcrowding although some workers have experienced this on a temporary basis, when they first arrived in the UK. Workers have tended to find employment first and housing later, so many have been forced into unsatisfactory conditions for a short period on arrival.

Increasingly, migrant workers are now turning to the social rented sector for accommodation and there is a growing awareness of how to apply for housing. Generally speaking, the housing which has been offered and accepted has been in low demand areas of council housing, but migrant workers appear willing to take on tenancies in such areas. Partly this may be because they believe it will be for a finite period, after which they will return to their home country. Partly it has been suggested to us that properties are nevertheless relatively desirable, in comparison with some social rented housing in Eastern Europe.

In the longer term, those workers who remain in Scotland on a permanent basis may seek to purchase property but this is not yet happening.

Living in the community

Migrant workers generally liked living in Lanarkshire, which they felt was safer, quieter and less overwhelming than large cities like Glasgow – although many also travelled to Glasgow for shopping and socialising.

Increasingly, individuals were settling in the area and making friends with local people, particularly as their competence in conversational English improved. Indeed, many people felt that it was more important to mix with local people than with other migrant worker families. There was no desire to create a 'little Poland' in Lanarkshire.

Very few people had experienced hostility or racism. Some were aware of accusations that they had somehow 'taken' local people's jobs. But they were also aware that many of the jobs which they performed were not popular with local people and so they did not take such accusations particularly seriously.

As individuals were beginning to settle, their use of services was increasing. Early difficulties in accessing banking facilities, healthcare and local authority services were being overcome and there was an increasing use of such services.

In the longer term, it was often the arrival of families which had prompted an increase in the use of services such as healthcare and this was also an indication that the aspirations of such families were changing from an intention to return to Eastern Europe to an intention to stay and settle in Scotland.

Recommendations

This report makes a series of recommendations and these are summarised as follows:

1. It is important that some material on services is provided in translated form, but we believe it is possibly unnecessary to translate into any language other than Polish. We do not, however, believe that there should be widespread translation of documents, given the desire on the part of migrant workers to learn English. In the longer term, they are likely to be able to access English language material.
2. In order to facilitate the learning of English, the provision of language classes should be made as widely available as possible. Local authorities, colleges and Scottish Enterprise should work together on this.

3. Children of migrant workers who attend school will require language support and adequate teaching support must be made available.
4. The migrant workers who have come to Lanarkshire to work have had a positive impact on the local economy. It is important that employers are made aware of the benefits of employing migrant labour, by learning from the experiences of those firms who have already employed such workers, and there is a role for Scottish Enterprise in facilitating this.
5. It is likely that migrant worker will begin to seek better paid jobs more in line with their skills and qualifications. This may leave vacancies in the more unskilled areas. Filling these vacancies may be a challenge and greater effort will need to be made to encourage local people – particularly school leavers – to consider such jobs.
6. Migrant workers will require to have their qualifications recognised. This is essentially a matter for resolution at UK and EU level, but there is a role for Scottish Enterprise in raising the issue on to the Scottish political agenda.
7. The forthcoming publication, *Living in Lanarkshire*, which is expected to be translated into at least Polish, is a good opportunity to market Lanarkshire to incoming migrants. The publication should be made available in both hard copy and online formats to ensure the widest possible access. It should also be made available to all major employers in Lanarkshire.
8. There is an opportunity to provide more information to migrant workers about the range of housing options available to them. These would include information on the range of providers (local authorities and RSLs within the area), how to access housing, and owner-occupation and how to buy a house in Scotland.
9. Some private rented accommodation used by migrant workers is of poor quality. Local authorities should make full use of their powers to regulate the sector (for example through HMO legislation) to ensure that such housing meets the appropriate standards.
10. Migrant workers seem concerned not to create 'little Polands' and are keen to integrate and engage with local communities. It is important that migrants are made aware of the range of voluntary organisations and activities within the area, which they can access.
11. Engagement with local communities could usefully be assisted by local authorities through tenant involvement mechanisms. Some community regeneration initiatives could usefully be replicated elsewhere .

12. North Lanarkshire Council's proposed Citizens' Panel should draw its membership as widely as possible and include migrant worker representation.
13. Migrant workers make extensive use of the internet to keep in contact with their home country and also to access information on employment. Computer facilities in libraries and community centres appear to be very overstretched and so it is important to explore ways of increasing provision of internet facilities.
14. Information on A8 migrant workers is patchy. There are monitoring systems in place in relation to black and minority ethnic groups but only limited monitoring of Eastern Europeans. Monitoring systems should be extended involving a range of services – housing, social work, health and homelessness.
15. Although migrant workers had experienced little hostility in the local area, some had experienced criticism for 'taking local people's jobs'. It is essential that the monitoring of racist and potentially racist incidents is extended to include Eastern European migrant workers.
16. There has sometimes been confusion on the part of some individuals regarding the rights of migrant workers. It is important that information is widely communicated about the rights of individuals from the A8 (and other) countries. Advice workers in both local authorities and the voluntary sector must be trained to offer accurate advice on rights and entitlements.
17. It is clear that many migrant workers have experienced financial exclusion with difficulties in opening bank accounts. It is important that employers continue to work with local banks to try and ensure that the process is made easier.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

There has been a long history of migration to the UK. Sometimes, migrants have been in search of employment, sometimes simply in search of a place of safety. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, individuals and families arrived in the UK, often fleeing persecution, conflict or famine in their own countries and there was considerable movement from other parts of Europe as well as further afield in the British Empire. Some early groups of migrants, such as the Irish, have had a considerable impact on British society.

In the second half of the twentieth century, migration to the UK tended to be dominated by movement from the New Commonwealth countries. Significant numbers of people migrated to England from the Caribbean aboard ships like the *Empire Windrush* (Phillips and Phillips 1999), while there was also significant migration from the Indian sub-continent. The newly established National Health Service actively recruited doctors and medical staff from a range of countries, while the former Glasgow Corporation recruited individuals from the Punjab areas of India and Pakistan to work in the Transport Department as bus and tram drivers and conductors (Maan 1992).

More recently, there have been significant numbers of asylum seekers entering the UK and many have achieved refugee status and have remained in the country. Glasgow is the UK city with the largest number of asylum seekers and their presence has had a significant impact in creating a more multicultural society within the city (Barclay *et al* 2003).

Since 2004 and the accession of ten Eastern European nations to the European Union, there has been a significant movement of migrants to the UK, in search of employment. Nationals from two of the accession countries – Malta and Cyprus – were given the right to work in the UK equivalent to existing EU member states. Nationals from the other eight countries (referred to as the ‘Accession 8’ or ‘A8’) who wish to work in the UK for longer than one month are required to register with the Workers Registration Scheme but are able to enter the UK freely. Thus, unlike asylum seekers and migrants from outwith the EU, these Eastern European migrant workers are subject to only limited restrictions in terms of their ability to enter the country and take up work. As is discussed later in this report, the numbers entering have been greater than anticipated by the Home Office and they are beginning to have an important impact on certain sectors of the economy and on local labour markets.

Although Lanarkshire has been affected less than other parts of the country, with A8 migrant workers accounting for 0.17 and 0.26 per cent respectively of the working age populations of North and South Lanarkshire (Home Office *et al* 2006), Scottish Enterprise Lanarkshire and North and South Lanarkshire

Councils are concerned to find out more about the position regarding migrant workers within the area.

This research seeks to establish the current issues and future implications of migrant workers either living in or working in Lanarkshire, for public service delivery.

The report is structured as follows. We begin with a background chapter in which we review the statistics on migrant workers and previous research which has begun to highlight many of the issues involved. We then provide a summary of the methods used in this research, including surveys, focus groups, meetings and individual interviews.

The subsequent chapters deal with various issues relating to migrant workers, including demographic and personal information about those who participated in the research, a discussion about employment issues using information from both workers and employers, a discussion about housing issues using information from workers and from consultations with housing organisations, and a discussion about the position of migrant workers within the local community and the extent to which they appear to be settling in Lanarkshire.

The report ends with Conclusions and Recommendations. Details of the surveys and consultations are contained within the Appendices.

CHAPTER TWO

MIGRANT WORKERS: BACKGROUND

Introduction

This chapter describes recent research on migrant workers, both in Scotland and elsewhere in the UK and provides basic data on the migrant worker population within Lanarkshire. The summary of issues at the end of the chapter provides a contextual background against which the present research may be viewed.

United Kingdom

The Census and the International Passenger Survey (IPS) are two key data sources on migration for the UK. The UK Home Office also publishes statistics on immigration control.

The Census covers all immigrants (including asylum seekers and refugees) and provides information about their characteristics and circumstances. It also records all those whose address was outside the UK 12 months previously. It does not, however, collect data on out-migration, which remains a key gap in current data sets, and is only completed every 10 years. The UK International Passenger Survey is a sample survey of all passengers to the UK, but can be used to identify migrants intending to stay for a year or more.

In a major review of migration for the Home Office, Glover *et al* (2001) contend that much policy oriented research and analysis on migration has not kept up with the reality of developments. They refer to the idea of globalisation as being widely accepted within developed capitalist nations as inevitable and desirable, though some aspects may need to be 'managed'. However, they point out that discussion of globalisation tends to focus on the movement of capital and jobs, rather than people, and so there is limited work on migration. The economic theory of migration emphasises economic incentives but personal and cultural ties, policies in both countries and many other factors will also be very important in the decision to migrate. Nevertheless, migration is generally assumed to be welfare improving, whilst also reflecting relative costs, supply of and demand for labour between countries.

Glover *et al* (2001:1) conclude that migration issues are highly complex and available data incomplete. For example, the UK has no compulsory system to record international movements of population. Hence there is a need for further research in parallel with ongoing policy debates and developments.

Although much of the migration to the UK has historically been from Commonwealth countries or (in the case of asylum seekers) from troubled countries across the world, recent migration has been dominated by movement

within Europe. Most recently, Sriskandarajah *et al* (2004) have attempted to estimate likely migration to the UK from the 10 countries which joined the EU in 2004. The average income of new member countries is a fraction of that of existing members and some concerns had been expressed that migration may have a detrimental effect on the domestic labour market. The UK's 2001 Census recorded that 2.2 per cent of the UK population (a total of 1.3 million people) were born outside the UK, but within the EUs (pre-2004) 15 member states. In London, the proportion was 5.3 per cent (Sriskandarajah *et al*/2004: 4). Some 240,000 UK residents were born in Eastern Europe including Russia; 58,000 of whom were born in Poland.

Sriskandarajah *et al* (2004:10) drew on data from the International Passenger Survey to attempt to estimate migration from outside of the 'old' EU 15. They concluded that net inflows to the UK, from accession states, were expected to peak at 17,000 per annum in the first couple of years after accession if free movement of labour was allowed. This would be negligible relative to the total size of the UK labour market, and given the long term ageing of the UK labour force, an influx of relatively young workers from Eastern Europe may potentially have a positive impact. Government commissioned estimates of immigration from accession states were even lower at between 5,000 and 13,000 per year. Further, past experience has shown that migration may well only be a temporary period of working abroad, followed by a return home.

In fact, the Government's own Accession Monitoring Report (Home Office *et al* 2006) shows that, between May 2004 and June 2006, there have been 447,000 applicants to the Worker Registration Scheme for A8 migrants, significantly more than had been predicted. 62 per cent of these were from Poland, with smaller numbers from Lithuania (12 per cent) and Slovakia (10 per cent). The vast majority (82 per cent) were aged between 18 and 34 and the male to female ratio was 58: 42. It was recognised that nationals from the accession countries were supporting the provision of public services in communities across the UK, as drivers, care workers, teachers, and health professionals. Significant numbers are now employed in hospitality and catering, agriculture, manufacturing and food processing.

There is an array of literature that attempts to quantify the economic benefits of the migrant workforce to the UK economy. Overall, it is acknowledged that the inclusion of migrant workers within the labour market has a positive effect on the economy and contributes to both economic growth and the economic prosperity of the country. It is also acknowledged that it is not only attraction of overseas workers that is important for the economy but also their retention, particularly those with skills in key areas of the economy.

Scotland

Magnitude of inward migration

The Home Office monitoring shows that, during the period from May 2004 to June 2006, Scotland received 32,135 workers, more than Wales, Northern Ireland and South East England but fewer than the other English regions. The most significant occupation groups in which migrant workers were employed in Scotland were hospitality and catering, agriculture, administration, business and management services, and food processing.

This migration should be seen against a situation where the total number of jobs in Scotland is expanding. There are now 2.5 million people in work in Scotland at present, compared with around 2.3 million in 1981. Growth in the number of jobs has averaged 0.4 per cent per annum over the last 25 years. By 2009, it is estimated that the total number of jobs will have risen again, to 2.54 million (Futureskills Scotland 2006).

Given that the population of Scotland is ageing and the number of Scottish nationals is declining, then EU enlargement has broadened the labour pool from which Scottish employers can draw and so the impact of migrant workers on the Scottish labour market has been overwhelmingly positive.

Detailed information below the Scotland-wide level is patchy but a number of studies have now been completed. South Lanarkshire Council's own study (South Lanarkshire Council 2006) shows that the numbers of migrant workers have been increasing, although as a proportion of the working age population, the numbers in Lanarkshire are relatively low, compared with other parts of the country. Over half the migrant workers are from the EU Accession States, with almost a quarter from Poland.

These findings echo those of SER's (2006) research in Tayside for Communities Scotland. Again, the numbers of migrant workers – particularly from the Accession States – had increased significantly and they appeared to be filling certain skills gaps in the area. Another study of migrant workers in the Highlands and Islands (de Lima, Jentsch and Whelton 2005) suggested that migrant workers in the area were mostly in semi-skilled or unskilled work, often in areas such as hospitality or fish processing. In many of these jobs, either local skills were unavailable or else local people were reluctant to undertake them. An Aberdeen Skills Audit (Aberdeen City Council 2004) also suggested that migrant workers from the EU accession countries were usefully filling skills shortages in the area. In West Lothian, recent reports to the Council similarly highlight the contribution to the local economy made by migrant workers and suggest that encounters with migrants by Council service staff have been positive ones (<http://coins.westlothian.gov.uk/coins/document/Policy%20Partnership%20and%20Resources%20Committee/20061024/Polish%20Community.pdf>)

More detailed migration statistics are available for Lanarkshire using National Insurance number data; such numbers are required for employment and the Department for Works and Pensions has responsibility for allocating numbers to workers moving to the UK. In 2005 – 2006, a total of 1,580 migrant workers in Lanarkshire received a NI number (810 in North Lanarkshire and 770 in South Lanarkshire). The numbers have risen steadily over the years, from 600 in 2002 – 2003, 560 in 2003 – 2004 and 790 in 2004 – 2005. The two Lanarkshire authorities between them accounted for 3.9 per cent of all migrant worker registrations in 2005 – 2006, a long way behind Edinburgh (28.2 per cent), Glasgow (16.1 per cent), Aberdeen (9.3 per cent) and Highland (6.4 per cent).

Table 2.1 shows the breakdown of migrant worker registrations by area of origin and Table 2.2 by country of origin. The total figures in the table do not match the figures quoted above because of rounding errors. In Table 2.2, only countries where the numbers of migrants are over 10 are listed, for the sake of brevity.

It is clear from the tables that the largest numbers of migrant workers are from the A8 countries – especially from Poland – although there are also significant numbers from the Indian sub-continent, as well as from the older EU member states.

