

**SUPPORTING INTEGRATION OF MIGRANTS AND SEASONAL WORKERS IN THE  
DIOCESE OF HEREFORD**

**Report to the Diocese of Hereford Council for Social Responsibility**

**April 2007**

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## Executive Summary

### *Migration in the Diocese of Hereford*

- International migration has increased in the Diocese in the past three years, due to EU enlargement and expansion of soft fruit farming
- Most international migrants living in the diocese are from the countries that acceded to the European Union on 1<sup>st</sup> May 2004. Most seasonal workers have been from Ukraine, Russia and Belarus up until 2006. In 2007 40% of seasonal workers are also expected to come from Romania and Bulgaria.
- Most migrants are young – between 18 and 34. The vast majority are in full-time employment.
- Migrants tend to work in low-paid, low-skilled jobs in the area, such as agricultural labour, factory work, care and cleaning.
- Seasonal workers on the SAWS scheme have to live on the farms where they work. Migrant agricultural workers tend to do the same. Other migrants tend to live in rented accommodation in Hereford and other market towns.
- Many migrants from A8 countries initially work on farms, then move to other jobs at the end of the growing season.
- Many migrants wish to work in the Diocese for around 3 years and then return home. These people are less likely to invest in integration. Others have longer-term goals and these people are more likely to learn English, gain UK qualifications and seek better-paid, skilled employment, for which many are qualified in their own country.

## *Integration issues*

- Integration is a two-way process, involving adaptation on behalf of migrants, and preparedness to engage and accept migrants on behalf of the receiving society.
- Migrants interviewed had all experienced some hostility from UK residents. This most commonly took the form of verbal abuse, pretending not to understand, rudeness and patronising behaviour.
- Local communities need to be supported in “preparedness” for in-flows of migrants. The Church is well placed to be involved in this.
- Migrants use informal networks to communicate information about services, events and the local area. This is effective as a means of communication and needs to be used more by institutions of the host society who wish to communicate with migrants. However, reliance on networks means that migrants often have large gaps in knowledge about local opportunities and amenities. Work should be done to ensure that these networks have more contact with the host institutions.
- Institutions involved in integration of migrants can promote a more cosmopolitan, mobile Diocese of Hereford, based on the recognition that global movements of people and goods do indeed penetrate these rural corners of England.
- Many local residents do not understand the difference between seasonal workers and migrants. This can lead to inaccurate assumptions being made, for example about length of stay.

- Most migrants and seasonal workers do not interact socially with UK nationals. Opportunities for more social interaction between groups will hopefully support the integration process. Again, the Church is well placed to provide these.
- Lack of English language ability is a major barrier to integration. The proposed cuts in funding for English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) provision will only make this worse.
- Finding housing was a major problem for all migrants interviewed. In particular, letting agencies were perceived to be most unhelpful.

### *Provision of Services*

- Parishes where there are large numbers of seasonal workers are providing excellent services to workers, such as drop-in centres, English lessons and hospitality in local homes. Other parishes with seasonal workers could be encouraged to adopt similar activities.
- There is currently less focus by the Church on migrants, as opposed to seasonal workers. This report contains some recommendations regarding projects that could be undertaken by the diocese to support integration of migrants.
- Any projects set up to work with migrants or seasonal workers should be cautious about being paternalistic, and avoid the unnecessary construction of victims.

### *Recommendations*

- Church groups currently involved in working with seasonal workers to distribute information about their operations to other parishes, who host significant but smaller numbers of seasonal workers.
- A befriending scheme to be established and formalised by the diocese.

- Hereford Diocese Council of Social Responsibility to produce briefing sheets for parishes on welcoming migrants, with local information, commonly-used phrases in different languages, suggested sermons/prayers to challenge myths about migrants and seasonal workers.
- Films and cultural events to be encouraged locally, and migrants and seasonal workers invited.
- Provision of free Internet access, particularly in areas where there are large numbers of seasonal workers, to be increased, by voluntary and church groups, employers, or a partnership of both.
- Employers to be supported and encouraged to work with the employers' code of practice developed by Business in the Community Northern Ireland.
- Trade Unions to play an active part in encouraging integration of migrants in the workplace and in disseminating information about workplace rights.
- The possibility of a social space for migrants and non-migrants to use in the evenings to be investigated.
- Opportunities to increase ESOL provision, allowing for flexibility to include shift workers should be sought. Provision of ESOL classes at a higher level is also needed, as are more trained ESOL tutors.

## *Acknowledgments*

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## **Foreword**

**The church through its network of local parishes and the Board of Social Responsibility in the Diocese is concerned for the conditions of migrants and seasonal workers. This is because the Christian faith is deeply concerned about the value of human life. We are created in the image of God and God shows his concern for us in that he became a person in Jesus Christ, who was deeply involved with people in all aspects of living.**

**Deep within our religious roots is the importance of welcoming the stranger and there has been a long tradition within the area of Herefordshire and South Shropshire, which makes up our Diocese, to welcome people. Over the centuries there has been an itinerant workforce which has appeared at crucial moments, when farmers have needed extra workers, especially at harvest time.**

**It is because of our faith and our deep commitment to people who live and work here that I welcome this report and all it says about the present situation in the Diocese as it affects migrants and seasonal workers.**

**This report is offered as a contribution to aid all those who are concerned with the welfare and integration of migrants and seasonal workers .**

**Rt Revd Michael Hooper, Bishop of Ludlow**

## Introduction

Migrants and seasonal workers have become increasingly visible groups in the Diocese of Hereford. While some are concerned that they pose a threat to social cohesion, a strain on public services and local jobs, others welcome this new multicultural aspect of local life. Many residents of the diocese have been concerned about the welfare of seasonal workers. Although there is much “folk knowledge” about new migrants living in the area, few British people in the diocese interact regularly with migrants, outside of work or service relationships. This research has been commissioned by the Diocese of Hereford Council for Social Responsibility in order to find out more about migrants and seasonal workers living in the Diocese and also to identify ways in which integration can be supported, migrants can be welcomed into the community and myths about migrants can be challenged.

Attempts to quantify numbers of migrants and seasonal workers in the county of Herefordshire have led to a range of figures, somewhere between 6,000 and 20,000. (Herefordshire Council, 2006). In particular, the 20,000 figure is highly problematic – it has entered popular discourse and is in fact an aggregate figure based on research undertaken by West Mercia police of workers who will pass through Herefordshire throughout the year. This figure does not take into account the numbers of migrants who leave the county, and it also double counts people who stay longer than a month. This inflated figure has been picked up by the local press and has been used as ammunition by those ideologically against international immigration. The need for accurate information about migrants living and working in the area has prompted a number of local agencies to conduct research into international migration. In particular, Herefordshire Council and West Mercia Police are working towards quantifying migrants in Herefordshire. The Learning and Skills Council is currently undertaking a large-scale research project into migrant working on a regional level. Complementing these projects, this report, undertaken on behalf of the Diocese of Hereford, focuses on the community aspects of immigration, and is an attempt to understand the issues causing recent migration flows into the area as well as those arising from these.

## *Definitions*

This report focuses on both “migrants” and “seasonal workers”. The term “migrant” rather than “migrant worker” is a broader definition, encompassing those not economically active such as children and carers.

A “migrant” is used in the context of this report to mean an international migrant, and more specifically an individual whose nationality is not British and who has moved to Britain from another country.

A “seasonal worker” is defined for this report as an individual who is living and working on a farm for a limited period.

A SAWS worker one kind of seasonal worker, and is defined as a worker who is on the SAWS scheme (Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme). This scheme is for students (aged 18 and over and in full-time education) from outside the European Economic Area with a permit specifically for seasonal agricultural work. SAWS workers may stay in the UK for between 5 weeks and 6 months, provided they are working at a SAWS-registered farm or packhouse. In 2007, 40% of SAWS workers will be expected to come from the new European states of Romania and Bulgaria. These people will not have to be in full-time education.

An “A8 national” is an individual from one of the new European member states dating from European enlargement in 2004. These are: Poland, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Slovenia, Slovakia, Hungary and the Czech Republic. Although Cyprus and Malta joined the EU at the same time, they already had access to the British labour market, and are not subject to the same restrictions as the A8.

“WRS” refers to the Worker Registration Scheme, with which A8 nationals are required to register if they wish to work for more than one month with a UK employer. Once a person has registered and worked legally in the UK for 12 months, he or she is entitled to apply for a residence permit.

## *Aims*

This research aimed to:

1. Identify the extent and diversity of migrants living in the Diocese of Hereford.
2. Explore the issues surrounding early stages of labour migration to rural areas with little history of international migration.
3. Identify the organisations involved in providing services for migrants and seasonal workers.
4. Explore the notion of “integration.”
5. Identify barriers to integration in the Diocese of Hereford. Begin to assess needs based on this information.
6. Identify areas where services could be provided in the future, drawing on models of good practice both within the area and beyond.