Impact on the local economy

The significance of the A8 migrant workers for the Lanarkshire labour force can be ascertained by exploring the Lanarkshire figures relative to those at national level (Table 2.3). In 2005 / 06, 40.8 per cent of all migrant workers in Great Britain as a whole came from the A8 accession countries. In Scotland, the figure was notably higher at 51.7 per cent. In South Lanarkshire, 51.3 per cent of migrant workers were from the A8 countries, just below the Scottish average, while in North Lanarkshire, it was 65.4 per cent.

Table 2.1: Migrant worker registrations 2005-2006 by area of origin				
Area of Origin	North Lanarkshire	South Lanarkshire	Total Lanarkshire	% of total
EU 15	60	110	170	11.2
EU New Member States	510	380	890	58.5
Rest of Europe				
Russia and Central Asia		10	10	0.7
Middle & Near East	10		10	0.7
Africa	50	40	90	5.9
North America Mexico, Caribbean and Central America	10	20	30	2.0
South America				
China & Taiwan	10	10	20	1.3
Japan & Far East		10	10	0.7
India subcontinent, Sri Lanka	90	110	200	13.2
South East Asia	20	30	50	3.3
Oceania				
Australasia	20	20	40	2.6
TOTAL	780	740	1520	

Table 2.2: Migrant worker registrations 2005-2006 by country of origin (only countries with >10 registrations shown)				
Country of Origin	North Lanarkshire	South Lanarkshire	Total Lanarkshire	% of total
Poland	370	180	550	38.7
India	50	80	130	9.1
Estonia	10	90	100	7.0
Hungary	50	20	70	4.9
Pakistan	40	20	60	4.2
Ireland	20	30	50	3.5
Lithuania	30	20	50	3.5
Czech Republic	20	20	40	2.8
Latvia	-	40	40	2.8
Slovakia	30	10	40	2.8
South Africa	20	20	40	2.8
France	10	20	30	2.1
Italy	10	20	30	2.1
Philippines	10	20	30	2.1
Australia	10	10	20	1.4
China	10	10	20	1.4
Germany	10	10	20	1.4
Mauritius	10	10	20	1.4
Netherlands	10	10	20	1.4
New Zealand	10	10	20	1.4
Spain	-	20	20	1.4
USA	10	10	20	1.4
Total	740	680	1420	

Table 2.3: Migrant worker registrations 2005-2006 by area of origin: Comparison of Lanarkshire, Scotland and Great Britain data (%)			
Area of Origin	Great Britain	Scotland	Lanarkshire
EU 15	14.7	15.4	11.2
EU New Member States	40.8	51.7	58.5
Rest of Europe	2.2	1.3	0.0
Russia and Central Asia	0.7	0.5	0.7
Middle & Near East	2.3	0.9	0.7
Africa	11.2	5.7	5.9
North America	2.3	3.8	2.0
Mexico, Caribbean and Central America	1.5	0.4	0.0
South America	1.0	0.2	0.0
China & Taiwan	2.1	3.0	1.3
Japan & Far East	0.6	0.3	0.7
India subcontinent, Sri Lanka	13.0	8.8	13.2
South East Asia	2.8	2.1	3.3
Oceania	0.0	0.0	0.0
Australasia	4.9	5.7	2.6
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

Analysis of statistics relating to the Lanarkshire local economy by Scottish Enterprise Lanarkshire (2006), suggests that the presence of migrant workers is important. They refer to the Scottish Employers' Skills Survey, where the Lanarkshire data indicated the existence of 'hard to fill' vacancies, skills shortages affecting 23 per cent of establishments, and 'skills gaps' where the existing workforce is not completely proficient at the jobs that they do. The increase in the numbers of migrant workers is clearly helping with filling long term vacancies and addressing underlying skills shortages.

The influx of migrant workers should also be seen against a projected long term decline in the working age population in Lanarkshire. This population is projected to decline by 3.7 per cent between 2004 and 2024. The consequences of such a decline need to be addressed and increased in-migration is an important way of addressing the problem. Thus the increased numbers of A8 migrant workers in Lanarkshire is of very real benefit to the local economy.

In terms of the areas of employment where their impact is most likely to be felt, Scottish Enterprise Lanarkshire (2006) suggest that the economic make-up of Lanarkshire is such that migrant workers in the area are most likely to be located in lower skilled employment within the manufacturing and food processing sectors. There are, however, known to be some in the hospitality sector, although this sector is smaller in Lanarkshire than in many other parts of Scotland.

Previous research

Most previous research which has been undertaken in relation to migrant workers has stressed their contribution to the local economy. It is clear that in many parts of the UK, there have been significant labour shortages which are increasingly being filled by eastern Europeans.

Problems of labour supply appear to have been particularly severe in rural areas. Both McKay and Winkelmann-Gleed (2005) and Green *et al* (2005), for example, show that in eastern England, many agriculture-related industries have a growing reliance on migrant workers. But in undertaking jobs which employers would otherwise have difficulties in filling, many migrant workers are working below their skills levels. This is explored particularly in Breckland (Schneider and Holman 2005), where it is clear that most migrants have downgraded their employment skills significantly during their stay in the UK. Workers were found to have high levels of generic skills, such as numeric, communication, problem-solving and language skills. They also had very high levels of 'soft skills', such as enthusiasm for continuous learning, thinking ahead, team working and flexibility. But employment agencies appeared to be relatively uninterested in such skills, being more concerned simply with ensuring that job vacancies were filled. There is also evidence from McKay and Winkelmann-Gleed (2005) that many migrant workers obtained jobs in a quite informal way, through word of mouth and family connections and so were not necessarily 'matched' to the most appropriate jobs.

Nevertheless, A8 migrant workers have had a major impact on the UK economy, helping to increase both output and total employment, but with minimal impact on native workers. The most significant changes appear to have been in agriculture and fishing, where employment has grown sharply as a result of migration from the A8 countries. So overall, the economic impact of accession on the UK labour market has been overwhelmingly positive (Portes and French 2005).

The positive impact of migrant workers is also identified by the Audit Commission (2007), which notes that migration for work has been welcomed by the Government, CBI and TUC, as well as local employers. They note that most migrant workers are young and single and make few demands on public services but they have had an impact on the ethnic diversity of some areas, particularly those areas which have had limited previous experience of inward migration. Local authorities, the Commission suggests, need to take a leading role in working with those organisations with links to minorities, as well as tackling

emerging issues relating to housing, education, employment, entitlements and law enforcement.

Urban versus rural living

It is perhaps useful to distinguish at this point between urban and rural migrant worker settlement. There is research into poor employment and living conditions experienced by migrant workers in rural areas and certainly it would seem that such workers are quite socially isolated. Transport in rural areas may be poor, migrant workers work long hours and there is only limited access to English language courses where individuals might improve their language skills and hence their employment prospects (Citizens Advice Bureau 2005). But, as Green *et al* (2005) point out, migrants are usually concentrated in areas where housing is available and of low cost and where there are other migrants from the same home country. Many migrants have therefore tended to concentrate in cities.

Employment and community living experiences

The employment experiences of migrant workers themselves seem to be very varied. McKay and Winkelmann-Gleed (2005) claim to have uncovered appalling stories about the large number of hours worked, low levels of pay and less than equal treatment at work. They stress, however, that this is by no means the whole picture and that many workers reported being treated with dignity, working through reputable agencies and getting permanent employment contracts. The TUC (2004) also report problems of employer abuse and difficulties in accessing housing and services, although they stress that they have not undertaken systematic research. Both the TUC and Holgate (2005) show that migrant worker labour is generally not unionised and this is seen as a contributory factor in many workers finding themselves in jobs which do not match the skills which they possess.

There is evidence however that, although many migrant workers do indeed receive relatively low wages for long hours, they are nevertheless receiving higher levels of pay than they would receive in their home country, and many are prepared to tolerate the situation as they see it as merely short-term – until they return ‘home’ (Anderson *et al* 2006).

For some workers, there are issues of isolation, of feeling excluded from local communities, and of their general ‘wellbeing’. To an extent, this may be a reflection of the fact that so many migrant workers have located in rural areas, where communities are small and less multicultural. Nevertheless, Robinson and Reeve (2006) have suggested that the voices of new migrants are not readily heard and more needs to be done to promote good community relations. This view is echoed by Sriskandarajah (2006), who suggests that ensuring migrants are integrated within host communities is one of the most important – albeit sometimes the most difficult – challenges facing policymakers. The importance of

integration is also a focus for the work of Zetter *et al* (2006), who emphasise the key role played by women and children within migrant groups in generating social capital and aiding integration. This is clearly important for those workers with families within the UK, although not for the many single migrant workers, many of whom have families back in their home country.

Research on Scotland

Research which has focused specifically on Scotland has highlighted the threat of population decline and the positive potential of increased migration (Wright 2004, Burnside 2004). Wright recommends that migration needs to be devolved to the Scottish Parliament in order to help better manage the Scottish economy by attracting new migrants. The implications of Scotland and the rest of the United Kingdom pursuing different migration policies is not addressed in the research. Nevertheless, it is clear that the Fresh Talent Initiative launched by the Scottish Executive in 2004, to attract highly skilled working age migrants to Scotland (Scottish Executive 2004), is seriously constrained by UK-wide immigration law. Sriskrandarajah *et al* (2004) also make the argument for a positive migration policy to meet labour needs, combined with policies to ease access to affordable housing generally (rather than to exaggerate the impact of migration on housing).

In summary, demographic change in Scotland and associated skills shortages in the future mean that managed inward migration is an appropriate response for Scotland, although UK migration policy may be a constraining factor.

Needs of migrant communities

Research on migrant workers (such as de Lima, Jentsch and Whelton 2005) and on asylum seekers in Scotland (Barclay *et al* 2003) suggests that migrant workers will have a range of needs. These will include:

- housing
- healthcare
- opportunities for social interaction and support
- opportunities for training and skills acquisition, and
- social services support and language support in a number of cases.

Indeed, housing appears to be an increasingly significant issue and both ODS Consulting (2006) and Coote (2006) have drawn attention to the increased incidence of overcrowding, poor housing conditions and homelessness experienced by migrant workers. Shelter Scotland has undertaken a survey of Scottish local authorities to explore the housing problems experienced by migrant workers (<http://scotland.shelter.org.uk/policy/policy-6432.cfm>), but this has not been fully published.

ODS Consulting (2006) suggest that most migrant workers in Lanarkshire appear to be based in the private rented sector although there is anecdotal evidence that some single men are beginning to apply for social rented housing. This may reflect problems being experienced within private renting which, they suggest, have led to an over-representation of Eastern Europeans in the area's homelessness statistics.

Other migrant communities in Lanarkshire

Finally, it is appropriate to refer to research on other migrant communities in the Lanarkshire area, some settled for a considerable period of time. As well as the ODS Consulting (2006) study of minority ethnic communities in Lanarkshire, there are also studies of both the Polish and Lithuanian communities.

There was a previous migration of Poles to Scotland during the Second World War, mostly soldiers fighting with the Allies. After the war, Poland became Communist-controlled and many Poles opted to stay in Scotland, rather than return home. According to the 1951 Census, there were 10,603 persons resident in Scotland but born in Poland and they became the basis for a Polish community, with the introduction of Polish masses at certain Roman Catholic churches and the establishment of Polish clubs (Ziarski-Kernberg 2005). The Sikorski Polish Club, established in Glasgow in 1954, now offers support to recent Polish migrants, including advice on employment, social services and language classes.

During the period since the Second World War, there has been significant migration to Scotland from other countries. For many years, the largest minority populations were those of Pakistani, Indian or Chinese heritage, but in recent years, several thousand asylum seekers and refugees have located in Scotland, primarily in Glasgow. Many of the issues which have been faced by these groups are those which are likely to be faced by other in-migrants.

The other significant locally-based Eastern European grouping is the Lithuanian community, mostly based within Lanarkshire. This is an older wave of migration, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, with many individuals recruited to work in local iron and steel works. By 1914, it is estimated that there were between 5,000 and 6,000 Lithuanians in Lanarkshire (Rodgers 1980), and they had developed shops, social clubs and their own newspaper. Numbers dwindled during the interwar years but there were a number of migrants displaced after the Second World War from Lithuania who settled in North Lanarkshire and numbers rose slightly (Millar 2005). There appears to be relatively little migration at present from Lithuania and so the community remains small. There is still, however, a Lithuanian Social Club, based in Bellshill.

It is important also to refer to the recent decision by North Lanarkshire Council to offer accommodation to families of Congolese refugees. This has come about

through participation in the Gateway Protection Programme, a partnership between the Home Office and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, which helps the government meet its resettlement obligations under the 1951 Convention on the status of refugees. The local authority is offering accommodation, in the Motherwell area, to around 80 Congolese refugees for as long as they choose to remain in the area. The first group of 22 people arrived in North Lanarkshire in mid-January.

Emerging issues

The previous research discussed above has identified a number of important issues. These include, firstly, difficulties in **accessing employment**. Although migrant workers from the A8 countries do not experience restrictions on their ability to work in Scotland, in the way that asylum seekers do for example, nevertheless, there may be a lack of knowledge of what employment opportunities exist and migrants may well be almost totally reliant on employment agencies to find them work. Although migrant workers may be in employment, it is clear that many are in relatively low paid jobs which are not commensurate with their skills. Much previous research suggests that migrant workers are not employed to the best of their abilities and may be paid at – or even below – the National Minimum Wage.

A second issue relates to **housing**. Many migrant workers appear to be in the UK on a temporary basis. Others may aspire to stay here but, until their families join them, they may not feel it appropriate to find a more permanent family home. As a result, most migrant workers seem to be in the private rented sector and previous research suggests that many are living in poor quality, overcrowded accommodation. Some workers may have begun to access social rented or owner-occupied housing but they may be hampered by a lack of knowledge of the UK housing system.

Thirdly, a lack of **knowledge of services** suggests that many migrant workers may not make use of social or health services, although some may, at minimum, register with a GP.

Fourthly, previous research suggests that the key to accessing better employment, housing and services is improvement of **language skills**. The level of competence in English may be very variable within the migrant worker communities, although there may be a strong desire to learn English as a means to access greater opportunities. For those whose English is poor, there may be a need for interpreting and translating services to be made available, as has been the case with many settled minorities within the UK.

Finally, it is very clear from previous research, that comparatively little is known about migrant workers in the UK. The expansion of the European Union to include the 'A8' countries took place after the last Census. As a result, there has

been no accurate count of migrants to the UK from Eastern Europe or elsewhere. Some methodological work has been done with a view to identifying ways of improving collection of such data in the future (Rees and Boden 2006) and there have been a number of local research studies into the experiences of migrant workers. There has, however, been relatively little government-funded work, aimed at providing a UK-wide picture.

This research is, in many respects, another local study like others before it, but it has been quite wide-ranging, involving surveys of migrant workers and focus groups which have explored their experiences in living and working in Lanarkshire, and surveys of both local employers and service providers. It is difficult to obtain hard data on numbers of migrant workers and this is going to be a significant data gap until the 2011 Census. But in exploring the position of migrant workers in Lanarkshire, the research seeks to address the various issues identified above.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODS

Aims of the research

The key aim of this research was to establish the current issues and future implications, of migrant workers living and / or working in Lanarkshire, for public service delivery.