## *Methods*

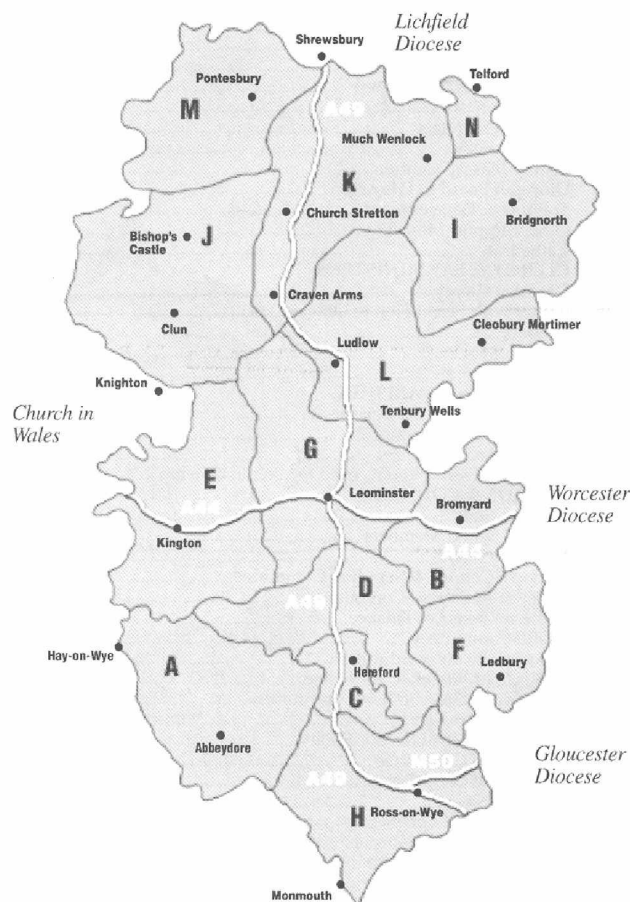
This was achieved through:

1. Review of quantitative evidence collected by Herefordshire Council and Work Permits UK (a department of the Home Office). This was based on an analysis of existing data (SAWS and WRS information).
2. Literature review of academic and other research in this area.
3. Unstructured interviews with service providers and other agencies, employers and migrants.
4. Review of literature/focus groups with local students.
5. Interviews/focus groups.
6. Contact with agencies/discussion of data.

## Scope

This project covers the area of the Diocese of Hereford. Hereford Diocese covers the whole of Herefordshire and the southern part of Shropshire (the District of South Shropshire, part of Bridgnorth District, part of Shrewsbury and Atcham District) and a few parishes in the counties of Worcestershire, Monmouthshire and Powys. Some wards of the unitary authority of Telford and Wrekin are also within the diocesan boundary. Hereford diocese is bordered by Wales to the west, Gloucestershire to the south and Worcestershire to the east. It is a predominantly rural area, with 84% of land in Herefordshire being classified as agricultural. The diocese is sparsely populated: South Shropshire district is one of the largest districts in terms of area and one of the most sparsely populated in England. Much of the population lives in Hereford, and the market towns of Ludlow, Leominster, Ledbury, Kington and Bromyard. The diocese estimated its total population to stand at around 290,000 in November 2006.

### The Diocese of Hereford





## Literature Review

### *Historical Context: the history of migration into the UK*

#### **Post-war migration**

After the Second World War, refugees were settled in the UK, alongside workers and their dependants from Eastern Europe on the European Volunteer Workers schemes. These settlers, mainly Poles but also nationals from other Eastern European countries are dispersed throughout the UK, having been placed in response to labour needs. There are now, in many parts of the UK, thriving Polish communities, and organisations such as the Association of Poles in Britain are active throughout the country. Alongside movement of people through the EVS was the direct recruitment of workers from the Commonwealth. These groups settled, and are still concentrated in, urban areas. Flynn (2005) discusses the way in which overt racism limited access to certain sectors of the labour market, and limited workers to low paid work. However, as he goes on to discuss, this led to “unsustainable levels of discrimination and racial violence” (Flynn 2005:2). There is clearly a danger in the current concentration of migrant workers in low-paid positions leading to racial tension and social exclusion, and repeating the patterns of half a century ago, despite improved legislation and changing cultural context.

During the second half of the twentieth century, there were various migration flows from Central and Eastern Europe, mainly as a result of political unrest, involving people seeking asylum as well as illegal migrants. The majority of migrants from Central and Eastern Europe, however, have arrived after the 2004 EU enlargement.

The existence of Polish communities in the UK already is perhaps one reason why the UK has been such a popular place of migration for Polish workers, both before and after EU enlargement. There are certainly Polish speaking residents in Hereford who have assisted new migrants, and have become involved in providing interpretation services, as well as forming informal social networks. Another reason, of course, why

the UK has been popular with Poles and other nationalities from the new European states, is its labour migration policies after EU enlargement, where the only the UK, along with Ireland and Sweden, allowed nationals from the new EU states full rights to work.

## **Migration Schemes**

Flynn points to an economic explanation to the increase in demand for migrant labour – in terms of deregulation, global competitiveness and the domination of large food retailers and hospitality companies leading to new, low cost, high productivity workplace regimes. He discusses how the politics of migration in the past 10 years have been inextricably linked to concern about asylum seekers, leading to restrictive immigration policies in an economic climate where migrant labour was very much in demand. Clearly this contradiction is central to an understanding of the high levels of undocumented migrants working in the UK (see Pinkerton, McLaughlin and Salt, 2004).

In the 1990s, labour migration schemes such as the Sector Based Scheme (SBS) and the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Schemes (SAWS) were seen as an important means of accessing cheap temporary labour in specific sectors where unskilled labour was needed. In Herefordshire particularly, SAWS has been used widely by growers to provide seasonal labour. SAWS permits are available to students living outside of the European Union. A SAWS worker may live and work on a SAWS-registered farm for between 5 weeks and 6 months. SAWS workers may not work on farms that are not registered with the scheme or in other sectors. Recently, SAWS workers have mainly come from Ukraine, Russia and Belarus. Nationwide, the SAWS quota for 2003 and 2004 was 25,000. However since EU enlargement this quota was seen by the Government as unnecessary, since there was a ready supply of cheap labour within the boundaries of the European Union. In 2005, there were only 16,250 places on SAWS schemes. Romania and Bulgaria's entry into the EU has had an impact on SAWS, as workers from these new member states are restricted to schemes such as the SAWS. In

2007 40% of all SAWS workers will be expected to come from Romania and Bulgaria, rising to 100% in 2008. SAWS workers have previously had to be full-time students. Romanians and Bulgarians will be exempt from this restriction, and this will have an impact on the demographic make-up of seasonal workers in the area. The Government is planning on phasing out the SAWS scheme by 2010, relying on EU citizens for low-skilled migrant labour.

The Home Office White Paper *Secure Borders, Safe Haven* (2002) set out a change in focus in immigration policy. It recognised the importance of migration as a source of labour, and focused instead on the inevitability of migration in a globalised economy, and the need to encourage integration and citizenship, rather than focusing only on exclusion and limiting migration, the dominant driver of immigration legislation in the 20 years prior to this White Paper. However, its move towards a “points based system” for immigration in the UK will severely limit legal opportunities for migration for those from outside of the European Union, especially in “unskilled” sectors, such as agriculture and food processing.

Changes in immigration legislation, and European expansion has meant that since 1994 the UK population has had a net inflow of over 100 000 per year. 5% of the population are now migrants (TUC 2003).

The New Labour approach of “managed migration” focuses on the provision of workers to meet the needs of industry, on monitoring flows and managing supply according to demand, through the use of schemes tailored to particular sectors of the economy. The enlargement of the EU, of course, leads us to presume that, as a ready and willing, educated workforce is already accessing the British labour market, less and less migrants will be “managed” from outside of the EU. Flynn refers to “new technologies of control and surveillance” and “comprehensive control”, of migrants from outside of the EU.

## **A8 Accession**

In May 2004, the EU expanded to include the A10 accession countries: Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia. The UK, Ireland and Sweden are the only countries to have not opted to delay A8 nationals' (A10 excluding Cyprus and Malta) right to employment, indicating recognition of the UK's economic need for migrant workers. The Workers' Registration Scheme (WRS) was set up in May 2004, and requires workers from the A8 countries to register with the Home Office as soon as they find work. They are not eligible for out-of-work benefits, however, until they have registered and worked for a complete year in the UK. The WRS was introduced as a means of controlling access to some welfare benefits, monitoring migration and encouraging participation in the formal economy (Anderson, Ruhs, Rogaly and Spencer, 2006). After 12 months migrants no longer have to register on WRS, meaning that it is increasingly hard to track numbers of migrants in a specific area. The WRS, whilst problematic for many workers (since it costs £70 and requires that passports are sent away) can provide us with rudimentary information pertaining to numbers and origin of migrants from the A8 countries in a particular area.