Specifically, it sought to address the following questions:

- (a) What are the views of migrant workers in Lanarkshire, their intentions, aspirations and experiences?
- (b) What are the key issues faced by employers in relation to the employment of A8 migrant workers and how can public agencies assist employers?
- (c) What is the profile of the A8 migrant population and workforce?
- (d) Do migrant workers intend settling in Lanarkshire in the longer term?
- (e) Are there any 'equalities' issues in regard to the A8 migrant population?
- (f) What service provision do public agencies need to plan for, given the potential impact of A8 migrants?
- (g) What action do public services need to take, either in relation to migrant workers arriving in the area or in relation to attracting future migrants?

These specific objectives are addressed in the account of methods (below).

Background material

Prior to the commissioning of the research, some preliminary work had been completed locally. Within South Lanarkshire Council, an analysis had been undertaken of National Insurance number (NINo) data obtained from the Department of Works and Pensions. This established the importance of migrant workers within South Lanarkshire and allowed comparisons to be drawn between South Lanarkshire and Scotland-wide data. Some of this material is referred to in Chapter 2, where there has been some reworking to include equivalent data from North Lanarkshire. Scottish Enterprise Lanarkshire had completed a report on migration, providing a context within which the local situation could be set.

There had also been a study undertaken by ODS for Communities Scotland and the local councils, of the minority ethnic communities within Lanarkshire. This study included migrant workers from the A8 countries, although it had a housing rather than employment focus.

We have explored other work on migrants, including studies carried out in both England and Scotland. Although there are several such studies, they have

tended to be carried out locally and there has been relatively little attempt to coordinate the various findings. Nevertheless a number of common issues have begun to emerge, as described in Chapter Two.

Questionnaire surveys

Two questionnaire surveys were undertaken during the late summer of 2006, as part of the research, the first involving migrant workers themselves and the second involving employers and employment agencies. They are described below and copies of the survey forms are contained in the Appendices.

Migrant workers' questionnaire

A number of employers were identified by the local authorities and by Scottish Enterprise Lanarkshire, who were known to employ migrant workers. Personnel managers at these companies were contacted and asked if they would be willing to distribute questionnaires to their workforce. Those that were willing to do so were sent questionnaires.

Only 48 completed questionnaires were returned, however, suggesting either that some employers may not have been able to distribute all the questionnaires which they were sent, or that a number of migrant workers eventually decided not to engage with the study. The data have been analysed and the findings from the survey described in subsequent chapters.

It should be noted that the issues raised within the questionnaire are directly comparable to the outputs observed from other published studies undertaken across both the Scotland and the rest of the UK, thereby providing confidence in the results obtained.

Employers' questionnaire

A similar questionnaire was distributed to employers in Lanarkshire but although there appeared to be support for the study, the response rate was disappointingly low. Only six completed questionnaires were received.

Nevertheless, the data contained within the responses was often extremely detailed and information derived from analysis of the questionnaires is largely contained within Chapter Five. In addition, we were able to undertake further interviews with some employers and also employment agencies. In the end the number of organisations providing information to the research project was eight employers and three employment agencies.

Focus groups

The questionnaire survey asked migrant workers to indicate if they would be willing to participate in follow-up focus groups and 25 individuals indicated their willingness to do so. Individuals were offered £20 to take part, to cover traveling expenses and as a means of encouraging participation. In the event, a small number of those who contacted us by email or by telephone were unable to participate because of an inconvenient date or venue; one person for example lived in Ayrshire and was unable to attend an evening meeting. But the majority of volunteers did end up taking part.

In addition to individual volunteers, some companies offered to organise focus groups within the workplace for members of their own staff, usually at the end of their shift.

We were also able to make contact with a number of other Polish residents, through the local authorities, local housing associations, a regeneration project and local churches, including Motherwell Cathedral and St. Patrick's Church in Shotts, where priests and their helpers had begun offering Polish masses on a regular basis.

Prior to holding the focus groups, we prepared a topic guide, to steer the discussions. This is contained within Appendix Three. We also translated an information sheet and consent form into Polish and these were given to participants as they arrived. The consent of all participants was obtained before the focus group started.

A total of five focus groups was held. Venues ranged from workplaces to community halls and the numbers attending ranged from four to fourteen per focus group. A total of 46 adults participated in the five focus groups; many were family groups and they were accompanied by three children (Table 3.1).

Venue	Nos. of participants	Nationality of participants	Notes
Motherwell Concert Hall	11 adults, 3 children	14 Poles	Mostly families
Dawnfresh	8 adults	8 Poles	All Dawnfresh employees
Merson Signs	4 adults	2 Poles, 2 Slovaks	All Mersons employees
Motherwell Concert Hall (arranged through Diocese)	13 adults	13 Poles	
St Patrick's Church, Shotts.	10 adults	10 Poles	All Bells Bakers employees

In two of the focus groups, an interpreter was used and this is discussed in more detail below. The interpreters were associated with the church in both instances; it had been intended to use the services of the Glasgow Interpreting Service but these were heavily oversubscribed and were not available at the times required.

Interviews / meetings

A wide range of meetings were held and a number of bodies were interviewed in connection with the research. These included local government officers, officers from bodies such as Scottish Enterprise and NHS Lanarkshire, local employers and employment agencies, housing associations, and a number of voluntary groups. Some interviews were face-to-face, some by telephone, and some information was obtained through email. A full list of all those who contributed to the work is contained in Appendix Four.

Reflection on methods

A range of research methods was used in the course of this research, with varying degrees of success.

48 completed questionnaires were returned directly by migrant workers. The survey forms were distributed through employers and so there was a reliance on the willingness of employers to pass these on to their workforce. It appeared that some were more supportive than others in passing on the questionnaires and so there were a number of firms which were under-represented in the responses.

In some cases, employers showed a keen interest in the research, completing questionnaires themselves and helping to organise focus groups in the workplace. Other employers proved to be very reluctant participants and some proved to be very unwilling to help. As a result, the response rate for the employer questionnaire was disappointing.

The focus groups themselves proved exceptionally difficult to organise. It had been our original intention to hold six focus groups, with three held in workplaces and three set up using community contacts. Because of employer reluctance to participate, only two workplace-based groups were able to be held. In the case of the community focus groups, two were organised relatively easily but the timing of the third proved problematic because of Christmas holidays and so it had to be held after the New Year.

When the focus groups were organised, we sought to establish at an early stage the level of competence in spoken English of the potential participants. In the case of focus groups held in the workplace, employers assured us that their workers spoke and understood English competently and would be able to participate fully. In the case of community-based groups, we communicated with

potential participants by email and by text and everybody was asked if they would find it helpful to have an interpreter present. Nobody requested this.

In fact, we would suggest that competence in English was not always as good as anticipated and indeed varied considerably within groups. In practice, this proved no obstacle to discussion as some participants translated for their colleagues and this often helped to move along the conversation in a friendly and co-operative way. But it suggests that many migrant workers perhaps believe that their language skills are better than they actually are.

In the case of focus groups organised with the assistance of Motherwell Cathedral, one of the priests, Father Krzysztof Garwolinski, acted as interpreter and this proved extremely helpful. In the Shotts focus group, held in St. Patrick's Church, a Polish member of the congregation acted as an interpreter.

It is important to note that those who participated in the focus groups were not selected on a random basis. They were very much self-selecting, either responding to invitations from their employers to take part, or contacting the university and volunteering to do so. As noted earlier, individuals were offered £20 to take part in focus groups and this is likely to have encouraged participation. Those who came forward are perhaps more likely to be those who felt positively about their experiences about living and working in the area; those who felt unhappy or isolated are unlikely to have taken part.

That said, what was often striking, however, was the enthusiasm to take part expressed by most migrant workers, and the focus groups themselves were often lively affairs. This general willingness to participate and to discuss experiences and aspirations was extremely encouraging and rewarding for the researchers.

CHAPTER FOUR

MIGRANT WORKERS IN LANARKSHIRE: PERSONAL BACKGROUND

Introduction

The questionnaire survey explored a number of issues relating to the individual personal circumstances of migrant workers, including family background, skills possessed, knowledge of English and motivations for moving to the UK to seek employment. This information was supplemented by discussions at the various focus groups, where individuals were sometimes accompanied by partners and children and spoke of their personal circumstances.

The various areas are considered here in turn.

Individual and family background

There was a relatively even gender split amongst the 48 individuals who responded to the questionnaire. 22 were male and 25 female, while one person did not respond to this question. This is slightly different to the gender breakdown of migrant workers across Scotland, where about 55 per cent are male.

The workers were relatively young. 15 (31.2 per cent) were aged between 16 and 24, with a further 22 (45.7 per cent) aged between 25 and 34. Only four workers were over 45, with nobody at all aged over 60. This is perhaps as might be expected, with younger workers having the ability to be more mobile in search of employment.

This mobility is perhaps reflected in the marital status of the workers who responded. Almost half (23 people) were single, with a further 13 married. The remainder were separated, divorced or widowed. Only 15 workers (31.2 per cent) had children; they had 26 children between them.

In the majority of cases, families had remained in the home country; only 19 workers (39.8 per cent) had families with them in Scotland. That said, of the remaining 29 workers, a further eight intended to bring their families to Scotland when this became feasible. Indeed, several families attended focus groups, some with children, and it was clear that these family groups intended to stay in Scotland. One couple with a small child had now been joined by the man's parents and so three generations were now living together in Lanarkshire.

All but one of those responding were from Poland; the remaining individual was Slovakian. This generally reflects the national origins of migrant workers in Lanarkshire at present, who are overwhelmingly Polish. Data on migrant worker registrations shown in Chapter Two (Table 2.2) indicates that there are also

significant numbers of Estonians and Hungarians working in Lanarkshire but none responded to the questionnaire and we were unable to recruit any to our focus groups.

In the focus groups, we made contact with two more Slovaks. The local Citizens Advice Bureau had had dealings with people from other East European countries, including Lithuania, Estonia and the Czech Republic.

Skills possessed

The migrant workers responding to the questionnaire possessed a wide range of skills; 36 individuals (75 per cent) provided details of these. Nine people claimed a range of business skills, including having worked as a business consultant, marketing adviser, advertising executive, economist, IT specialist or simply 'in commerce'. A further four people had worked in education, two were chemists and one worked in tourism. A number of people had more technical and vocational skills. Four had building trade skills, including bricklaying and joinery, and six were mechanics of one sort or another, two of these specifying skills with heavy machinery. Another individual was an engineer. Three people cited care skills, such as nursing, while there were individuals who cited skills in retailing, hairdressing and dressmaking.

When asked about their highest level of qualifications, 10 people had completed a university education, while nine had professional qualifications, for example in engineering, commerce, electronics, nursing or physical education. Six people cited training related to their specific trades, including dressmaking, bricklaying, welding, and IT.

The overall picture is of a skilled group of people with a range of qualifications and experience in a number of employment areas. All bar one individual had gained their qualifications in their home country of Poland. The Slovakian respondent had been trained similarly in his home country.

Despite the range of qualifications possessed, however, it was clear that a number of individuals had not been working at the level or in the area for which they were qualified. Certainly a number worked in business as expected (10 people) and others were using their skills in nursing or dressmaking. But 11 individuals (22.7 per cent) were working in the building trades, although only four had a qualification in this area. Other individuals referred to industries such as security and hospitality, while two people had driving jobs. Five individuals had been unemployed. Significantly, when asked if the job which they were performing required formal qualifications, of the 32 people who actually responded, 19 (39.8 per cent) stated that they were not necessary. Thus, although the workers themselves were generally skilled, their skills were not always being used in their home country and this may have prompted some to seek alternatives in the UK.

The issue of matching employment to skills levels is dealt with further in Chapter Five.

Deciding to move to Scotland

Migrant workers were asked about the various factors which influenced them in deciding to move to the UK. A number of individuals referred to high levels of unemployment in their home country and the difficulties of getting employment commensurate with their skills.

Even if I finished study, I couldn't find a proper job in Poland.

Unemployment and no possibilities for developing skills in my home country.

No possibilities to get a proper job and very bad employment policy of the government.

The bankruptcy of my firm; no other possibilities to set up a business.

The stories told by migrant workers of the lack of job opportunities at home would appear to be borne out by the statistics. Data obtained from the local authorities as part of the research suggests that the rate of economic activity is much lower in Poland at 54.5 per cent than in Scotland (79.5 per cent). The unemployment rate in Poland was 14.9 per cent in 2006 and had stood at almost 20 per cent three years previously. In Scotland, the unemployment rate is 5.2 per cent and has been at or around this figure for the last three years.

Several people spoke of a desire to help their family or their children while one spoke simply of 'money and an unpaid mortgage'. There seemed to be a widely held view that not only were employment opportunities and levels of pay better in the UK but that the overall quality of life was better.

A better quality of life. You can get more for your monthly income. It is impossible in Poland.

A very good job [in Scotland], quality of life, respect for employee and money.

Other people referred to the importance of learning English and also of gaining new skills within the UK.

When asked which of these was the most important factor, 17 people (35.1 per cent) referred to the significantly higher earnings in the UK in comparison with Eastern Europe, while several also spoke of learning English which was seen as

being an increasingly important skill to have. Family reasons were also important. A few people had relatives living in Scotland, while in one case, the individual's partner had migrated to Scotland and they had decided to follow. Overall, the most significant reasons for leaving their home country were low pay (cited by 42 people or 87.5 per cent), the lack of work at home (34 or 70.7 per cent), poor career development (33 or 68.7 per cent) and low quality of life (32 or 66.7 per cent).

The UK had been chosen as the preferred destination for a number of reasons but the most significant were the quality of life, the desire to improve knowledge of English, and the prospect of higher earnings (all cited by 42 people or 87.5 per cent) and good job opportunities (cited by 40 people or 83.7 per cent).

In regard to reasons for moving to Lanarkshire, the three most significant factors in deciding to locate there were earnings and job opportunities, both cited by 35 people (72.7 per cent) and quality of life, cited by 34 (70.7 per cent). In expanding on their responses, several workers referred to the employment opportunities offered by firms in the area and, having obtained a job, many individuals decided to settle locally. The availability of accommodation was mentioned by a number of people.

Family reasons also helped to explain why some migrant workers had moved to Lanarkshire. The presence of friends and relatives was mentioned by 28 people and the good prospects for family life by 27. Thus:

I came to visit my sister. I got a job and stayed.

I have friends who live here.

Some had previous experience of the area and liked it:

I was working as an au pair at first and later I decided to stay here.

It is clear that most moves to Lanarkshire were job-related and that migrants had only limited knowledge of the area at first. The local authorities have begun to address this issue in a number of ways. First, they have established a website (<http://www.lanarkshire.com>), funded as part of the Lanarkshire Branding and Communication Project, aimed at promoting the region for investment purposes and as a place to live and work. The site has various links to businesses and employers, to the local authorities, and to local events and tourist attractions. Second, the local authorities have prepared a publication entitled *Living in Lanarkshire* which when launched, will provide further information in both English and Polish on services within the area. The publication will be downloadable from the [lanarkshire.com](http://www.lanarkshire.com) site.

In terms of arrival in Scotland, the respondents had arrived over a period from July 2004 to the present. Generally there had been a fairly steady stream of workers arriving over the period, although exactly half had arrived during the first nine months of 2006, suggesting that Scotland may be becoming a more popular destination.

Language skills

The learning of English was identified as an important reason for working in the UK and language skills were explored in the questionnaire survey. All but one of the 48 respondents were native Polish speakers, the exception being one respondent from Slovakia.

Table 4.1 below shows the level of English language skills of those responding to the survey.

As might perhaps be expected, migrant workers felt better able to understand spoken rather than written English, and were themselves generally better able to speak it than to write it. Nevertheless, with the exception of the ability to write English, over half of all respondents classified themselves as at least of average competence. As noted in Chapter Three, our experiences of the focus groups suggest that levels of competence in English were actually rather variable and some individuals may believe that their spoken English is better than it actually is. It may be that there are important distinctions to be made between speaking English at work and in everyday life. For example, in focus groups, individuals stated that limited competence in English was not necessarily a barrier at work but it could be in everyday life, where some migrant workers said that they struggled to understand certain Scottish accents.

	Excellent	Good	Average	'Not bad'	Poor	No response
Reading and understanding	1	9	14	11	10	3
Hearing and understanding	1	12	19	9	5	2
Writing English		10	8	13	15	2
Speaking English		9	17	13	7	2

In focus groups, workers stressed their keenness to learn English. They believed that this would allow them to progress in their work, as well as becoming more integrated with local communities. A small number of individuals had previously

owned businesses in Poland and were now interested in starting a business in the UK. Learning English was seen as essential, as English was the language of international business.

College courses in English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) are available at Coatbridge, Cumbernauld and Motherwell Colleges and are offered during the day, in the evening or on a flexible basis at different sites. Cumbernauld College hosted a Scottish - Polish evening in January 2007, aimed at making Polish people aware of the courses on offer. Initial courses are often uncertificated, progressing to SQA certificated courses. Migrant workers are able to take account of the Scottish Executive's Individual Learning Accounts scheme, whereby individuals can receive a grant towards learning new skills. If migrant workers earn less than £15,000 per annum, they could receive £200 towards learning a new skill, and this could include undertaking an English language course.

Colleges have been encouraged to co-operate in this area by Scottish Enterprise and they are increasingly working with local employers to offer English classes in the workplace either after work or towards the end of shifts. This is important because the shift patterns of some workers make it difficult for them to attend college classes. Indeed, some workers at focus groups were attracted by the idea of more intensive, semi-residential courses, as:

It would give us confidence, as once a week isn't enough and, when we are working, we are not getting the chance to speak English.

The Scottish Executive's Department of Enterprise Transport and Lifelong Learning has recently commissioned a research study to examine the impact on demand for ESOL provision since the A8 countries joined the EU. The study will explore the demand and waiting lists for ESOL in Scotland, analysed by level and mode of study, sector, and geographical area. The study is expected to be complete by June 2007.

The Sikorski Polish Club in Glasgow also offers English classes but these are perhaps not very convenient for individuals based in Lanarkshire and the club reported that attendance at the classes could be variable. Some local churches have also offered conversational English classes for Polish migrants.

As families have begun to arrive in Lanarkshire, there is an increasing number of children with limited knowledge of English in local schools. North Lanarkshire Council estimates there are around 80 Polish children attending schools within the council area. The largest concentrations are in Cumbernauld, Motherwell and Airdrie.

South Lanarkshire Council estimates there are around 36 (mostly Polish) children at the time of writing, mainly in schools in the Hamilton, Blantyre and Rutherglen

areas. Most of these children attend denominational schools, many of which have little previous experience of supporting bilingual pupils, so an important issue for the local authority is the improvement of language teaching support. In North Lanarkshire, the council provides support teachers for one-to-one lessons with migrant worker children and this seems to have resulted in children becoming relatively fluent in English fairly quickly.

Summary

In summary, most migrant workers were relatively young and almost half were single. Most were from Poland.

Individuals possessed a range of employment skills but most were not using these and instead were undertaking relatively unskilled work in order to earn enough money to allow them to send a proportion home to their families. The ability to access better paid employment was by far the most important reason for moving to the UK.

The quality of life in the UK was also important and viewed as significantly better than that in Eastern Europe. In addition, all stressed the value of learning English and this had been perhaps the deciding factor in determining the West European country to which migrant workers had gravitated. English was seen as the main international language and competence in English was seen as important, especially for those individuals who intended to start up businesses of their own. Where families had begun to arrive and settle in Lanarkshire, children were now learning English in schools.

CHAPTER FIVE

MIGRANT WORKERS IN LANARKSHIRE: EMPLOYMENT

Introduction

This chapter focuses on both the experiences of migrant workers themselves in relation to their employment, but also the experience of employers. The information is derived from both questionnaire surveys, from interviews with employers and focus groups with workers.

In relation to migrant workers, we have already referred in Chapter Two to previous research which has suggested that many workers are in low paid jobs and are employed below their skills levels. We explore these issues in this chapter, in relation to Lanarkshire.

In relation to employers' experiences, there has been a substantial report for the Home Office carried out by Dench *et al* (2006). They found that most migrants were employed on a permanent, full-time basis and that most were fairly young, in their twenties or thirties. Their pay and conditions were similar to those among existing employees in the organisation as a whole. Migrant workers were recruited primarily because of labour shortages in particular employment sectors and they were generally praised for their positive attitude, flexibility and work ethic. Poor English was the only significant disadvantage cited by employers although these were tackled in some cases by mixing migrant and local labour, so that migrants were forced to speak English and could gain fluency.

Interestingly, the report referred to anecdotal reports of migrant workers receiving low pay, experiencing long hours, poor conditions and few employee rights. But there was limited evidence of this and the vast majority of employers employed migrant workers on the same pay, terms and conditions as domestic workers in the same jobs.

Current jobs and employment contracts

As part of the current research, the survey of migrant workers explored various aspects of their employment, including the types of job currently occupied, the nature of their employment contracts, how they had been recruited and the training which they had received. The survey of employers similarly explored issues of recruitment but also the specific reasons why migrant workers had been employed instead of more local labour.

Most of the workers responding to the survey worked in towns in the North Lanarkshire Council area. The largest grouping was in Airdrie, where 18 people worked (37.5 per cent of the total), while other groupings were in Glasgow (7 people), Cambuslang (6), Bothwell and Bellshill (3 each) and Motherwell and

East Kilbride (2 each). Three people did not specify which part of Lanarkshire they worked in. The pattern may not necessarily reflect the overall distribution of migrant workers but may reflect the location of those employers who were most diligent at distributing the questionnaire and encouraging its completion.

Although the majority of individuals were living in Lanarkshire, relatively close to their place of work, in Cumbernauld (8 people), Motherwell (6 people), Newmains (5 people) and a range of other locations, a total of 21 workers (43.7 per cent) were actually living in Glasgow and commuting to Lanarkshire.

In terms of job type, the largest grouping of workers was employed in food packing and processing (17 people or 35.4 per cent). Others were employed in the manufacture of medical products, in building and construction, as warehouse operators, in hospitality, in social care or in engineering. A number (10 or 20.8 per cent) simply gave their job as 'general operative' or as 'production operative' but did not then specify the name of their employer, so it was not always clear what the precise nature of their job was.

Employers who responded were similarly involved in food processing, hospitality, and the manufacture of medical products, as well as in building and construction and office cleaning services. Food processing jobs were regarded as unskilled while workers employed as machine operatives or in construction were regarded by employers as skilled. The food processing jobs were partly seasonal, whereas the other jobs were seen by employers as permanent.

Most workers had been with their present employer for only a relatively short time at the time of the survey (late summer 2006), 29 of them (60.4 per cent) having commenced their present employment after 1 January 2006. Only one person had been with their current employer for over two years, suggesting either a high degree of job mobility or an increase in the numbers of migrant workers arriving in Lanarkshire for the first time, during 2006.

The vast majority of workers (39 or 81.2 per cent) had an employment contract. 25 people (52.1 per cent) stated that this was a permanent contract, while 4 (8.3 per cent) had a temporary contract. The remainder were unsure or unable to answer.

The recruitment process

Most people had been living in the UK at the point when they applied for their present job (30 people or 62.5 per cent). We believe from discussions during the research that a number of these were employed in England but have been unable to quantify this. A further 17 had been in their home country while one person was in another country when he applied. Employers stated that they were often contacted directly by email by prospective workers.

There was a fairly even split between those who had been recruited directly by their employer (21 or 43.7 per cent) and those who had been recruited by an employment agency who had then found a job for them (23 or 47.9 per cent). The remaining four people had been helped to find a job by family or friends. Slovaks who participated in a focus group stated that they had approached a recruitment agency who found them a job in Lanarkshire. Employers stated that they either recruited directly or used a mixture of direct and agency recruitment.

Only two employers advertised in the workers' home country and so it might have been expected that employment agencies would play a key role in matching workers in Eastern Europe to jobs in the UK. In fact there was no correlation between those who had been in their home country when seeking employment and those who found work through agencies. Most workers (40 or 83.3 per cent) stated that they did not need a work permit to be employed in the UK.

Six employers were able to provide detailed figures regarding the workers they had recruited within the previous twelve months. The proportion of new employees who were migrant workers ranged from 20.0 per cent to 67.3 per cent, the latter figure being a food processing company. In contrast, the figures for employees who had left their employment within the same period show a much smaller proportion of migrant workers (between 0 and 17.7 per cent). This suggests that migrant workers are beginning to settle and become a permanent part of the local workforce.

One employer stated that they had little difficulty recruiting but they had found that some of their best workers had moved on. They were now keen to recruit and retain more European workers who might stay with the company over a longer period of time. They were hoping particularly to recruit workers with families who would settle more permanently in the area.

All but one of the migrant workers who took part in the questionnaire survey were Polish and all but two in the focus groups. The other three were Slovakian. Employers indicated that they had recruited several people from Slovakia and Hungary, as well as from Gambia, India and Pakistan.

Employers were asked why they had recruited migrant workers. The reasons most commonly given were the inability to recruit locally, the better attendance, reliability and loyalty displayed by migrants, and their greater productivity. Comments included:

They are hard working. There is a lack of willing local workers.

We do not specifically recruit for migrant workers. However, more of those attend interview and subsequently are successful through our recruitment process.

At the interview stage, local people don't shine when in competition with migrant workers. Their applications are poorly prepared and more often than not, they fail to provide references. Migrant workers – although English is not their first language – make more of an effort, their CVs are better prepared and they know how to use a dictionary.

These findings accord with work carried out across the UK, such as Pemberton and Stevens's (2006) study of Merseyside, where employers and recruitment agencies suggested that they had difficulties filling jobs from within the existing indigenous working-age population. Some employers there stated that it was only the ability to recruit migrant workers which allowed them to continue in business. Pemberton and Stevens go on to suggest that the presence of migrant workers has in turn led to the creation of further jobs and an expansion of the local economy.

Indeed, the issue was raised by the Minister for Work and Pensions, John Hutton, in a speech on 18 December 2006 (<http://www.dwp.gov.uk/aboutus/2006/18-12-06.asp>). Citing the need for welfare reform, he pointed out the success which migrant workers had had in accessing employment within the UK, thereby proving that there was no shortage of employment opportunities. He argued that this highlighted the need to encourage indigenous workers to access such opportunities.

Some individuals whom we consulted suggested that local workers were reluctant to accept some jobs as they were seen as thankless and monotonous, often involving routine, 'assembly line' type work. This helps to explain why employers were forced to recruit elsewhere in Europe.

In terms of the skills which were required by Lanarkshire employers, only basic English was seen as essential by all employers, while some employers cited specialist skills or previous experience relating to their specific area of work. Other skills such as more advanced levels of English were seen as desirable but not essential.

Although the vast majority of migrant workers had employment at the time that they moved to Lanarkshire, some individuals, often young men, have moved to the area looking for work and therefore arrive without a job. Most had heard of Lanarkshire through word of mouth and were aware that there were a significant number of companies offering jobs to migrant workers in the area.

We sought to establish the extent of unemployment within the migrant worker population but this appears to be relatively low. The employment agency Routes to Work has 48 Polish workers registered with them at the time of writing, and the Full Employment Area Initiative Project in Craigneuk has 50. These figures should, however, be qualified as these individuals are unlikely to fit into the accepted definitions of unemployment as used in official statistics. Most workers

are likely to be between jobs for a short period, are seeking to change jobs, or are newly arrived and seeking work. While job hunting, individuals appear to be supported by friends, as they would not qualify for unemployment benefit.

Training

Workers were asked about the training which they had received since they commenced their employment. Employers had provided the following training (Table 5.1):

Type of training	Nos. of employers providing this	% of total
Health and safety	45	93.7
English language	1	2.1
Food hygiene	31	64.6
Job specific (this included packing, supervising, equipment handling, general induction etc)	37	77.1
Other (included first aid)	4	8.3

Unsurprisingly, most training focused on issues which were specifically related to the job being undertaken (including health and safety). Indeed, Lanarkshire employers appear to compare well with employers elsewhere; a study by McKay *et al* (2006) for the Health and Safety Executive states that two thirds of the migrant workers they interviewed had received no health and safety training at all. This does not appear to be the case in Lanarkshire.

Employers in our survey, however, appeared not to see it as necessarily their responsibility to offer training in English language skills, although a greater knowledge of English might have benefited the organisation and aided communication. That said, participants in one focus group stated that their employer had begun to offer English lessons in company time with a tutor coming in from outside. Another was planning to pilot an in-house English class where the company would offer an hour's paid work time in exchange for the workers contributing an hour of their own time. This proposal was being developed in conjunction with the local authority and local Further Education colleges. The links between colleges and employers was noted previously in Chapter Four.

Hours and earnings

Most of those responding worked quite long hours. The average number of hours worked in a week was 39.2 hours and almost half stated that they worked a '40-hour week'. Two people worked part-time, which lowered the average slightly, but, at the other end of the scale, two people worked 50 hours or more. In these instances, there was around 10 hours overtime included in the total. There

appeared to be a willingness to undertake overtime and it emerged at focus groups that some individuals had additional part-time jobs. The motivation was purely to earn more money, part of which could be sent home; there was no evidence that individuals were undertaking overtime unwillingly.

At the time that the survey was undertaken, the National Minimum Wage for workers aged 22 and over was £5.05 per hour. On 1 October 2006, it rose to £5.35.

Only two people were paid at the minimum level of £5.05 per hour. The average hourly rate of pay was £5.77 and indeed, 18 people (37.5 per cent) earned £6 per hour or more. There is no real evidence therefore from the survey that migrant workers were in exceptionally low paid jobs, as suggested by some of the previous research studies. Indeed, Pemberton and Stevens (2006) suggest that, on Merseyside, it is unusual for migrant workers to be paid more than the minimum wage. Our findings tend to be similar to those of Dench *et al* (2006) who found that most employers employed migrants on the same basis as domestic workers. Nevertheless, given that many workers were employed below their actual skills levels, they would probably be able to command significantly higher salaries if their jobs and skills were better matched.

A total of 19 people said that they sent money home to their families. 10 people sent home around 50 per cent of their pay; the average was 40 per cent.

Experiences of employment

As far as migrant workers were concerned, most experiences of employment appeared to be relatively positive. Having secured a job which allowed them to move to the UK, their priority in many cases was now to look for a better job with more pay. There was a belief that obtaining better employment depended on professional qualifications and so the more specialist and qualified workers were more likely to find employment. Although some previous research has suggested that migrant workers have ended up in the poorest jobs, this does not necessarily appear to be the case in Lanarkshire and it was reported at focus groups that finding employment in services or in cleaning, for example, was actually quite difficult because it was unskilled and therefore there was more competition.