The Accession Monitoring Report, which is produced on a quarterly basis, gives us some useful information about recent migrants on a national scale: the monitoring report, and other studies based on WRS information, gives us the following demographic information about WRS registered migrants on a national scale:

### Nationality

Most WRS workers (58%) are Polish, with 14 per cent Lithuanian and 11 per cent Slovak. Poland is the largest accession country, with a population of 40m and a weak labour market, explaining the large proportion of Polish migrants. Lithuania and Latvia are smaller countries but have a higher proportion of migrants per head of the population. (DWP 2006)

### Age profile

44% of A8 migrants are aged 19-24, and 39% 25-34. These figures illustrate the very young demographic of A8 migrants nationwide (DWP 2006).

### Employment type

Stenning et al (2006) show that A8 nationals are concentrated in the low-paid, low skilled end of the economy. 15.3% of A8 migrants between May 04 and June 05 were in agriculture and food processing, 30.3% in general manufacture/processing industry and 30.4% in hospitality, leisure, retail and wholesale. Only 6.2% were working in offices (including call centres) or were in professional or semi-professional positions. The accession monitoring report also points to this in its analysis of pay of A8 workers. In its June 2006 report, 78% of registered workers nationally were earning between £4.50 and £5.99 per hour, with just under half of all workers in temporary positions. There is no reason to believe that the position is any different in Herefordshire and Shropshire.

Other official data (DWP 2006) show that the employment rate for A8 nationals post-2004 is higher than for non-migrants: 80.6% as opposed to 75.8%. This is much higher than the average for all migrants (66.4%) and could indicate the move from informal to formal working practices as a result of the opening of the labour market.

### Employment Sector

Agriculture and fishing currently account for 10% of all registrations. There are, of course, regional variations, with London registering most workers in distribution, hotels and catering. Marches (which includes much of the Diocese of Hereford), Kent, Norfolk, Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire and Grampians have registered high proportions of workers in agriculture. West Wales and Yorkshire's A8 migrants are concentrated in manufacturing.

EU expansion has had its greatest impact on agriculture, where 8% of all employees are A8 nationals. This is higher than any other sector. This points to an important aspect of A8 migration, summed up in the Accession Monitoring Report:

A8 migrants appear to be flowing to parts of the country not traditionally associated with large concentrations of migrants (DWP 2006:18).

The TUC (2004) also draws attention to this in its report, *Propping up rural and small town Britain: migrant workers from the new Europe*. In this sense, migration of A8 nationals to the UK is substantially different from previous migration flows.

Use of WRS to measure numbers of migrants

The impact of EU enlargement on migration to the UK was much greater than predicted numbers: the Home Office (2003) predicted between 5,000 and 13,000. Between May 2004 and September 2005, 300,000 people registered with the WRS, however, many of them could have been already living in the UK and formalising their status. Similarly, many of those who had registered may have left, as there is no way of knowing how many of those who have registered remain in the country. The TUC (2004) makes the point that

to some extent enlargement and the Workers Registration Scheme are performing the same function as an amnesty or regularisation programme (TUC 2004:11).

This pattern of very high numbers of registrations is unlikely to continue, however, for a number of reasons:

- Economies in the new European countries will grow with EU membership, limiting the need for labour migration.
- Figures include many existing UK residents, meaning that they will be unusually high for the first few years, as informal workers regularise their status.
- As people stay in the UK for longer than 12 months they will no longer need to register, meaning that the registration system will not measure these people, who are likely to make up a larger proportion of migrant workers, particularly as we are moving further and further away from the 2004 accession date.

## **Migration in the Diocese of Hereford**

### Internal Migration

The Diocese of Hereford has historically seen very little international immigration. However, like other rural areas, the Diocese has seen internal migration. The Commission for Rural Communities reports that internal migrants to rural areas tend to follow a similar pattern. The 0-9 and 30-44 age bands are the most important contributors to the in-migration into rural areas. For people in the age groups between 15 and 24, the overall movement is in the opposite direction, due to higher education, a search for employment and a lack of affordable housing (CRC 2007). The Commission reports that between 1985 and 2005, English rural areas have experienced a 'hollowing out' of the age profile, with falls in the proportions of residents aged between 15 and 29 and rises in the proportions in age groups between 40 and 59. (CRC 2007:18)

### Labour migration and seasonal work

Historically, Herefordshire has grown apples and hops, however the markets for these crops have declined in recent years. Formerly labour-intensive jobs such as harvesting apples and hops have been mechanised, leading to a decline in the use of seasonal labour. In previous years, workers came from South Wales and the Black Country, brought their families and stayed for the season as working holidaymakers, living in tents, in caravans and in farm buildings. They lived and worked alongside gypsies and travellers. Three years ago there were very small numbers of seasonal workers from overseas in the diocese. Workers travelled to the area for hop picking, for apple picking, for lambing and for shearing. The largest international migration flow to Hereford prior to EU enlargement has been of Portuguese workers to the Sun Valley poultry processing operation, however two events have changed the face of rural communities in Herefordshire in the last few years and have heralded the arrival of workers from overseas in large numbers. These are a change in land use from hops, apples and arable crops towards soft fruit production and EU expansion in 2004.

In the past four years, soft fruit production has greatly increased, with a number of large soft fruit growers selling to supermarket buyers. The use of polytunnels has

extended the soft fruit season, and the nature of the crop is such that harvesting must be done by hand, and is highly labour intensive. It is this shift in land use which has had the most visible effect on the demographic makeup of the area, and which has provoked the most controversy. In 2003, S&A Produce bought a large farm at Brierley Court, near Leominster, in addition to their farm in Marden. Other large soft fruit growers in the area include Haygrove near Ledbury and Drummonds near Ross on Wye.

The move to soft fruit production meant that polytunnels are now a major feature of the Herefordshire countryside. Production of soft fruit is highly labour intensive – during harvesting many seasonal workers are needed, however at other times of the year there is significantly reduced demand for migrant labour. Comparing standard use of migrant labour for agriculture, harvesting soft fruit, particularly for supermarket customers, requires large numbers of flexible workers. Herefordshire currently accommodates 18% of all SAWS workers in the UK.<sup>1</sup> Migrant workers have not always been international migrants. Migrants from other parts of the UK, mainly cities in the North, were used for fruit harvesting initially. One Marden resident interviewed, however, recalled that this much less popular with locals:

There was a lot more crime by the workers than there is now – people in the village had things taken from their doorsteps and their sheds. There’s much less crime with the students we have here now”.

Local research has estimated that there were between 6,000 and 20,000 migrant workers in Herefordshire during 2005. (Herefordshire Council, 2006) The 20,000 figure is highly problematic – as well as being improbable (the population of Hereford city is only 50,000) – but it has entered popular discourse and has been used to support concern about numbers of migrants. It is in fact an aggregate figure based on research undertaken by West Mercia police on workers who will pass through Herefordshire throughout the year. Given the high turnover of seasonal workers (many only come for a part of the season) this figure does not take into account those who go home, and it also double counts people who stay longer than a month.

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<sup>1</sup> Source: Herefordshire Council (2006)

In 2005, Herefordshire accommodated 2895 SAWS workers (54% of all documented migrant workers in the county<sup>2</sup>). In 2005 and 2006, these workers were mostly Russian and Ukrainian.

As well as the large numbers of seasonal workers who arrive to work in the large farms of Herefordshire in the summer months, EU expansion has led to A8 nationals seeking employment in the area. Often these are recruited in their homeland by employment agencies, or by employers using the Internet. The majority have come as a result of word of mouth – with networks of migrants finding out about places to live, work and study.

The Accession Monitoring Report (2006) shows the Marches area as having a relatively high level of WRS applications as percentage of population. Despite the fact that Herefordshire has a high proportion of SAWS workers and WRS workers, the west of England has so far been left out of research on the impact of these most recent waves of migration. Research has mainly been focused on the East and South of England (Stenning, 2006).

Stenning et al (2006) have analysed datasets provided by the Home Office relating to Worker Registration Scheme data. They used a measure called “location quotient” (LQ), which indicates the concentration of a certain group in a given area as compared to the average concentration over the whole of the UK. The average concentration of the group is given the LQ of 1. So if an area has a location quotient of more than one, that area has a greater than average concentration of the group in question living there. Stenning et al’s analysis focused on concentration of workers registered on the Workers’ Registration Scheme, as a proportion of all working people in a specific area. According to their analysis, Herefordshire Local Authority area has the tenth highest location quotient for workers registered on the WRS in the UK:

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<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*

Local Authority Area	n	LQ
Boston	2645	12.2
E. Cambridgeshire	1694	8.1
S. Holland	1959	7.0
Kings Lynn and W Norfolk	2756	5.8
Peterborough	2690	4.1
Fenland	1312	4.9
Luton	3275	4.6
Northampton	4123	4.4
Arun	1620	4.2
Herefordshire	2690	4.1

Distribution of A8 Migrants to England May 2004-June 2005 by LA: highest LQs  
(source Stenning et al, 2006:30)

Herefordshire, then, has the highest concentration of A8 migrants in the West Midlands and South West of England. It is worth noting that the statistics here back up the evidence of other researchers that A8 migrants are living and working in rural and small town areas, rather than settling in cities as former flows of migrants have done. The study suggests that migrants from A8 countries are attracted to areas where there are “middling employment rates” and availability of low-paid jobs – a description which fits the county’s profile.

Broken down according to nationality, Stenning et al’s analysis also points to high concentrations of Estonians, Lithuanians and Slovaks in Herefordshire: the county has the fifth highest concentration of Estonians in England.

### *National evidence*

The Department for Work and Pensions has published research assessing the impact of A8 migration on the UK labour market (DWP 2006), focusing on the effect of increased migration on the availability of low skilled jobs and the employment status of British

nationals. They found that unemployment was very low among accession nationals, with 99% of NI number requests for employment purposes (DWP 2006). However, these data, taken at the end of 2004 may change as more migrants take up permanent residence and have stayed in their current employment for over twelve months (meaning that they are able to claim out-of-work benefits, and no longer need to register with the Home Office). Despite the possibility that A8 migration would decrease the availability of low skilled jobs for British nationals, or that they may force British nationals out of work, the DWP has found no correlation between numbers of A8 nationals and new claims, or in increased time spent unemployed by British nationals. Furthermore, it has found no evidence of A8 nationals placing pressure on the employment service, or leading to a decreased availability of jobs in Jobcentre Plus centres. (DWP, 2006)

There is a body of evidence demonstrating employer demand for migrant workers: The CIPD Labour Market Outlook (18.5.05) found that more than a quarter of employers surveyed are planning to recruit migrant workers in “hard to fill vacancies”. Taylor and Rogaly (2004) discuss the demand for migrant labour in the agricultural sector, referring to evidence of unfulfilled demand and the possible expansion of the SAWS programme. Since that paper was written we have seen EU enlargement leading to unforeseen increases in workers from accession countries, which has perhaps lessened the need for SAWS expansion, at least for the near future.

The Learning and Skills Council is currently undertaking research into ways in which labour migration can be used to address the skills gap in the West Midlands. At this early stage, however, it seems as though this has a more urban focus. One area of interest is the extent to which the qualifications and skills of workers are being overlooked and underused. Certainly this was picked up in Zaronaitė and Tirzite’s (2006) research, which noted high levels of skills and education of migrant workers in South Lincolnshire. There is consensus amongst researchers in this field that the skills and experience of migrant workers are going untapped.

Historically, casual labour has always been needed in agriculture and horticulture, to provide for peaks in economic production, and has been undertaken by low status groups such as women, travellers and the retired. Until recently Britain had its own “reserve army” of labour in a sizeable unemployed population, who would be willing to work temporarily, either “on the books” or “cash in hand”. However, increased affluence and low unemployment rates, women’s participation in the more permanent workforce and a clamping down on informal working has led to new demand for casual, low cost labour, not just in the agricultural sector but in others too. Another factor which has led to this demand is the casualisation of the workforce, as current global competition required flexibility of labour.

In terms of changing agricultural labour patterns, Frances, Barrientos and Rogaly (2005) offer the following explanation:

during the 1980s the introduction of new forms of food supply demanded extended and uncertain hours that drove out traditional women workers. These were replaced in the late 1980s and early 1990s with unemployed men e.g. from coal mining and steel industries. Pressure on illegal working (clampdowns, benefit fraud investigations etc) led to a decline in the amount of UK nationals willing to undertake agricultural work. (Frances, Barrientos and Rogaly 2005:27)

Employers will often intentionally employ migrant workers, due to a belief that they are harder-working, more reliable, more intelligent, more ready to work long hours and take overtime (McKay 2006). These characteristics, of course, suggest that they are being judged against the standards set by British workers, and if this leads to preferential employment of migrant workers over British workers, could lead to unrest, resentment and tension.

### **Short, medium and long term migration**

Accession nationals are viewed by employers as being likely to use agricultural work as a “stepping stone” toward other more lucrative or professional positions (Frances, Barrientos and Rogaly 2004). This certainly seems to match with interviewees, who for

the most part arrived in Hereford to work on farms, then found alternative jobs and settled into a more permanent residence.

Stenning et al (2006) have pointed to academic literature which indicates that much migration from the A8 states, and from other European nations, needs to be understood as short term – young people moving to another country to accumulate capital and pick up new skills before returning home. They point to the availability of cheap and accessible transport links within Europe, and suggest that we should perhaps, instead of talking about migration, instead focus on “mobility” – the product of a mobile and flexible labour force.

Of course, migrants’ goals and plans in terms of length of stay may change, and this may be due to establishment of social networks in the country of migration, inability to save, acquisition of new skills and better employment prospects. This is an important aspect of migration, since the goals of migrants relate directly to their willingness to learn English, to put down roots and to establish social networks, all essential parts of the integration process. It is likely that we are to encounter more and more migrants who are looking to stay longer and develop skills.

Stenning et al, in their case study of A8 nationals in Peterborough, pointed to the part that changing aspirations will have on the integration process – as people get to the point where they want to improve their circumstances in the country of migration, communities and agencies need to take advantage of this and encourage them to build community links and develop skills.

Any discussion of integration and community relations needs to take into account length of stay. Migrants and seasonal workers, who have short-term aspirations with regard to their stay in the UK, are less likely to make considerable personal investments in integrating into their local communities. This needs to be taken into consideration when planning services. Of course short-term aspirations can and do change, as people often revise their earlier intentions and stay longer.

## *Labour Relations*

The TUC are currently concerned about the rights of migrant workers, their vulnerability despite labour legislation, their low levels of unionisation, and the protection of undocumented migrant workers. It is important to consider the different working lives of foreign nationals in the Diocese and the extent to which they may be perceived as more vulnerable than the longer-term resident population. McKay et al, in their research for the Health and Safety Executive, found that migrants are more likely to fall into categories of risk, and more likely to state that their work was having a negative impact on their physical health. They found that:

A sizeable proportion of the migrant labour force is excluded from basic employment protection, either due to lack of knowledge about rights and therefore inability to enforce them, fear of enforcing rights in the belief that this could lead to a loss of employment or working without authorisation thus nullifying legal rights that otherwise they would possess. (McKay et al 2006:123)

They suggested also that some migrants had different perceptions of risk, due to cultural background or the desire to earn money as quickly as possible. They also noted that many migrant workers had less understanding of the duty of their employer to protect their health at work, and were more likely to emphasise their own responsibility for their health and safety.

Lanz and Gullen's research drew attention to the amount of workers commuting to the vale of Evesham from the West Midlands conurbation, usually with labour providers. In Herefordshire and Shropshire, migrant workers tend to live near their place of work. Clearly this throws up differences in terms of both integration/community issues and labour relationships.

Much of the research undertaken in the East of England, too, focuses on the labour provider role, an aspect of the labour relationship which is less prominent in Herefordshire, where agencies tend to be used only at the beginning of the employment relationship. For example, Zaronaitė and Tirzite's research on South Lincolnshire found that 42.5% of employers interviewed use workers through a labour

provider, and only 13.7% recruiting migrant labour directly. Whilst labour providers do operate in the Diocese, at this stage the extent to which they shape agricultural labour relations is unclear.

In Herefordshire, many large agricultural employers have opted for SAWS schemes, and other migrant working usually involving direct employment, meaning that there are very different issues involved here. The large number of SAWS workers means that accommodation and the issues of HMOs (Taylor and Rogaly 2004) have not had the impact that it has had in other areas, since SAWS workers all have to be housed on site.

Where workers are working for an agency rather than directly for an employer, there are issues surrounding knowing whom one's employer is and who therefore is responsible for their health and safety. McKay found that those working for an agency had less information about their health and safety rights. (McKay 2006)

### **Labour relations and agriculture**

Frances, Barrientos and Rogaly (2005) have published an analysis of the use of temporary labour in UK agriculture, which discusses labour market processes which have led to an increasing reliance on temporary, and often migrant, labour. They focus on the changing nature of the food chain and its need for a certain "type" of worker.

They reach the conclusion that

The whole supply chain is so integrated, intense and intent on "serving the customer" at the lowest possible price that labour users and labour providers are prepared to tolerate poor employment practices, and in some cases, participate in illegal activities to ensure supply (ibid p.94).