As noted earlier, there is a widespread use of the internet to find employment. Recruitment agencies reported that they are becoming more aware of migrant workers using their services – particularly those who, having found an initial job within Lanarkshire, are now keen to move on to something better.

It was recognised by migrant workers themselves that learning English was crucial to securing improved employment and there appeared to be an enthusiasm to develop language skills. Many people in focus groups had signed

up to attend language classes at local colleges and others were interested in doing so, if working patterns permitted.

Although not an issue raised by migrant workers themselves, the local Citizens Advice Bureau stated that some migrant workers had sought their advice in relation to a number of employment matters. These included issues such as entitlement to leave or holidays, where employers had appeared confused as to whether migrant workers should be treated on the same basis as indigenous workers. The CAB believed that such mistakes were purely due to confusion over fast-changing employment legislation.

Employers were asked about their experiences of employing migrant workers and the impact on their business. All spoke positively about their experience, praising the commitment and work ethic of eastern Europeans.

Fantastic work ethic. Good attendance record.

It has given us additional and flexible labour.

Loyalty, improved attendance, improved performance. [They] want to learn and work.

Migrant workers themselves believed that they worked hard for their employers:

We live and work within the local community. We have respect from our employers because we work hard, are not lazy and turn up on time.

Employers praised the flexibility of migrant workers. One company had found it necessary to adjust shift patterns with all employees offered the opportunity to adjust and change shifts accordingly. Most of the migrant workers had accepted the change but the company had been disappointed that most local workers had opted instead to accept voluntary redundancy.

The main problem raised by employers was in relation to English language competency and this was particularly the case where written instructions or work manuals were concerned, as migrant workers were much less confident with written English, while often understanding spoken English. That said, not all employers required a high level of competence in English, particularly where the work was of a routine, 'production-line' nature.

One employer raised some concerns about the long-term aspirations of the migrant workforce and whether they would stay with the company. This presumably raises issues in regard to the amount of investment which firms make in training workers, especially if they only stay for a short period before moving back to their own country. Finally, one employer within the hospitality

industry had a concern that the use of migrant workers within the hotel was diluting 'the spirit of Scottish hospitality and warmth of welcome'.

Despite some disadvantages, employers remained convinced that the employment of migrant workers was helping companies to grow. If the supply of migrant workers was reduced, or ceased, this would have serious consequences:

We would struggle to recruit the numbers required and therefore would not be able to produce the required product targets. This would have a resulting impact on customers.

We would be unable to grow the business at the rate we want to.

It seems clear therefore that migrant workers in Lanarkshire have had a significant positive impact. In part, this is because they have been willing to fill vacancies which appear to have been viewed as unattractive by indigenous workers. But their contribution seems also to have helped businesses to grow and to expand the Lanarkshire economy; echoing the findings of other research undertaken across Scotland and the rest of the UK (for example, Pemberton and Stevens 2006). This suggests that local businesses could well struggle to be competitive if there were to be any future reduction in the numbers of migrant workers in the area.

Recognising skills

Although most employers praised migrant workers for their work ethic and their positive attitude to employment, it remains the case that many migrant workers are employed at a skills level below that for which they are qualified. We have already seen in Chapter Four, for example, that there were 11 individuals in our survey who were working in the building trades, although only four had a building qualification. Others were working in jobs for which formal qualifications were not deemed necessary. Despite not using their skills and qualifications to the full, many have chosen to work in unskilled areas because they are receiving salaries which are in excess of those which they would be likely to receive in their home country.

There is some evidence that some migrant workers have taken unskilled employment in order to enter the UK but are now beginning to seek employment at a level more appropriate to their qualifications. The catalyst for this process was thought by some interviewees to be the arrival of partners and other family in the UK and a related decision by some workers to settle in Scotland in the longer term. Additional family responsibilities had therefore prompted a reappraisal of employment situations. It is also the case that workers who have lived in the UK for a year or so now have improved language skills and this has enabled them to apply for a wider range of positions.

Employment agencies such as Job Centre Plus reported that they received few initial inquiries from migrant workers seeking employment in the UK but that they were aware of workers accessing their employment databases as part of searching for more appropriate jobs after they had arrived, a process referred to as 'upskilling'.

A related problem for many migrant workers is the difficulty which many UK employers have in accrediting Eastern European qualifications (McGuigan 2006). Information about such qualifications and any training undertaken by individuals may not be available in English, and some qualifications may not have a direct UK equivalent. This issue of accreditation was recognised by a number of employers and agencies.

Indeed, in the future, the issue of accrediting professional qualifications from Eastern Europe will become more pressing. The most recent labour market projections for the west of Scotland (SLIMS 2006) suggest that, while employment is forecast to grow to 2016, particularly in Glasgow and adjacent areas (including Lanarkshire), much of the growth will be in professional occupations. As a result, there will be an increasing demand for individuals with degree and other professional qualifications. If migrant workers are to take advantage of these opportunities, their qualifications will require recognition.

The recognition process will probably require action at government level and it is possible that bodies such as Scottish Enterprise could exert pressure for this to happen. The situation may also be resolved at EU level. The European Commission has now adopted a proposal on the establishment of a European Qualifications Framework for lifelong learning (EQF). The EQF should provide a common language to describe qualifications which will help member states, employers and individuals to compare qualifications across the EU's diverse education and training systems. This proposal has now been taken forward for approval by the European Parliament and the system as a whole is expected to come into effect by 2009.

Accessing benefits

Although we did not discuss social security and work-related benefits in any detail with migrant workers, the issue was raised in some of our consultations. Migrant workers may be eligible for a number of benefits in their first year of working in the UK, depending on their circumstances and the National Insurance contributions which they have paid. After working in the UK for more than 12 months, migrant workers are entitled to the same rights as UK citizens. This would include benefits such as Jobseekers Allowance, Income Support and Incapacity Benefit.

Citizens Advice Bureau staff reported that they were seeing an increase in the numbers of migrant workers consulting them for advice on benefits issues. This

increase may reflect the fact that many workers have now been in the UK for a year, are beginning to change employment and are checking on benefit entitlement. It also seems to reflect the situation of partners and families joining migrant workers with a view to settling in Lanarkshire and beginning to access child and maternity benefits. Uncertainties about the system and about eligibility were leading individuals to seek advice.

Helping workers into the community

Employers were asked about the extent to which they advised and assisted migrant workers in relation to local services and support. Six employers responded to these questions in detail and the results are shown in Table 5.2.

Area of support	No. of employers providing support (n=6)	Comments
Ensuring registration with GP	0	One employer looking to integrate these into induction programme. Another employer has helped when a situation has arisen.
Ensuring registration with dentist	0	
Provision of accommodation	1 (short-term only)	Some employers liaise with local rental agencies.
Assisting with accommodation	2 (short-term only)	
Provision of transport to/from work	2	
Assistance with English language skills	3	One firm provides some classes; another ensures work teams include at least one English speaker.
Assistance with education and childcare needs	0	
Help with opening bank accounts, financial matters	5	Provision of letters confirming employment; contact with 'migrant-friendly' banks
Provision of cultural / recreational facilities	0	
Provision of free translation services to employees where needed	1	One employer does this in relation to company signage and paperwork
Training in health and safety	6	
Training beyond statutory requirements	4	Job-related training, and participation in appraisal.

Perhaps inevitably, employers were most involved in providing support, training and advice in those areas which impinged most directly on the company, namely health and safety training, job-related training, and assistance with opening bank accounts, into which salaries could be paid.

Employers did, however, have views about other issues, although they did not always feel able to deal with these themselves. One of these is transport, an issue which was raised with us in individual interviews with companies and with employment agencies.

Lanarkshire has, at first sight, a reasonably extensive network of roads and public transport, including bus services and electrified local train services. Many of these, however, operate into and out of the larger settlements and particularly into and out of Glasgow. It is therefore possible to commute by train to Glasgow from most of Lanarkshire but not, for example, between East Kilbride and Hamilton, or between Motherwell and Airdrie. This affects all workers in Lanarkshire and not just migrant workers, but is seen by many employers as a constraint on employee recruitment. In addition, some firms are located in industrial estates or business parks which are not necessarily close to town centres and consequently distant from bus routes and train stations. Local authorities have been reluctant to subsidise the provision of bus services to workplaces, believing that this is the responsibility of employers and this has left a number of locations relatively poorly served. Some migrant workers stated that they had bought cars (often second-hand and often cheaply) specifically to enable them to get to work.

English classes were also identified as important by employers, although shift patterns were thought to have a possible impact on the ability of some workers to attend local college courses.

Finally, one employer believed that more needed to be done in terms of liaising with local service providers so that they could provide proper information to their workers during induction. The firm was involved in manufacturing medical supplies and required potential employees to undergo a medical examination; this was proving difficult where migrant workers were not yet registered with a local GP.

[We need] assistance with information on housing / dental / doctor / optometrist services, as we would like to offer information to employees from outside the area / country, but don't know where to start! [This] can also be a hindrance to our recruitment process, as all candidates need to attend a medical at the interview stage, which can require information / further investigation from a GP, dentist or optician.

The local authorities are currently producing a guide for new arrivals in the area, entitled *Living in Lanarkshire*, which contains information such as this. If the guide is made available to employers, this will allow them to make the necessary information available to newly arrived workers. This is covered in more detail in Chapter Seven.

Conclusions

In summary, the employment experiences of migrant workers within Lanarkshire have been rather mixed. On the whole, they appear to be employed on the same terms and conditions of other workers and all but two were being paid at a level higher than the National Minimum Wage. Employers have contributed to training (although mainly in job-related areas such as health and safety) and have often assisted employees to access services, and to set up bank accounts. There is clear evidence that migrant workers are appreciated by employers because of their work ethic, and they clearly make significant contributions to the local economy.

The biggest difficulty facing migrant workers appears to be recognition of their existing skills. Employers often have difficulty in recognising qualifications from Eastern European countries and, in any case, many migrant workers have chosen to undertake jobs below their skills levels in order to secure higher wages than they would have received in their home country.

The challenge will perhaps come as more migrant workers settle in Scotland permanently and seek jobs more in line with their skills and qualifications. As they move into other jobs, this may leave unfilled vacancies in areas such as food processing, where migrants currently work. We have already seen that indigenous workers are unenthusiastic about applying for such jobs, so unless there are further influxes of migrant workers on a longer term basis, then this could cause difficulties for local businesses; such businesses clearly need migrant workers in order to grow. This would in turn pose challenges for local school leavers and other young people who may continue to be unhappy at the types of opportunities available.

CHAPTER SIX

MIGRANT WORKERS IN LANARKSHIRE: HOUSING

Introduction

Previous research suggests that migrant workers in many parts of the UK are living primarily in the private rented sector, in relatively poor quality and overcrowded conditions (ODS Consulting 2006, Coote 2006). This may reflect the fact that many workers have chosen to work in the UK on a short-term basis and so are prepared to tolerate poor conditions for what is only a limited period. It is sometimes suggested that workers also accept overcrowded conditions as a means of living cheaply, thereby enabling them to send money home to their families. That said, however, recent work for the Scottish Executive (Pires and MacLeod 2006) which involved interviews with recent migrants to Scotland, highlights the surprise which some workers felt, when confronted with rented accommodation of a poor standard.

This chapter therefore explores the position within Lanarkshire, using information from both questionnaire survey and focus groups.

Where migrant workers live

It proved difficult to obtain detailed information on the location of migrant workers within Lanarkshire and they appeared to be living in a wide range of locations, often close to their place of work. Nevertheless, there did appear to be some clusters developing, often in areas where available supply exceeds demand and which have been the subject of regeneration initiatives. Such areas included, for example, the Forgewood, Craigneuk, Gowkthrapple and Airbles areas of Motherwell, parts of Wishaw and Newmains, and Petersburn in Airdrie. In these cases, some of the properties lived in are former council houses, now privately rented, and often in multi-storey blocks. Some are in the social rented sector, where the properties most readily available for letting to migrant workers have been in lower demand areas.

The majority of migrant workers who responded to the questionnaire survey (41 or 85.4 per cent) were living in flats. Only five people stated that they lived in a house; two people failed to respond. The properties were of varying size, with 15 people living in three bedroomed accommodation, 19 people had two bedrooms and 11 people had one bedroom.

Information from focus group participants suggests that migrant workers are frequently asked for high rents and large initial deposits, when renting in the private sector. In some cases, workers have been asked for deposits of £600 for the landlord and £200 for the agents with whom the tenancy agreement was negotiated. Workers believed this was too high.

It was thought that those who find themselves unable to pay this level of deposit, in addition to the monthly rent (usually payable in advance) end up sharing accommodation, thereby overcrowding the property, while some are now beginning to apply to the social rented sector for accommodation. There was a perception amongst migrant workers, however, that single workers would not necessarily be seen as a priority for housing by many providers and that they would have to compete with families in greater need.

It proved very difficult to obtain detailed information on rents paid by migrant workers but there seemed to be a growing belief that they were probably paying 'too much' rent and that a mortgage might represent better value for money. A number of individuals in focus groups spoke of trying to buy property in the future, particularly those who were intending to remain in the area in the longer term and whose families were planning to join them.

Overcrowding

It was also difficult to obtain precise figures for overcrowding but workers were asked about the numbers of bedrooms in their home and the numbers of individuals living there. The information is shown below, with an assumption that it is reasonable for two people to share a bedroom.

No. of bedrooms	Assumed maximum occupancy (persons)	No. of persons actually occupying					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
1	2		8	1*	1*	1*	
2	4		4	6	8		1*
3	6			5	2	8	

It appears from the table that there were only four cases of overcrowding (shown by the asterisks) from the 45 responses received. It may be that many of the migrant workers in Lanarkshire are living as families and there are fewer instances of single workers sharing accommodation. Certainly there is limited evidence of the levels of overcrowding highlighted in some previous research.

That said, some workers who participated in focus groups had had experience of living in overcrowded flats, but this situation had generally occurred immediately following their arrival in the UK. In some cases, individuals had lived with family or friends on a temporary basis until finding a property of their own and this had caused temporary overcrowding. Secondly, some workers had arrived in the larger cities such as Edinburgh and had endured overcrowding before moving to their current job in Lanarkshire. This would suggest that when migrant workers

arrive in the bigger cities, they are sometimes forced to live in unsatisfactory conditions. Once they have been able to secure employment elsewhere – and particularly when they have been joined by their families – they seek more appropriate family accommodation.

On occasions where overcrowding does occur, it would be important that action was taken by the local authority. While it may be the case that, in a few instances, migrant workers are accepting a degree of overcrowding in the knowledge that it is only temporary, such overcrowding would still be a breach of HMO regulations. It would therefore be appropriate for the local authority to investigate.

Housing tenure

As was anticipated, the majority of migrant workers responding to the questionnaire (31 or 61.6 per cent) were living in the private rented sector. A total of 26 people rented from landlords, three from an accommodation agency and two from friends or relatives. This proportion is high, given the relatively small size of the private rented sector within Lanarkshire; only around 3 per cent of the total housing stock is privately rented. It proved difficult to establish the extent to which migrant workers were living in furnished or unfurnished accommodation. Some agencies believed that, where properties were furnished, this was rather minimal. Where houses were unfurnished, both council workers and local voluntary organisations like the St. Vincent de Paul Society had often been able to direct migrant workers to furniture recycling projects where items could be obtained cheaply. As one individual stated:

We think about getting the flat first. We're not worried in the beginning about paint or carpets or how it looks.