The research undertaken by Frances, Barrientos and Rogaly estimates that the total number of temporary workers required by the agricultural sector in the UK over a 12 month period is 611 000. On average, every UK farm has just less than one directly employed worker (0.99) and 1.36 temporary workers in any month. It estimates that there are 160 000 directly employed temporary workers and that labour providers employ a further 450 000. In primary research conducted for DEFRA in 2004, they also estimate that of all temporary workers within the sector, only 43.7% are UK nationals.

23.5% of non-UK nationals are other EU nationals and 32.5% are from outside the EU. This included the 2004 SAWS quota of 25 000.

Frances, Barrientos and Rogaly analyse in detail the changing nature of the food chain in the UK, referring to its “integration” and a shift towards “buyer driven” chains. The increased market share of supermarkets (estimated 80% of fresh produce market) has led to a shift in production practice towards “just in time” distribution systems, and towards increased monitoring and traceability. Supermarkets use supply chain logistics systems to ensure that ordering is directly related to customer trends, both actual and projected. “These arrangements have the effect that margins are much higher at the top end of the value chain” (p22). Supermarkets have on the whole adopted codes of labour practice which their producers need to follow. This has arisen as a result of pressure from consumer and labour organisations. Some supermarkets insist on “open book accounting” from their suppliers, which enables them to further reduce outgoings and check on the margin made by the producer/supplier. These practices, of course, put enormous pressure on the producer, who is expected to keep costs to a minimum and is restricted in the amount of surplus he/she is able to make. The report states that:

Responsibility for labour use does not lie solely with the producer or the packhouse, and should be included as an integral link in planning of the food chain. However, none of the supermarkets’ representatives or category managers we interviewed considered the level of integration within the food chain made them responsible for the management of labour provision at either the top tier of supply or further along the chain. (ibid:27)

It also highlighted that all employers surveyed noted the difficulty in finding the “right kind of worker” – ones who are prepared to work at short notice, to stay late without demanding overtime payments, to work out very little notice, and to work consistently and hard throughout the day. Interviewees mentioned that commercial pressure had forced piece rates down, meaning that it is becoming harder to earn above the minimum wage set by the Agricultural Wages Board. Foreign labourers are favoured for being more compliant, more reliable and more flexible. If they live on-site (e.g. SAWS workers) their flexibility is enhanced.

## **Other work**

While agricultural labour makes up a significant part of migrant working in the area, it is important not to sideline other industries. Migrants are employed in factories, as domestic and commercial cleaners, as care workers, in restaurants, pubs and takeaways, in hotels, and less so in more professional roles.

One aspect in particular which is neglected in much of the research is migrant enterprise. This was picked up by Stenning et al (2006), who suggested that one of the reasons for this is that information about new migrants from A8 countries often comes from worker registration data and as such does not include those who are self-employed. Migrant enterprise research often focuses on Black and Asian enterprise, rather than newer migration streams. It is important to look at the role that small businesses play in community building and provision of information. Stenning et al raise the concern that minority ethnic entrepreneurs may not access small business support to the same extent, and may not have access to the social networks that native entrepreneurs have.

## **Labour relations and immigration status**

There is much evidence that labour relations and immigration status are very closely linked, with those whose immigration status is less secure being much more vulnerable to unsatisfactory working conditions. Regularisation programmes, like the introduction of the Workers Registration Scheme in 2004, have been regarded by many as positive, since they have “given workers the confidence to raise work-related problems and to approach unions” (TUC 2004:1). They have also enabled distribution of information on basic employment rights.

The TUC paper *Overworked, Underpaid and Over Here* (2003) notes how undocumented migrants are more vulnerable in the workplace – the paper quotes a Polish construction worker, Boris: “to them my lack of legal status makes me a better worker” (TUC 2003:27).

Undocumented workers were likely to be selected for the least acceptable (and potentially most dangerous) jobs within their sector of employment (McKay et al 2006:80).

McKay et al's research (2006) for the Health and Safety Executive pointed to undocumented workers being less likely to have been offered training at work and more likely to have suffered accidents at work, and to have observed other workplace accidents. They conclude that

unauthorised workers are more likely to compromise their own health and safety in return for an opportunity to work...while undocumented workers do have the right to protection under the Health and Safety at Work Act (1974), the fact that they are unable to enforce other rights, for example to the National Minimum Wage, pushes them into highly exploitative employment, involving very long working hours and poor conditions (ibid:128).

Migrants whose immigration status is most secure are those from the European Union. If they lose their job, they may seek work with another employer. For workers from outside of the EU, however, the situation is more complex. Workers on SAWS schemes have accommodation provided on site. This means that they are more likely to be able to stay late, to be flexible, and are less likely to leave, as their employment is directly tied to their accommodation. Their employment is also directly tied to their right to remain in the UK, as SAWS workers are non-EU nationals, meaning they are unable to work elsewhere (unless on another SAWS scheme). SAWS workers are also favoured by employers as using students also cuts administrative costs associated with working out tax deductions. The government's policy of "managed migration" can create a hierarchy of citizenship (Taylor & Rogaly 2004), with SAWS workers being given less favourable jobs than EU nationals, since they cannot move on to find other work.<sup>3</sup>

### *The Rural Context*

Recently a number of studies have been published on migrant working in rural communities, by academic institutions, by local organisations and by national bodies. While some tend to focus on the size and distribution of the migrant population (Lanz and Gullen 2006) and its impact on the local economy, others have focused on the specific issues which have arisen as a result of the changing demographic in an area and have set out policy recommendations for the future (Taylor and Rogaly 2004). This study takes the work of Taylor and Rogaly as a model, exploring similar issues in the context of the Hereford Diocese. However, it aims to explore further the level of

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<sup>3</sup> Interview with Donna Simpson, Sussex Centre for Migration Research

diversity amongst the migrant community and also to examine the concerns that arose in this study in the specific context of Herefordshire and Shropshire.

One of the key omissions in the available research on migrants living in rural areas seems to be detailed qualitative research with the migrants themselves. Quantitative evidence was collected by Zaronaitė & Tirzite (2006), and a recent study by the HSE (McKay 2006) has gone some way to addressing this gap, specifically with regard to the health and safety implications of migrant working in the UK, and has come up with a comprehensive cross-sector analysis, and shed some light on the nature of employment relationships, cultural differences and the effect that these have on the management of health and safety issues in the workplace. This study involved 200 interviews with migrant workers and 62 interviews with employers (McKay et al 2006). Whilst ethnographic research has looked at integration in the rural context, much of this work has been in the context of asylum seekers/refugees and black/ethnic minorities, rather than this more recent migration wave. Whilst this report does not have the capacity to research this area, or to look at the relationships between migrant workers and host communities in any empirical depth, clearly further research is needed to guide policy and to aid understanding.

As well as exploring the nature of service provision in the local area, this paper will attempt to explore the extent to which racism and discrimination is directed at migrant workers. While there is only a limited body of academic research on racism in rural communities, there are some significant aspects of the literature which are useful in considering the local situation. The literature, however, is almost wholly based on racism toward Black and Asian people, rather than towards white ethnic minorities. More research is needed into the differences in racialised discourse towards Black and white ethnic minorities. The published literature does point out, however, a number of aspects of racism in rural communities that should be considered in this context:

Jay (1992), Derbyshire (1994) and de Lima (1999) all pointed to the denial of racism in rural communities by statutory bodies, by local communities and by those affected by

racism. They noted a complacent attitude on the part of public and private sector organisations in rural communities, who did not see racism as being a problem in their area. Derbyshire's report pointed to the "Invisibility of Racism" in rural areas, noting how there was a widespread "no problem here" point of view, which led to complacency and inactivity on behalf of agencies, local authorities and employers. This has been more recently recognised by de Lima (1999), who writes of "Invisible Communities" in her study of ethnic minority communities living in rural Scotland.

Derbyshire writes of generalisations, and sweeping stereotypical and untrue statements being made, about ethnic minorities, suggesting that racism in rural areas is largely about lack of contact and ignorance rather than direct experience of different cultures. She suggests that many of the racist attitudes existing in these areas come from received images and stereotypes which, through a lack of diversity in the area, have not had the chance to be disregarded.

Academic literature on racism in rural communities focuses on:

- Scarcity
- Unfamiliarity
- The denial of racism
- Visible ethnic minorities

The current situation in the area around Hereford is very different, then, since international migrants are on the whole white and Christian, and are rarely isolated. The current wave of migration from new European countries has meant that there are significant communities of people from other cultures, arriving into an area which has previously had very little dealings with international migrants. This experience is not really covered in the literature. We would expect the articulations of prejudice and racism in the Diocese of Hereford to be different from academic study of rural racism insofar as it will be based on recent and limited contact with relatively large groups of people rather than of one or a few individuals. Despite the fact that significant migrant communities live in the diocese, interviews and focus groups conducted for this report suggest that British residents know relatively little about them.

## Methodology

This research is based on a combination of interview, focus group and literature review. It will accompany research undertaken by Herefordshire Council and by West Mercia Police, who are providing quantitative evidence of migrant working in the county of Herefordshire. It was felt that, rather than replicating the work of other agencies, who would be using the same datasets, this research would focus on producing qualitative data, based on interviews and focus groups.

### *Review of available data*

Data from the Home Office on A8 migrants in the Diocese was analysed, in order to give some basic demographic information about migrants from the new European countries. The data comes from the Workers' Registration Scheme, which requires migrants from A8 countries to register within 28 days of gaining employment in the UK. Registration costs £70. Migrants need to be "continually employed" for 12 months in order to claim residency. After this time they do not have to register on the WRS, and they will have access to public funds. Registering with the WRS will only be necessary until 2011.

There are a number of problems with using the WRS data to measure migration. This means that, although the WRS figures are currently the only official data sources on migrants in the UK from the A8 countries, they cannot be relied upon to produce accurate data. Some of the problems are outlined below:

- Not all migrants will register – some may work in the informal sector, or may have short-term plans.
- Self-employed migrants are not required to register.
- Migrants may register as working in one sector then move to another.
- Migrants do not have to de-register when they leave, so there is no way of knowing how many migrants registered on the scheme are still in the UK.

- Migrants may register in one part of the UK and then move somewhere different.
- Migrants may have already been in the UK prior to 2004 and registering may be a formalisation of their status.
- WRS only tells us about migrants from the A8 countries, not from other European countries such as Spain and Portugal.

With this in mind, then, it is best to treat WRS data with much caution. At best, however, it can indicate with a broad brush the nationalities, ages and employment of one of the largest groups of migrants currently living in the Diocese. It cannot of course differentiate between short-term seasonal workers and long-term migrants, meaning that it is hard to use this data to plan services.

The Home Office data was broken down into Local Authority areas. It was only feasible, then, to focus on the three main Local Authority areas within the diocese, namely Herefordshire, South Shropshire District and Bridgnorth District. This is commensurate with the approach taken by the Council for Social Responsibility's *Social and Demographic Analysis*, and can be seen as a best-fit approach to the available data.

## *Interviews*

21 interviews were undertaken with representatives from statutory, voluntary, academic and independent organisations, all of whom were identified as working with significant numbers of migrants, or who expressed an interest in working with migrants. Many of those interviewed attended a seminar at Hereford Diocese headquarters in November 2006.

A further 6 migrants were interviewed. No seasonal workers were interviewed, due to the time of year, however two former seasonal workers were interviewed who have since secured other work in the area.

Interviews were usually undertaken at the interviewee's place of work, to minimise inconvenience to the interviewee. Where it was felt that presence of an employer or colleagues would affect the data or make the interviewee uncomfortable, the interview was conducted in a local café or pub. All migrants were interviewed away from their place of work. Interviewees were shown a written information sheet about the research, including who would read the report and stressing confidentiality. Consent was verbal but informed. Interviews were recorded as written notes rather than tape recordings as this was seen as less formal and intimidating. It also gave interviewees the opportunity to read back over the notes that were taken and clarify, correct or veto anything after the interview had taken place. Interviews tended to take from 45 minutes to 2 hours, and were based on a topic sheet (included in the appendix of the report).

### *Focus groups*

Two focus groups were conducted with groups of six students at Hereford Sixth Form College, looking at integration of migrants and contact with migrants. This had two aims: to assess the type of contact that local young people had with migrants and also to assess their views about them, and the extent to which they felt integration was taking place. The focus groups were moderated by Joana Barron, a linguistic researcher from Cardiff University, and assisted by myself. They were tape recorded and transcribed. Written consent was gained from all participants, who were all aged between 16 and 18 and were evenly mixed by gender. One of the most interesting, and problematic, observations arising from the focus groups was that students who started off with negative comments about migrants very quickly adapted their contributions to fit in with the consensual "politically correct" comments of other, more dominant members of the groups. This showed that, while negative comments were being made about migrants in other contexts, the focus group context itself limited comments to those deemed appropriate to the audience.

### *Ethical and representative issues:*

The majority of empirical research on migrants in rural areas has involved contact with agencies and employers working with migrants, rather than with the migrants themselves, and there is a risk of speaking for people rather than giving them a voice. While this research has involved interviews with migrants, they are mostly Polish, they are migrants who have a very strong command of English and the sample was collected using a snowball method. As a result, the voices of migrants included in this report cannot be seen to be a representative sample of all migrants in the diocese, nor, perhaps can they be seen as typical. Although the aim of this research is not to explore the specificities of the migrant experience, it is of course of relevance to any discussion of integration of migrants. Any claim, then, to represent the voice of migrants within this report, would be a false one. Despite this, the interviews with migrants have given this report real substance, and have clarified many of the contradictions uncovered in other interviews.

### *Some cautions*

#### **Difference**

One of the dangers of providing services for migrants and seasonal workers, and one of the pitfalls of undertaking research in this area, is that one can homogenise all people who fall into this category and stereotype them. In doing so one can assume that all migrants and seasonal workers have similar aims, experiences and working lives, assuming a commonality among a diverse group, and, in the worst case, reducing them to victims. Robinson and Gardner (2004) have warned against the dangers of this in their research into the experiences of Black and Minority Ethnic people in rural Wales, since in areas where there are very few people who experience racism, their lived experiences are likely to be treated as similar despite substantive differences. In the case of this study, the area is host to many migrants of different backgrounds, however, despite the difference in scale, there is a danger of seeing migrants as “the same”. I am

concerned that the in process of demarcating an “other” and indeed by providing specific services for an “other”, one homogenises and misses the point.

Consequently, one of the aims of this project is to highlight the diversity within migrant groups in the Diocese and point to their differing backgrounds, working lives, aspirations and needs, in order that the recommendations which come out of this project take into account the different experiences of migrants.

## **Victims**

The potential to construct victims is a particularly dangerous by-product of this research. I wish to avoid suggestions that migrants are all vulnerable, powerless victims of an inconsiderate society, with certain needs. Any paternalism, in policy and in discourse, should be addressed and avoided. It must be accepted that integration is a two-way process; that migrants need to be as active in this as long-term residents, and that as individuals, migrants have different backgrounds and aspirations. The construction of a homogenised group of victims is a potential pitfall, partly due to the lack of direct research with migrant communities, leading to an assumption of passivity. By avoiding direct research with migrant workers one is denying them a voice, or at the very most giving them a tokenistic, marginal voice.

Despite the fact that practical limitations have meant that it has been impossible to involve a large and representative sample of migrants in this research, I have attempted to interview migrants with a range of experiences, in order to highlight the diversity of experiences, backgrounds and needs. This ties in with the problem of “speaking for” a particular group of people. A common concern amongst anthropologists, there is an automatic power relation built into the research process and this was something I felt most acutely aware of when interviewing people with limited English.

## **Integration – a discussion**

Before discussing integration of migrants in the local context, it is necessary to clarify what is meant by the notion of integration and the processes involved in encouraging integration.

### **Assimilation and Integration**

Assimilation is a strategy where incorporation is seen as a one-way process, a process through which migrants adopt the language, ideas and practice of the majority society, and which involves minimal action by the institutions of the majority society.

Assimilation as an approach has not been favoured by the UK, but has historically been seen in some aspects of US and French policy. It is important to distinguish assimilation from integration, which is conceived as a two-way process, where the receiving society is as much part of the process as the migrants themselves, and where institutions of the receiving society “must take the lead” (Modood 2006:2). While assimilation suggests cultural change on the part of the migrant, an integrative model allows cultural retention and ethnic identity accompanied with civic integration and national pride, allowing a dual identity similar to US-style hyphenation (Chinese-American, Italian-American etc).

The European Union set out its Common Basic Principles on immigrant integration in 2004, and these can give us a useful starting point to a discussion on the nature of integration and how to work towards an integrated society. Below is a discussion of some of the most useful Common Basic Principles and their application in terms of integration of migrants at the local level.

### **Integration as a two-way process**

One of the most important of the Common Basic Principles is the first, the statement that integration is a two-way process. Note that integration is seen not as an outcome, but as a process, and there is a sense, perhaps, that the integrative process does not have a goal or an end, rather it is an ongoing process of living with difference. The EU

clearly sets out the two-way nature of integration – stating that the integrative process involves “adaptation” by immigrants, and the “creation of opportunities” for participation on behalf of the receiving society.