In focus groups, workers stated that they had sought employment first, often staying with friends or family, before seeking housing of their own. They had then tended to gravitate towards the private rented sector as property was readily accessible.

In discussions with both employers and with workers, it emerged that a number of former council properties are now being let privately. Such properties appear to have been originally bought under the right-to-buy but have now been sold to private landlords, as a number were in low demand areas and had a low resale value. Many of these properties are now let to migrant workers. There are also examples of private landlords purchasing newly constructed properties in Lanarkshire on a buy-to-let basis, specifically for letting to migrant workers.

A number of larger employers are also letting properties to members of their workforce. While this could prove problematic if workers decided to change their employment, nevertheless it may represent a sensible option for migrants newly

arrived in Lanarkshire and with a limited knowledge of the local housing system. We were informed of large employers in both Airdrie and in Hamilton, where this was the case.

Social renting

In terms of the social rented sector, First Stop Shop Service Managers in North Lanarkshire report increasing numbers of migrant workers approaching offices with a view to placing themselves on council waiting lists. Workers themselves stated in focus groups that they had found First Stop Shops helpful and a number of information documents had been translated into Polish.

Where offers of housing have been made, these have tended to be in less popular areas of local authority stock, where vacancies exist. Examples include flats accommodation in Motherwell, Springhill in Shotts, and the Petersburn area of Airdrie. Although these may not be areas of choice, migrant workers reported at focus groups that the rents were still cheaper than many privately rented properties, so they were willing to take them. A number of individuals were aware that they could refuse housing offers if they were thought to be unsuitable, but many people tended to accept such properties because they provided a quick housing solution. It is also important to acknowledge that, although some of the local authority stock which is readily accessible to migrant workers is in low demand areas, it has been suggested to us that it may still be better than equivalent housing in Poland, and so migrant workers are willing to accept it.

The location of migrant workers in social housing may also reflect the areas in which they have previously lived or where they work. Managers suggest that Eastern European housing applicants are generally unfamiliar with the areas where they might live and so tend to apply to the areas they know. They sometimes have to be advised as to their choices, so their applications may stand a better chance of success, given that supply and demand varies across the local authorities.

A number of applicants have needed assistance with applications, because their knowledge of English is insufficient to allow them to complete official forms. In such cases, applicants have often received help from friends who have accompanied them to housing offices, or alternatively housing staff have made use of the Language Line service.

The results of the questionnaire survey indicated that 11 people rented from a housing association. Contact with local associations revealed that they were experiencing an increasing number of applications from migrant workers but, again, it proved impossible to obtain detailed information. An increase in housing association renting also emerged at focus groups.

Most people reported in the questionnaire survey that they had found accommodation relatively easily with only six people reporting any difficulty. The precise nature of these difficulties was not evident from the survey.

Homelessness

There is some anecdotal evidence that migrant workers have accessed the social rented sector as homeless, but it seems impossible to obtain detailed data as A8 applicants are not monitored separately, as part of local authority ethnic monitoring systems. The North Lanarkshire Council Homelessness Strategy, for example, notes that, for the year 2004 / 05, 1.05 per cent of homeless applicants were white and were not British or Irish. It was believed that this figure might include some A8 migrants, as increasing numbers were thought to be applying for housing, some through the homeless route, but it was impossible to disaggregate the data.

When the issue of homelessness was raised at focus groups, nobody had any knowledge of workers who had lost their job, been evicted or become homeless. There was also a strongly held view that migrant workers helped each other and anybody who became homeless would be assisted with an offer of accommodation from colleagues, friends or family and so would have no need to approach the Council. Previous research for the Scottish Council for Single Homeless (Coote 2006), however, does suggest that homelessness may be a problem affecting some migrant workers and so the position may require careful monitoring.

Experiences of homelessness may be associated with unemployment. Some of those who enter Lanarkshire without a job and subsequently look for work are reliant on friends for accommodation; occasionally if arrangements fall through, periods of homelessness may occur. There is also some evidence from police sources that individuals who lose their job, and subsequently their accommodation, have gravitated to central Glasgow where some have ended up sleeping rough. It has not been possible to quantify this.

Tenant involvement

There have been some concerted attempts to encourage the participation of the various minorities within Lanarkshire in tenants groups and to promote greater community involvement. In the past, this has met with limited success and work with local Tenants and Resident Groups carried out by TIS suggested that hardly any individuals from minority ethnic groups or migrant workers were members of such groups. This is an issue which is expected to be addressed in the future.

More recently, community regeneration projects have sought to engage with migrant workers and in Gowkthrapple, where there are now a number of Polish families living, the local authority has launched a new support service. The aim is

to welcome workers from abroad and help them settle into the community and includes translation and interpreting, and advice services. A number of other agencies such as the Citizens Advice Bureau and Job Centre are contributing.

There are various advantages in such developments in that migrants are encouraged to settle locally, and by so doing, they help to provide community stability and assist in the regeneration of the area. An example of this is in relation to local primary schools which have falling rolls; an influx of migrant worker families with children would help sustain school provision in some areas.

Another important development relates to North Lanarkshire Council's Community Engagement Strategy which aims to engage with local people who use services by involving them in the development of service provision and asking them to comment on and suggest future service improvements. There is an intention to set up a Citizens' Panel which would be used for a series of consultations aimed at informing service improvement plans and augmenting the harder statistical indicators generally used in the monitoring and evaluation of plans and strategies. It would be useful for the membership of the panel to be as widely drawn as possible, including migrant worker representation.

Housing Benefit

As noted earlier, migrant workers have limited entitlement to benefits during their first year of employment in the UK. A8 workers who are registered under the Home Office Worker Registration Scheme have a right to reside and are entitled to Child Benefit and in-work benefits such as Housing Benefit and Council Tax Benefit. If they are in part-time work, working 15 hours or less a week, they can also qualify for income-based jobseeker's allowance. If they lose their job they lose their worker status, but will be able to remain in the UK to look for work. However, they will not have access to the benefit system.

After 12 months of uninterrupted registered work they can have access to the full range of benefits

Although migrant workers therefore have entitlement to Housing Benefit, there appear to be no recorded instances of A8 migrant workers claiming it. This may be a result of a lack of detailed monitoring by councils but it is more likely to reflect the fact that migrant workers are generally all employed full-time and would not be eligible on the grounds of their income.

Conclusions

In summary, it is clear that, as anticipated, most migrant workers were living in the private rented sector. Rents appeared to be quite high and some properties may be relatively poorly furnished.

We did not find evidence of overcrowding although some workers have experienced this on a temporary basis, when they first arrived in the UK. Workers have tended to find employment first and housing later, so many have been forced into unsatisfactory conditions for a short period on arrival.

Increasingly, migrant workers are now turning to the social rented sector for accommodation and there is a growing awareness of how to apply for housing. Generally speaking, the housing which has been offered and accepted has been in low demand areas of social housing, but migrant workers appear willing to take on tenancies in such areas. Partly this may be because they believe it will be for a finite period, after which they are planning to return to their home country. Partly it may be that such areas in Scotland are nevertheless relatively desirable, in comparison with some social rented housing in Eastern Europe.

Local community regeneration projects which are engaging with migrant workers in their area, such as in Gowkthrapple, are useful and could be replicated elsewhere. They could be targeted at a range of communities, including not merely migrant workers but also black and minority ethnic groups and refugees.

In the longer term, those workers who remain in Scotland on a permanent basis may seek to purchase property but this is not yet happening.

CHAPTER SEVEN

MIGRANT WORKERS IN LANARKSHIRE: EXPERIENCES IN THE COMMUNITY

Introduction

We have already begun to refer to the experiences of migrant workers within the local community and reported on the assistance which some workers have received from their employers in accessing GPs and in establishing bank accounts. We have also seen that employers in particular had certain concerns for their staff in terms of where they were living, transport to work and so on.

This chapter explores the various local services (other than housing) to assess the experiences of migrant workers. We also explore the extent to which workers and their families are beginning to feel 'settled' in Lanarkshire.

Transport

Migrant workers used a variety of forms of transport to get to work and to socialise. Of the 48 people responding to the questionnaire, 16 used a car (33.3 per cent), 12 used a bus, six people walked, one used the train, and others used a combination of these.

Transport was mentioned by both employers and in focus groups as being somewhat problematic, particularly for shift workers. We have referred in Chapter Five to the position where many of the transport links within Lanarkshire are orientated towards Glasgow whereas transport between the Lanarkshire towns is often difficult. One employer had initially provided transport for workers starting and finishing particular shifts, given the lack of public transport at certain times. In the end, they had adjusted the timing of shifts to suit workers better.

A number of migrant workers had acquired cars for getting to work and local authority community safety officers expressed concern at an increasing number of road traffic offences involving migrants. These included lack of legal documentation and the overloading of vehicles; such offences may be the result of a lack of awareness of UK driving regulations.

Shopping and socialising

Although the majority of migrant workers who attended the focus groups spoke positively about living in Lanarkshire, not least because it was seen as quieter and perhaps less threatening than Glasgow, nevertheless Glasgow was the place where the largest number of people shopped and socialised. The only other shopping destinations mentioned by more than one person were

Cumbernauld, Motherwell and Wishaw. In terms of socialising, Newmains and Hamilton were also mentioned.

In focus groups, individuals spoke of the way in which they were developing friendships with Scottish people and this was helping them to socialise – as well as developing their English skills. Migrant workers stated that they met local people in the post office, in banks and in libraries, and the church was mentioned as a particularly important place where social activities could take place.

Some migrant workers were conscious of cultural differences between themselves and Scottish people and felt that, in some cases, they had little in common with colleagues from the local area who wished to talk about football and going out drinking. This limited the possibilities for ‘after-work’ socialising.

Use of services

The survey asked migrant workers about how they accessed the range of services available. Individuals were asked if they had received assistance and who had provided this (Table 7.1).

Service	Received help	No help needed	Unaware help available	No response	Provider of help
Housing / accommodation	12	25	4	7	Friends (5); council staff (3)
Medical / health services	14	25	5	4	Health centre, GP, hospital, all mentioned
Dental services	6	27	8	7	
Transport	5	33	2	8	Friends
Finance (e.g. bank account)	30	10	3	5	Friends, banks
Childcare	1	37	3	7	
English language support	7	20	12	9	Friends, local authority
Job Centre	17	21	5	5	
Tax Office	11	25	4	8	
Leisure services	8	25	4	11	
Community activities	6	28	4	10	

The area where help had been most important related to finance and many migrants had experienced difficulty in setting up a bank account. One employer had been clear when first recruiting migrant workers that they would only pay wages into the employee's bank account and would not deal with third persons. They had worked with a local branch of the Bank of Scotland to facilitate the opening of accounts, with the employer providing letters of confirmation of employment status to the bank. In focus groups, the Clydesdale Bank was also mentioned as being helpful and having translated material available. There was a view that the position regarding bank accounts had become easier over the last two years.

Indeed, several individuals within the focus groups spoke of difficulties in opening bank accounts and acknowledged employer help either in writing letters to local banks confirming employment details, or of contacting banks directly on behalf of workers. These difficulties are echoed in Pires and MacLeod (2006) where migrants to Scotland from both Europe and overseas – some with considerable financial resources – spoke of their frustrations with Scottish banking practices. It was suggested that these needed to become more flexible as more migrants entered Scotland. Employers who participated in Dench *et al's* (2006) study also highlighted the banking difficulties experienced by workers.

Other areas where support had been obtained – often from friends – related to housing, to health services, and to jobs themselves. Friends emerged as the key source of help and there appears to have developed a wide informal network of migrant workers within the area, helping and supporting each other. Thus:

I go to a friend who speaks English.

Everyone knows someone who is a good translator.

That said, an increasing number of workers are making use of services provided by Citizens Advice Bureaux and the Motherwell CAB has recently been successful in obtaining Lottery funding to employ someone for 16 hours per week for eight months, to work with all the minority and migrant communities in the area. Local authority staff in areas where migrant workers were living also reported significant numbers of people coming to them for advice, often simply seeking contact details for other organisations.

Migrant workers were asked how they rated the services which they received and the results are shown in Table 7.2.

Service	Excellent	Good	Average	'Not bad'	Poor	Non-response
Housing / accommodation	1	31	14	1		1
Medical / health services	4	27	7	2		8
Dental services	1	22	8	4	1	12
Transport	1	7	2			38
Finance (e.g. bank account)	5	27	10	1	1	4
Childcare		5	2		1	40
English language support	1	15	10	7	3	12
Leisure services	4	21	7	3	2	11
Community activities	4	15	8	7	1	13

Non-response presumably reflected a lack of use of services in some cases, such as childcare or transport. Where services were used, there appeared to be general overall satisfaction, with services rated as 'good' in most cases. The greatest levels of dissatisfaction appeared to be in terms of English language support and in community activities and the two issues may well be inter-related. Migrant workers may feel unable to participate within their local community without adequate knowledge of English but some people feel that there are not enough language classes available.

Respondents were asked if their experiences of using the services was more or less as expected but most people felt unsure about answering this question, perhaps because of incomplete knowledge of services before they moved to the UK.

One issue which was raised in focus groups was the payment of Council Tax which was thought to be high, particularly as migrant workers believed that they used relatively few local authority services. A number suggested that the provision of translated documents would be a good use of 'their' Council Tax money.

Health services

One particularly important service for migrant workers is health. It is generally accepted that migrant workers may have unmet health needs. These include poor access to services generally, due to communication difficulties; potential mental health problems due to the circumstances of migrant labour, hard

physical work and possible exposure to hostility (cf. Ferguson and Barclay 2002); and specifically lack of access to dental and optician services.

A number of issues were raised in the course of our consultations. It is certainly the case that GPs are conscious of increases in the numbers of migrant workers registered with their practices and there are small clusters evident across Lanarkshire. One practice in Newmains, however, reported that 36 Eastern European patients had registered with the practice in the last eighteen months. GPs report that there have often been significant delays in migrant workers registering with them. Partly, this may reflect an uncertainty as to how to go about doing this, but it also appears that some migrant workers do not register until they actually become ill. Some GP practices report that groups of migrant workers have arrived at surgeries to register together – not least to support and translate for each other – but this has caused administrative problems for the surgeries concerned.

It appears that some workers have only registered with a GP at the point where their families arrive in Scotland. Many women, who may not be working, may have poor English and this hinders communication with GPs. This is seen as particularly problematic if women require specific services such as cervical or breast screening, or are pregnant. In the case of children, it is not always clear if they have received appropriate numbers of vaccinations and medical histories are sometimes confused. Some practices stated that they ask new patients to bring all their documentation with them but this may still be incomplete.

There also appears to be a degree of confusion on the part of GPs. It was reported to us that, in some parts of Scotland, GPs are unsure as to the rights of migrant workers to receive NHS treatment; as a result, some have been reluctant to take on migrant workers as patients. This does not seem to have occurred in Lanarkshire.

In some cases, there is also a lack of clarity on the part of migrant workers as to how NHS services are delivered. There have been instances of migrant workers reporting to the Accident and Emergency Department of their local hospital when it would have been more appropriate to use their GP or NHS 24.

NHS Lanarkshire are seeking to address many of these issues and believe that the local Community Health Partnerships involving the NHS and local authorities have led to strong working relationships in service delivery. The NHS also promote a project called SALUS, which provides services to the NHS and industry, specifically occupational health and safety services in the workplace. These services are provided by a team including Occupational Health Physicians and Nursing Advisers, Health and Safety Advisers, Occupational Hygienists, Fire Safety Advisers and Manual Handling Co-ordinators. The project is specifically trying to pinpoint migrant workers who are believed to have particular health needs.

Some migrant workers are also beginning to obtain employment within the health services. We have noted earlier that some migrant workers are currently employed in residential care homes. We are aware of three others who have applied for and, in one case, obtained employment within NHS Lanarkshire.

Finally, it was suggested to us that there may be health issues involved in relation to Eastern European women involved in the sex industry, but we have been unable to obtain any information on this.

Living and working in Lanarkshire

Some of our consultees expressed a feeling that there had been an emphasis on economic aspects of migration and less on the possibly more important social issues such as housing, health and local services. These are the key issues which will determine if migrant workers begin to make a home in the area and formed a key part of the research.

Migrant workers were asked what they believed to be the best things about living and / or working in Lanarkshire and they could choose as many aspects of their life as they liked. 41 people felt that their job was one of the best things as far as they were concerned (85.4 per cent), followed by money and housing (both mentioned by 31 people or 64.6 per cent), and other people (26 or 54.2 per cent). Some respondents suggested that they liked where they lived because it was quieter and closer to their employment, and this was reflected in the focus groups. Although some focus group participants had experience of living in the larger cities of Glasgow or Edinburgh and many used Glasgow for shopping, there was a strong sense that the Lanarkshire towns were quieter, possibly less overwhelming and hence more comfortable places to settle. Focus group participants generally spoke very positively about living in the area, they felt that accommodation was cheaper than in Glasgow and that Lanarkshire was 'greener', with good access to the countryside.

As the research was taking place, the local authorities were in the process of developing a publication for new residents to the area, entitled *Living in Lanarkshire*. All participants in focus groups believed that such a publication would be of value to them and wished for it to be available in a range of languages. A number of other Scottish local authorities have either published such guides or made material available on their web sites, in a range of languages, including Polish.

Experiences with both fellow co-workers and with local people were generally regarded as 'very good' or 'good'. 34 people believed this to be the case for their co-workers (70.8 per cent) with 31 (64.6 per cent) believing it in relation to local people. Only one person felt that relations with local people were poor.

Workers were asked about their sense of community with others and the results are shown in Table 7.3.

	Yes	No	No response
With fellow migrant workers	28	18	2
With local co-workers	33	13	2
With others in local community	25	22	1

The results show that, while a majority in each case feels some sense of community, there is a sizeable proportion of migrant workers who do not feel that way. Part of the problem again appears to stem from poor language skills and a difficulty in conversing and relating to others and there appeared to be a belief that more language classes could and should be made available.

I am discriminated at work. There are a lot of Polish people here in Scotland. There is no help from the local authority with translating and documents provided by the Council. Language communication is the biggest problem. Bilingual forms and documents are required.

But other people believed that having translated material available would discourage them from making the effort to learn conversational English and to mix more with local people:

Learning English is important and we don't want to create a little Poland in Scotland. If we have everything in Polish, then we become lazy.

We do need help, but not everything done for us.

One individual believed that socialising with other Polish people was sufficient and he had no need to engage with the wider community:

I don't need to live so close with others. I've got my friends and colleagues and that's enough for me.

But many people attending the focus groups had begun to make friends with local Scottish people, particularly those workers who had been in Scotland the longest and those with families where children were mixing at school.

The focus groups explored issues of integration and whether individuals had experienced any local hostility. There were references to the behaviour of teenagers, causing trouble, making a noise and, occasionally, burning cars. But it was recognised that these were general examples of anti-social behaviour which affected all residents and were not specifically directed at migrant workers. One incident was reported to us of a migrant worker being assaulted but it appeared that he had been viewed with hostility as an 'outsider' to the area and the assault

had not been because of his migrant worker status. We were also informed of a Polish worker being stabbed in Motherwell but this appears to have been an incident internal to the Polish community and did not involve any local people.

That said, there was a belief on the part of some people, that migrant workers were perceived as taking local people's jobs. One recruitment agency stated in interview:

The numbers of European workers coming to Scotland will continue to increase. Once their English improves, social integration will be quicker. There may be some backlash from the local community, particularly from youths and other young people who perceive them as 'taking our jobs'. We heard of one woman who was made redundant stating that she was chosen for redundancy as 'I didn't speak Polish'.

Some individuals at focus groups stated that they had heard suggestions that they were taking jobs from local people and felt upset by this as they believed they were applying for jobs which were openly advertised and available to local applicants alike, and were competing for them fairly. They were also aware that, in some cases, they had been employed for relatively unskilled jobs precisely because such jobs were unattractive to local people:

It is easier and better to work in the factories as Scottish people don't want these jobs and so there is no competition.

Certainly, there do not appear to be any significant racist incidents affecting migrant workers and no such incidents recorded by local authority officials. The Scottish-Polish Cultural Association is quoted as believing that discrimination against Polish workers is virtually unknown (*Sunday Herald*, 26 November 2006: 15). In that sense, the experience of migrant workers has been significantly different from black minorities, whose presence is often more visible. It was suggested to us, however, that migrant workers might become subject to sectarian abuse. Most migrants are Roman Catholic and there have been sectarian incidents in Lanarkshire in the past. We were unable to uncover any instances of this, however.

We did establish that some migrant workers held some suspicions of the police force and there appeared to be a reluctance to report incidents to them or to approach them for advice or assistance. This was mentioned at several focus groups and confirmed in our consultation with the Community Safety Manager and some voluntary organisations. These suspicions appear to stem from the rather negative view held of the police in migrants' own home countries and do not reflect in any way on police within Strathclyde.

The Polish and other communities

As noted earlier, the Polish community is long established in Scotland, mostly dating from the Second World War. Within the west of Scotland, the Sikorski Polish Club in Glasgow, established in 1954, has long provided a social focus for the community and there is also a Polish ex-servicemen's club in the city. Polish mass is celebrated regularly at St Simon's Church in Partick.

The Sikorski Club was an important source of information and support in relation to the initial influx of migrants from Poland, following accession to the EU. As well as providing translation and interpreting services, it was able to advise on employment and access to services. The club also owns two flats above the main premises, containing eight rooms between them; these were able to be used by new arrivals with no previously arranged accommodation.

More recently, use of the club has tended to tail off. In part, this reflects the fact that, with an increasing number of Poles in Scotland, there are many more individuals to whom new arrivals can turn for advice and support. There is a Polish website (www.szkocja.net), which appears to be well used, and a related website (www.szkocja.eu), which is run by the Scottish Executive for Polish migrant workers. There is also a website specifically for Polish people in Glasgow (www.glasgow24.pl). A Polish newspaper has been established and some Polish businesses, including a delicatessen ('Polish Taste') in Partick.

The Sikorski Club is itself now reviewing the role it can play in relation to the newer, younger, Polish community. It runs a mother and toddler group and language classes, and its extensive website contains a number of employment advertisements in both English and Polish. Its location in Glasgow, however, means that it is probably not able to serve a wider west of Scotland Polish community and there is no equivalent organisation in Lanarkshire. Motherwell Cathedral provides a religious focus with a regular Polish mass, led by a Polish priest, although hall and meeting facilities at the Cathedral appear to be oversubscribed and there have not always been opportunities for Polish families to meet after mass.

In our focus group discussions, it certainly appeared that use of the Sikorski Club by Poles in Lanarkshire was almost non-existent. Not everyone knew about it and those who did felt that its location in Glasgow was inconvenient and also that it perhaps catered for an older generation of Poles, who had settled in Glasgow a generation or so earlier. Indeed, it has been suggested that the Polish language has changed and evolved so extensively in the years since the Second World War, that many of the newer migrants find difficulty in understanding the older generation who speak a version of the language now not heard in Poland itself (*Herald* 15 January 2007). Besides, many of our focus group participants stressed that it was more important to them to make friends with Scottish people, rather than to associate only with fellow Poles.

There is, as noted earlier, a Lithuanian Club in Lanarkshire, based in Bellshill. The Lithuanian community is very long established over several generations, and there are now virtually no members who are Lithuanian-born. There appear to be hardly any migrant workers from Lithuania locating in Lanarkshire so the club has not attracted any 'new blood'. Nevertheless, the club still has an important social function, offers classes in Lithuanian and arranges for the holding of a regular Lithuanian mass.

Within Lanarkshire, there also exists the Lanarkshire Ethnic Minority Action Group (LEMAG), established in 2004. The aim of the group is to promote and support local statutory and voluntary agencies and communities to work in partnership on the area's race and equality agenda. So far, its work has been focused primarily on the longer-established black minority ethnic groups in the area, although some of the issues faced by these groups will also be relevant to migrant workers.

Aspirations

Although we were not able to quantify the numbers wishing to stay in the UK and, more specifically, in Lanarkshire, it became clear at focus groups that the majority of migrant workers participating in the research intended settling here. There was a widely held view that the UK was a good country to live in, that salaries were higher than in Eastern European countries and employment opportunities were greater. Those workers who had brought families to Scotland and secured family accommodation clearly saw themselves as staying for at least several years.

Indeed, the key to settling in the area seemed to be the presence of families. A number of those attending our focus groups had families in Lanarkshire and sometimes couples attended focus groups together, perhaps accompanied by children. In a small number of cases, individuals had brought parents or other family members to Scotland, so two or three generations of some families were now living locally.

Although many migrant workers were still working in factories, there was an increasing motivation to seek better employment, more suited to their skills, and in some cases, a desire to be self-employed. Some individuals had had their own businesses in Poland and intended to set up businesses in Scotland. The key to this was learning English, as the language of international business, and so the provision and take-up of English language classes is extremely important.

Increasingly individuals seem to be feeling more settled in Scotland. A number of people at focus groups stated that, having decided to stay in Scotland on a longer term basis, they had now turned their attention to finding out more about

the country. A few had travelled beyond Lanarkshire and Greater Glasgow, and Edinburgh, Loch Lomond and St. Andrews were all mentioned as destinations.

Conclusions

In summary, migrant workers generally liked living in Lanarkshire, which they felt was safer, quieter and less overwhelming than large cities like Glasgow – although many travelled to Glasgow for shopping and some socialising.

Increasingly, individuals were beginning to feel more settled in the area and had begun to make friends with local people, particularly as their competence in conversational English improved. Indeed, many people felt that it was more important to mix with local people than with the older Polish community in Glasgow, which was in any case seen as being of a different generation.

Very few people had experienced hostility or racism. Some were aware of accusations that they had somehow 'taken' local people's jobs. But they were also aware that many of the jobs which they performed were not popular with local people and so they did not take such accusations particularly seriously.

As individuals were beginning to settle, their use of services was increasing. Early difficulties in accessing banking facilities, healthcare and local authority services were being overcome and there was an increasing use of such services.

In the longer term, it was often the arrival of families which had prompted an increase in the use of services such as healthcare and this was also an indication that the aspirations of such families were changing from an intention to return to Eastern Europe to an intention to stay and settle in Scotland.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

This chapter summarises the findings of the research and leads to recommendations which are contained in Chapter Nine.

Characteristics of migrant workers

In line with much previous research, most of the migrant workers in Lanarkshire appear to be relatively young (between 16 and 34). Almost half are single and, even those who are married, tend not to have families with them in Scotland. There are increasing numbers of families arriving in Scotland, however, and an increasing number of migrant worker families are choosing to stay.

Most of the workers who participated in the research were Polish; a small number were Slovakian. There are migrant workers from other countries in the area but we were unable to make contact with them.

Individuals had decided to move to the UK for a range of reasons including the quality of life, the higher levels of pay compared to Eastern Europe and a desire to learn English, which was seen as the most important international language, particularly for those who intended to set up their own business. This position is unlikely to change and this suggests that the UK will continue to be an attractive destination for Eastern European workers. The Home Secretary has not, however, granted the same freedom of access to work in the UK to citizens of Romania and Bulgaria, which joined the EU in January 2007. It seems unlikely that there will be changes to rights of access from existing A8 countries.

Lanarkshire itself is seen as an attractive place to settle. It has a wide range of employment opportunities in various industrial sectors. It is also seen as a relatively quiet and safe place to live, in contrast to cities such as Glasgow, which were seen as rather overwhelming for migrants. The *Living in Lanarkshire* publication which is being prepared by the local authorities will be valuable in encouraging migrant workers to come to the area and, importantly, stay.

There is a strong desire to learn English and the provision of language classes by further education colleges, either on their own or in conjunction with employers, is important. Local authorities themselves are supporting the teaching of English in schools and through community learning services. Levels of competence in English are quite variable at present and many migrants clearly need help and support in accessing information. Many are able to make use of friends and colleagues but translated material may be appropriate in some circumstances. Having said that, the strong desire by migrant workers to learn

English suggests that language classes would be more important than translated material in the longer term.

Employment issues

For some time, population projections for Scotland have suggested that the population is beginning to decline. Most recent projections, based on 2004 data, however, suggest that decline is not now expected until the 2020s and this change is in part due to larger numbers of people migrating to Scotland (<http://www.gro-scotland.gov.uk/statistics/library/popproj/04population-projections/index.html>). Migrant workers entering Scotland from Eastern Europe are part of this influx and are having an important impact not merely in postponing population decline but in contributing to the Scottish economy.

It is estimated by Scottish Enterprise that, as a result of their favourable age profile, flexibility in the labour market and higher rates of productivity, migrants are net contributors to the economy. At a UK level, migrants contributed 0.9 per cent to GDP in 2004 / 2005 and it may be assumed that there is a similarly positive contribution at a Scottish level. Partly, the magnitude of this contribution relates to the fact that migrant workers contribute more economically than they consume in services, although this may change over time as individuals and their families settle in Scotland on a more permanent basis.

Migrant workers in Lanarkshire were generally praised by employers for their work ethic and productivity and it is clear that they have helped businesses to grow. Although they tend to be located in particular parts of the local economy, often in relatively unskilled jobs, they are earning money in excess of what could be earned in their home country. Although some previous research has highlighted migrant workers enduring poor working conditions for low rates of pay, we found no evidence of exploitation by employers and almost all migrant workers were receiving a salary greater than the National Minimum Wage. Many employers had helped migrant workers with training, with opening bank accounts and with accessing certain services, such as registration with a GP.

Migrant workers are, however, generally employed below the levels of their skills and qualifications and it is likely that those workers who choose to settle here may start to seek out employment opportunities more appropriate to their skills. Recognition of Eastern European qualifications is expected to become easier, helped by changes in EU policy, and so in future, there will be a better matching of migrant workers and appropriate employment.

The Futureskills Scotland (2006) report on the Scottish labour market suggests that future employment growth will continue to be strongest in jobs requiring higher levels of skills and qualifications. Thus there will be growth in managerial and professional occupations. There are implications for migrant workers in that it

will become increasingly important for them to have qualifications recognised; it is clear that in many cases, they have the skills to undertake these jobs.