### *Preparedness*

Although the Common Basic Principles supports the notion of integration as a two-way process, it arguably still places much emphasis on the immigrant’s role in integrating and the role of the institutions of the host society in enabling this integration. In other words, in practice, this two-way process is still one-sided. There is little recognition of the need to ensure “preparedness” of long-term residents for immigration flows; little discussion of the need for locals to adapt to change and perhaps change their own perceptions. McGhee (2006) discusses this with reference to the strategies for managing asylum seeker settlement. He notes how Government initiatives repeatedly focus attention on the migrant, for example through provision of ESOL, while neglecting to implement programmes aimed at supporting “host” communities. He notes how barriers to integration are seen most often in terms of lack of English language skills and a weak sense of British citizenship, a lack of effort on the behalf of the migrants rather than barriers created by “hosts”. The European Commission’s focus on the “creation of opportunities” is that this is work undertaken by institutions rather than individuals – by formal agencies rather than during the process of everyday life. I would suggest that successful integration needs to involve “adaptation” by members of the receiving society as well as by immigrants – in particular in terms of preparedness to engage with migrants and to accept and welcome migrants into the community. Preparing host communities for immigration flows, then, needs to be a key feature of the integration process. This may involve churches working with their parishioners, as well as with local media to promote positive images of immigration.

**Common Basic Principle 3: Employment is a key part of the integration process and is central to the participation of immigrants, to the contribution immigrants make to the host society, and to making such contributions visible.**

The notion of a “visible” contribution is an important caveat here – this can change locals’ perceptions of migrants and indeed help to dispel any myths about migrants taking from the state and giving nothing back. While many locals concur that migrants work very hard, they also fear that they “send everything home”, and as a result are not contributing significantly to the local economy. This attitude has been encouraged by the anti-immigration group Migrationwatch, which has significant access to the national media.

Employers can play a major part in the integration process, through ensuring equal treatment of migrant and non-migrant workers, through attempting to reduce segmentation of the workforce if they employ large numbers of migrants so that migrants and non-migrants are working side by side, communicating with each other and possibly socialising out of work. They can also damage integration through preferential treatment of migrants, or – more usually- less preferential treatment. There is also an issue here of migrants being more likely to be employed by agencies, meaning that they are being paid at a different rate and are subject to different working conditions. This in itself can segregate rather than integrate, and employers could address this through providing more access to direct employment or negotiating different contracts with agencies.

For some people the only contact that they have with people from other backgrounds is through their employment. Contact in the work environment often leads to the development of social networks outside of workplace and can build cross-cultural contact at many different levels (Community Cohesion Panel 2004:28).

Employers, who are usually members of the host culture, can be assisted in their preparedness both to employ migrants, and to treat them equably.

**Common Basic Principle 4. Basic knowledge of the host society’s language, history and institutions is indispensable to integration; enabling immigrants to acquire this basic knowledge is essential to successful integration.**

**Common Basic Principle 5. Efforts in education are critical to preparing immigrants, and particularly their descendents, to be more successful and more active participants in society.**

Language training and access to education and training courses are covered in the next section. These are vital aspects of the integration process. Opportunities to attend courses will encourage migrants to stay longer and to participate in other aspects of civil society.

**Common Basic Principle 6. Access to goods and services**

**Common Basic Principle 8. Right to practise diverse cultures and religions**

Access to goods and service implies awareness of these services. This is related to issues of language and communication. At present information about goods and services is often communicated through informal networks. These could be utilised more if institutions in the host society wish to communicate with migrants.

**Common Basic Principle 7. Frequent interaction between immigrants and hosts – shared fora, intercultural dialogue, education about immigrants and immigrant cultures and “stimulating living conditions in urban environments”**

The promotion of cross-cultural contact is one of the most important aspects of integration. Contact between migrants and non-migrants may only take place in the workplace, and opportunities for social interaction may be limited. Many migrants do not socialise in pubs and cafes, sometimes for financial reasons, sometimes because they feel uncomfortable doing so. Breaking down barriers of interaction between migrants and non-migrants can be facilitated through sport, festivals, community arts events, as well as through the provision of spaces where people can interact in a non-threatening environment. Strategies for encouraging interaction will be returned to in the recommendations section.

## **Informal networks and entrepreneurial practice**

Griffiths et al, in their discussion of the dispersal system for asylum seekers, note how refugee organisations have been viewed in the academic literature as well as by policy makers as central to the integrative process, providing a “bridge to the receiving society” through the creation of networks for employment, and through providing alternative means of accessing services. Multiculturalism and race-relations policy in the UK has encouraged ethnic community representation and the devolving of responsibility to community organisations. Griffiths et al have suggested that this focus on community organisations, which, limited as they are by funding restrictions and internal conflict, has actually led to less rather than more integration, as community organisations are viewed as distinct from the mainstream, and as such may perpetuate what Griffiths et al describe as “institutionalised marginality” (ibid: 881)

There is also a danger, with publicly funded community organisations, of resentment by other residents, who feel that migrant groups are being treated preferentially in the provision of premises, support etc.

Instead, it is argued,

informal economic networks and the ability to participate freely in the social life of the receiving society may be more effective in promoting integration than state-directed integration programmes (ibid:894).

They discuss the creation of informal economic networks among Somalis in Birmingham and London, based around cafes, restaurants, internet cafes, remittance systems and shops, which have encouraged economic integration of refugees. They do not mention, however, the extent to which this business activity has encouraged social integration, however it is likely that the degree of social integration would be similar or higher than that facilitated by formal community groups.

Perhaps, then, encouragement of entrepreneurial practice is one of the most useful ways of promoting integration and network formation, rather than the marginalising practice of providing specific services.

When interviewed, migrants mentioned the difficulties involved in starting businesses in the UK, and in accessing credit. Given the well-documented problems individual migrants have with communication and with formal bureaucratic procedures such as opening bank accounts, this is likely to prove difficult. Many migrants work in partnership with longer-term migrants or with British nationals to set up businesses.<sup>4</sup> UK credit history is often needed, and this can be a major barrier for migrant entrepreneurs.

Migrants from A8 countries tend to use informal networks to communicate information about services, events and the local area. This is effective as a means of communication and needs to be used more by institutions of the host society who wish to communicate with migrants. However, reliance on networks means that migrants often have large gaps in knowledge about local opportunities and amenities. Work should be done to ensure that these networks have more contact with the host institutions.

### *Short-term migration as a potential barrier to integration*

Some migrants working in the diocese see their stay in the UK in terms of short term economic gain, often with a fixed outcome, for example to buy a home or start a business in their own country. Migrants from Central and Eastern European countries have given the figure of £10,000 as an amount they wish to save, in order to improve their circumstances on their return. They see this as achievable in three years.

For these people integration, through language learning and through participating in social life with people from the UK may be less of a priority than for those who intend to stay longer. Short-term migrants are less likely to have dependants with them, and may have dependants in their home country, meaning that they may be less willing to

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<sup>4</sup> Interview with worker at Eastern European food shop

“invest” in their integration in the UK. One interviewee, whose parents were currently living in Hereford but were planning to return to their home country said,

My parents haven't learned English because they only wanted to stay a short time. They find it very hard, without the language, and want to go back soon. They feel lonely here, and they have to take me with them to buy things.

This suggests that short-term migrants need to be supported so that they can start to integrate straight away. Language lessons should be widely available at different hours to encourage this. If integration is to be successful in an area where there are many short term and seasonal workers, constituting a transient population, then migrants must be made to feel welcome and supported in their attempts to participate in local life from the beginning. Large numbers of short-term and seasonal workers can be a threat to community cohesion, but only if local communities perceive them as a threat and treat them as such.

### **Breaking down the barriers- subverting “immigrant and host”**

Perhaps in the age of Europeanisation, it is a mistake to think of a simple dichotomy between “immigrant” and “host” – rather we need to think in terms of mobility, flexibility and cosmopolitanism, of an unproblematic European citizenship. Although this is an ideal, and perhaps a goal,<sup>5</sup> the current cultural climate in the United Kingdom places national identity far higher in importance than a European identity, perceives economics in terms of national structures, and understands the term immigration to be in-flow through national rather than European borders. Given that integration is fundamentally a relationship between people, perhaps these group understandings of Britain, of Europe and of immigration need to be addressed in order for European integration to be effective.

Institutions involved in integration of migrants can promote a more cosmopolitan, mobile Diocese of Hereford, based on a recognition that global movements of people and goods are as much part of these rural corners of England, as they are of large cities.

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<sup>5</sup> Of course this European identity based on a perceived shared cultural history is highly problematic, based as it is on an assumption of white superiority, morally, intellectually and racially, and placing the non-white non-Christian as its Other.

## **Summary: key aspects of the integration process**

The points listed below are the aspects of the integration process most relevant to the local context and specifically to the role of the Church and other community institutions in supporting this integration:

- Preparing local residents for the arrival of immigrants.
- Encouraging interaction between migrants and local residents.
- Working with employers to support integration in the workplace.
- Enabling access to services and education and training opportunities.
- Creating opportunities for seasonal workers to interact with British people and to experience local life.
- Encouraging migrants to participate and invest in their local community.