The report suggests that the labour market works less well for forms at the lower end of the occupational scale, although the position is undoubtedly helped by the influx of migrant workers. If such workers settle in Scotland permanently and move upwards in the labour market, this could pose problems for many firms, as local school leavers and indigenous workers have already made it clear that they are unenthusiastic about applying for less skilled jobs which may be viewed as unrewarding. There is an impression that local workers are, in some ways, being left behind in the labour market.

Housing issues

Migrant workers have arrived in Lanarkshire with only limited knowledge of the local housing system. Most have found accommodation in the private rented sector, sometimes through agencies, often with assistance from friends and other migrant workers. Some have been provided with accommodation by their employer.

Some previous research has suggested that many migrant workers are living in overcrowded, poor quality housing but we found little evidence that this was the case in Lanarkshire. Some workers had, however, had such experiences in the larger cities (such as Edinburgh). The main issue for workers seemed to be the high cost of renting privately and the need to find initial deposits for properties. Some properties are not in particularly high demand areas and have been furnished in a rather haphazard way.

As migrant workers are beginning to settle in the area permanently and to be joined by families, many are seeking other tenures. Although owner-occupation may be the most desirable tenure in the longer term, few people had the resources to take on a mortgage at this stage. Families were therefore looking to the social rented sector for accommodation and there is evidence that increasing numbers of migrant workers are applying to the waiting lists of the local authorities and housing associations. Detailed statistics are, however, extremely difficult to obtain as monitoring of applications from Eastern European workers is not yet undertaken.

Those migrant workers who have succeeded in obtaining social rented housing have tended to be housed in low demand areas, as these are where vacancies exist. In the main, migrant worker applicants seeking quick housing solutions are unlikely to be able to or want to wait on council or housing association waiting lists for more desirable properties, which are in any case in very short supply. Some may have accessed housing through the homeless route but again, detailed statistics are unavailable.

As more migrant workers choose to settle in Lanarkshire and apply to the social rented sector, this is likely to place considerable pressure on waiting lists. Unlike the situation regarding asylum seekers in Glasgow or the Congolese refugees in North Lanarkshire, local authorities have had no ability to plan ahead for such a potentially significant increase in applicants.

The willingness of migrant workers to accept housing in low demand areas – at least in the short term – will, however, be helpful to the housing authorities in reducing void rates and stabilising communities.

Suggestions have been made that the preparation of translated material would be helpful for Eastern European households. While this may be useful in the short term, the clear desire of migrant workers to learn English suggests that such material would not be necessary in the longer term.

Community issues

Migrant workers spoke positively about Lanarkshire. They generally liked living there because they felt it was safer, quieter and less overwhelming than large cities like Glasgow or Edinburgh. Many of them nevertheless still travelled to Glasgow for shopping trips.

There was a strong sense – particularly in the focus groups – that many individuals were beginning to feel relatively settled in the area and had begun to make friends with local people. As their competence in conversational English improved and as more partners and children arrived, this was increasingly the case. Many people felt that it was more important to mix with local people than with the older Polish community in Glasgow, which was in any case seen as being of a different generation and too far away.

We explored in some detail in the focus groups any experiences of hostility or racism but these were very few. Some individuals were aware of accusations that they had somehow ‘taken’ local people’s jobs. But they were also aware that many of the jobs which they performed were unskilled or semi-skilled and so not popular with local people. As a result, they did not take such accusations particularly seriously.

As individuals and their families were increasingly settling in Lanarkshire, their use of services was increasing. Early difficulties in accessing banking facilities, healthcare and local authority services were being overcome and there was an increasing use of such services. There appeared, however, to be some confusion on the part of some service providers as to the entitlements to services of A8 migrants and this is an area where better guidance needs perhaps to be made available.

Long term aspirations

It became clear during the research that a large number of migrant workers intend settling here. There was a widely held view that the UK was a good country to live in, that salaries were higher than in Eastern European countries and employment opportunities were greater.

As a demonstration of this, many workers had now brought their families to the UK and it was often the arrival of families which had prompted an increase in the use of services (such as healthcare). This was also an indication that the aspirations of such families were changing from an intention to return to Eastern Europe to an intention to stay and settle in Scotland.

Although many migrant workers were still working in factories, there was an increasing motivation to seek better employment, more suited to their skills, and in some cases, a desire to be self-employed. Acquisition of good language skills was seen as essential for this.

Increasingly therefore, individuals seemed to be more settled in Scotland and had now turned their attention to finding out more about the country.

Future impact on services

As migrant workers settle into Lanarkshire on a more permanent basis, they will undoubtedly make much more extensive use of local services. The most universally used service is likely to be health and we have already noted the increasing numbers of A8 migrant workers registering with GPs.

The housing service will be increasingly affected as migrant workers apply in greater numbers for social housing; this process is likely to increase as families arrive from Eastern Europe. There is also likely to be an increased use of information and advice services (including benefit advice) and once migrants become eligible for benefits, there may be an increased use of the Housing Benefit system. We would not anticipate much use of community care services, however, as most migrant worker families are relatively young.

The arrival of families will, however, lead to an increase in the number of Eastern European children attending local schools and this will necessitate an increase in language support.

Language classes generally are expected to continue to be in high demand, whether delivered through local colleges, employers or other agencies.

As workers seek to change jobs and move into jobs better suited to their skills and qualifications, there is likely to be a greater use of employment agencies and Job Centres. This is already beginning to occur.

For all those who deliver services, it is important that there is proper ethnic monitoring, to ensure that services are fully accessible to all sections of society. Monitoring is now generally widespread within public agencies, including local authorities, although not all systems are fully in place. The North Lanarkshire Council Equalities Action Plan, for example, shows that there are some areas where ethnicity information is yet to be gathered. Information in a range of languages is already made available to black and minority ethnic groups. It is important for future service provision that monitoring is extended to include Eastern European groups and that information on housing options is made available, at least in Polish, for new migrants. We would not, as explained elsewhere, suggest that all material is translated as this would fly in the face of the evidence that migrant workers themselves wish to learn to communicate in English.

CHAPTER NINE

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on our findings, we make the following recommendations. We have not 'allocated' specific recommendations to specific organisations and agencies, as many of the recommendations are broad and their implementation would be a matter for more than one organisation. If these recommendations are accepted, however, it would be important for there to be agreement on a lead body to take ownership of them and to ensure that progress is made.

1. It is important that some material on services is provided in translated form. The new publication, *Living in Lanarkshire*, is one significant example but local authority services such as housing, social work, education and libraries and recreation services would also benefit from making translated information available. Given the national origins of migrant workers in the area, we believe it is possibly unnecessary to translate into any language other than Polish. We do not, however, believe that there should be widespread translation of documents, given the desire on the part of migrant workers to learn English. In the longer term, they are likely to be able to access English language material. We refer below to some documents which should probably be translated.
2. In order to facilitate the learning of English, the provision of language classes should be made as widely available as possible. This includes classes delivered in different locations and also through forms of flexible learning, to allow for workers with different shift patterns to access them. It is also important that partners and spouses who may be caring for children and are not as exposed to the English language are also enabled to learn. Local authorities, colleges and Scottish Enterprise should work together on this.
3. Children of migrant workers who attend school will require language support and adequate teaching support must be made available. Demands for support are likely to increase as more families decide to settle in the area.
4. The migrant workers who have come to Lanarkshire to work have had a positive impact on the local economy. It is important that employers are made aware of the benefits of employing migrant labour, by learning from the experiences of those firms who have already employed such workers, and there is a role for Scottish Enterprise in facilitating this. In addition it is expected that some migrant workers will be interested in starting their own businesses. Lanarkshire has a poor business start-up record so there are opportunities to benefit from those foreign nationals who exhibit entrepreneurial behaviour.

5. It is likely that, as the competence in English of migrant workers increases, they will begin to seek better paid jobs more in line with their skills and qualifications. This may leave vacancies in the more unskilled areas where migrant workers are currently employed. Filling these vacancies may be a challenge and greater effort will need to be made to attract local people – particularly school leavers – to consider such jobs.
6. As part of the process of ‘upskilling’ into better paid jobs, migrant workers will require to have their qualifications recognised. While accepting that this is essentially a matter for resolution at UK and EU level, rather than at local or Scottish Executive level, nevertheless there is a role for Scottish Enterprise in raising the issue with Scottish Ministers so that it is kept on the political agenda.
7. It is clear from the research that many migrant workers believe that Lanarkshire is a good place to live, and is quieter and safer than the big cities, with easy access to countryside. The forthcoming publication, *Living in Lanarkshire*, which is expected to be translated into at least Polish, is a good opportunity to market Lanarkshire to incoming migrants and promote it as a desirable place to settle and find employment. The publication should be made available in both hard copy and online formats to ensure the widest possible access. It should be circulated to all major employers in Lanarkshire so it can be made available to new migrant worker employees. It should also be made available electronically to potential migrants while they are still in their home countries.
8. Many migrants have found accommodation in the private rented sector and, although a number are now beginning to apply for social rented housing, there is an opportunity to provide more information to migrant workers about the range of housing options available to them. As part of the housing allocation process, for example, it is important that they are advised of where they stand the best chance of obtaining appropriate accommodation. Housing options would also include information on the range of providers (local authorities and RSLs within the area), how to access housing if individuals become homeless, and owner-occupation and how to buy a house in Scotland. Specific documents which might be translated, for example, include basic information material on such housing options, and material relating to housing applications and Housing Benefit.
9. Although overcrowding is not a serious problem in the area, it is clear that some private rented accommodation is of rather poor quality. The local authorities should make full use of their powers to regulate the sector (for example through HMO legislation) to ensure that private rented housing used by migrant workers meets the appropriate standards.

10. Migrant workers seemed to be concerned that they did not create 'little Polands' and are keen to integrate and engage with local communities. It is important that migrants are made aware of the range of voluntary organisations and activities within the area, which they can access.
11. Engagement with local communities could usefully be assisted by local authorities through tenant involvement mechanisms. Community regeneration initiatives such as in Gowkthrapple, where work is ongoing to support migrant workers and encourage them to settle locally could usefully be replicated elsewhere, either in other areas or in relation to other groups such as black and minority ethnic groups and refugees.
12. On a related point, North Lanarkshire Council's proposed Citizens' Panel should draw its membership as widely as possible and include migrant worker representation as another way of engaging with the A8 migrant worker communities.
13. Migrant workers make extensive use of the internet to keep in contact with their home country and also to access information on employment. Computer facilities in libraries and community centres appear to be very overstretched and so it is important to explore ways of increasing provision of internet facilities.
14. In undertaking this research, it became clear that information on A8 migrant workers was patchy. There are monitoring systems in place in various organisations in relation to black and minority ethnic groups but only limited monitoring of Eastern Europeans. If we are to learn more about the needs and experiences of migrant workers, and their use of services, then it is essential that monitoring systems are extended to include them. Such monitoring should involve a range of services – housing, social work, health and homelessness.
15. Similarly, although migrant workers had experienced little hostility in the local area, as they were not visibly different from the local population, nevertheless some had experienced criticism for 'taking local people's jobs'. It is also essential that the monitoring of racist and potentially racist incidents is extended to include Eastern European migrant workers.
16. There has sometimes been confusion on the part of some individuals regarding the rights of migrant workers. Two examples we learned of relate to employment rights (such as holiday pay) and access to the range of NHS services. It is important that information is widely communicated about the rights of individuals from the A8 (and other) countries. As migrants from the new accession countries of Romania and Bulgaria will have more limited rights (for example in relation to employment), there is a

potential for continued confusion. Advice workers in both local authorities and the voluntary sector must be trained to offer accurate advice on rights and entitlements. This should be done quickly as migrant workers are already beginning to make greater use of the benefits systems.

17. It is clear that many migrant workers have experienced financial exclusion with difficulties in opening bank accounts. It is important that employers continue to work with local banks to try and ensure that the process is made easier.

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APPENDIX ONE

QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY: MIGRANT WORKERS

APPENDIX TWO

QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY: EMPLOYERS

APPENDIX THREE

TOPIC GUIDE FOR MIGRANT WORKER FOCUS GROUPS

Introduction

- Explain 'Lanarkshire'. Do you have an understanding of your location?
- How did you end up in Lanarkshire? Were there specific pull factors?
- City versus town/rural living as a preference.
- Are you looking to stay here? And how long do you intend to work outside your home country? What are the reasons for staying 'loyal' to the area?
- How many of you plan to stay for a short time and take your wages home and how many plan to make a life here?
- What are the positive aspects of living and working in Lanarkshire? (Distinguishing between those who live and/or work here. For those who do not live here, and expect to work here longer term, would you consider moving here?).
- Have there been any problems living and working in Lanarkshire?
- What would make Lanarkshire more attractive to you? To work or to live?
- Do transport networks influence where you live?

Employment

- Barriers to employment.
- Barriers to retaining employment. Have you changed jobs?
- Have employers been supportive; have fellow (indigenous) workers been supportive?
- Accreditation of professional qualifications.
- Did you arrive with job secured or find a job once you were here – how did you find a job?
- Role of recruitment agencies.
- What were your experiences of registering to work in this country e.g. securing National Insurance Number, dealings with Jobcentre Plus etc.
- Long term aspirations? Of both living here medium-to-long term but also employment terms and starting businesses. What are business start-up needs?
- What more could be done to help migrant workers find and retain work in Lanarkshire? For example, NI number registration, help with banking etc
- Do employers provide appropriate training? Are there gaps here?

Services

Explore background knowledge of how services are provided and knowledge of such services – would a 'Living in Lanarkshire' publication be of value?

Housing

- How did you access housing?
- Is working in particular areas influenced by housing policy?
- What are the barriers to living in Lanarkshire?
- What happens if you become unemployed in the absence of housing benefit?
- Experiences of homelessness.
- Experiences of overcrowding.
- Experiences of anti-social behaviour.
- Knowledge of different tenures – local authority, Housing Associations and experiences of applying to social landlords. Any experience of house buying?
- Any barriers to information?
- Any barriers to social renting – both local authority and RSL:
 - Access to services
 - Access to information
 - Awareness
 - Preconceived ideas
 - Choice – areas, tenure, property type
 - Waiting list time
 - Cost
 - Access to Housing Benefit

Health

- Have you registered with a GP?
- Other health services?

Language

- Could you speak English before coming to Scotland?
- Do you attend an English class? Where? Knowledge of ESOL?
- What are the barriers to learning English?
- Do employers provide English classes or time off?
- Who do you turn to if you need help with translating / interpreting?

Community Networks

- How important is the existing Polish (or other) community in supporting new arrivals?
- What other community supports do you tap into? The Church?
- Who do you turn to if you need help?
- Do you feel part of the local community?

- Any experience of local hostility?
- Are there any barriers to local integration? From both sides and also what would you like the authorities to do?
- What are your experiences of dealing with financial institutions e.g. opening bank accounts?

Families

- Do you have children at local schools? – How have your children been welcomed into their new schools?
- If not yet, do you plan to bring families over?
- How do you manage work and child care?

Finally....

- Would individuals be willing to be involved in further work? (Possibility of developing a migrant worker panel/champions etc.)

APPENDIX FOUR

LIST OF THOSE CONSULTED OR WHO PROVIDED INFORMATION in connection with the research

North Lanarkshire Council

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Job Centre Plus

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Stephen McConnachie

Merson Signs

Personnel Manager

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