## Discussion of Data

This chapter consists of two sections. The first is an analysis of data produced by the Home Office on A8 and SAWS migrants in the diocese, as well as a discussion of census data. The second section is a discussion of primary data produced during interviews and focus groups, and focuses on aspects of integration.

*Some demographic information about the Diocese of Hereford<sup>6</sup>*

### Unemployment

**Figure 1: Proportions of economically active but unemployed people and Job Seekers' Allowance claimants**

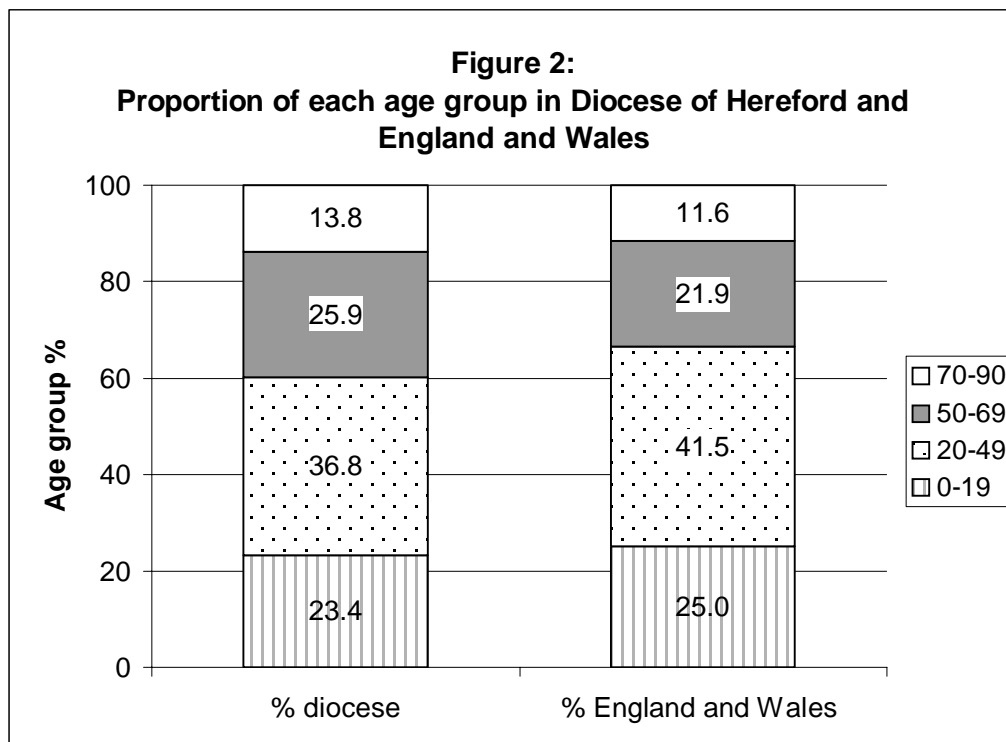
	Economically active/unemployed (%)	JSA claimants (%)
Herefordshire	4.2	1.6
South Shropshire district	3.6	1.4
Bridgnorth district	2.6	1.5
West Midlands region	5.2	3.5
UK	5	2.6

(Source:www.nomisweb.co.uk)

The diocese has a lower than average unemployment rate, despite net internal and international immigration. Herefordshire has one of the lowest median gross weekly earnings in the West Midlands region, however, at £387.90 (at December 2006). The West Midlands' median gross weekly earnings currently stand at £421.10 while the national median is £447.10. So Herefordshire is a county of abundant work, albeit low-paid and low skilled. The other parts of the diocese have a similar profile, although wages are slightly higher.

<sup>6</sup> Further detail can be found in the diocese's *Social and Demographic Analysis*, which is published annually.

## Age



Source: Diocese of Hereford Council for Social Responsibility (2006)

Compared to England and Wales as a whole, the Diocese of Hereford has a lower proportion of 0-19 year-olds, and a higher proportion of over 50s. 27% of households were defined as pensioner households in 2006 (Hereford Diocesan Council for Social Responsibility, 2006). Between the 1991 census and the 2001 census there has been an increase in older groups and a decrease in the number of pre-school children. As with other rural areas, such as the south-west of England, internal migration to the diocese has mainly consisted of older people, while younger people have tended to move away. It will be interesting to note whether international migration to the area will play any part in countering this trend.

## Internal Migration

In the Diocese of Hereford, a pattern of internal migration similar to the national picture discussed in the literature review emerges. There is an overall pattern of internal in-migration to, rather than away from the diocese, with Herefordshire experiencing the most (net in-migration of 700 between mid 2004-mid 2005). Most age

groups experienced net in-migration, with the exception of 15-29 year olds, who experienced a net outflow of 500 in Herefordshire, 200 in Bridgnorth District and 100 in South Shropshire. The 45-64 age group experienced a net inflow of 400 for Herefordshire, 200 for Bridgnorth and 300 for South Shropshire in this time. So while the overall population is increasing in the diocese, its increase is due to in-migration of older people<sup>7</sup>.

*Information about migrants in the diocese.*

### **Census data – migration and ethnicity**

It is very difficult to analyse how many migrants are currently living in the diocese. Census data on ethnic groups is unhelpful, since members of minority ethnic groups may or may not be migrants. Similarly, ethnic monitoring forms, such as those used by local authorities, often have a blanket category “white”, which could include people from countries as diverse as Romania, Argentina, Canada and Poland, all of whom one would expect to have very different experiences of living and working in the United Kingdom. The 2001 census tells us that 0.1% of residents in Herefordshire and Shropshire are Black or Black British, and 0.2% of Herefordshire residents and 0.3% of Shropshire residents are Asian or British Asian. While we cannot assume that these minority ethnic residents are migrants, we can use these figures to point to the fact that the diocese has not until recently been an ethnically diverse place, and that people living in the diocese are not used to difference. Despite recent migration of workers from new European countries, Gypsies and Travellers still make up the largest ethnic minority group in the diocese, with an estimated number of 3000 Gypsies and Travellers resident in Herefordshire alone.

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<sup>7</sup> Source: Internal Migration 2004-2005 Local Authority Flows by Quinary Age Group and Gender  
<http://www.statistics.gov.uk/StatBase/Expodata/Spreadsheets/D9402.xls>

**Figure 3: Population of the Diocese of Hereford by place of birth**

	<i>Herefordshire</i>	<i>Bridgnorth district</i>	<i>South Shropshire district</i>	<i>West Midlands</i>	<i>England</i>
Total population	174871	52497	40410	5267308	49138831
People born in the UK	169127	51081	39211	4868026	44588008
%	96.71	97.3	97.03	92.42	90.74
People born in Republic of Ireland	607	187	148	54298	459662
%	0.35	0.36	0.37	1.03	0.94
People born in other EU Countries	1741	464	306	40956	695045
%	1	0.88	0.76	0.78	1.41
People born elsewhere	3396	765	745	304028	3396116
%	1.94	1.46	1.84	5.77	6.91

Source: Census 2001

Figure 3 above is adapted from 2001 census information, and refers to those “normally resident” in the three main Authorities in the diocese. This means that it may exclude short-term migrants, and also of course illegal migrants. The category of “other EU countries” does not include migrants from the accession countries, since they had not at this time entered the EU. The 2001 census does show us, however, that compared to the region or to England as a whole, in 2001 the diocese of Hereford had relatively few inhabitants from outside of the United Kingdom. While the figures for people born in the pre-accession EU are similar to the regional and national figures, there are significantly fewer residents who were born “elsewhere.” The total figure for people living in the diocese in 2001 who were born outside of the UK is 8359. We can assume that this does not include any seasonal workers, and also that the “elsewhere” figure is unlikely to include illegal migrants from the A8 countries whose status was regularised in 2004. However, as a baseline for adding figures from the SAWS scheme and from the Workers’ Registration scheme this data can be useful. Above all, the census data shows us that, while there have been relatively few international migrants living in the diocese, the numbers are still significant and we cannot assume that SAWS workers and A8 migrants are the only migrants in the diocese, nor can we assume that all immigration to the diocese is recent.

## **Asylum Seekers and Refugees**

Herefordshire Council currently does not have a contract with the Home Office to place asylum seekers, however other Local Authorities may place asylum seekers in Herefordshire without informing the Local Authority.<sup>8</sup> It is possible that very small numbers of asylum seekers are living in the diocese.

The 2001 census also gives us information about those resident in the diocese who were not born in the UK. This is different from nationality, since British nationals may have been born overseas, and does not tell us whether people are recent migrants or not.

### *Data from the Workers' Registration Scheme*

Migrants from the A8 European countries are required to register on the Workers' Registration Scheme within 28 days of finding employment in the UK. Data is no longer available by postcode area, so diocesan data is shown here by Local Authority area. Given the boundaries of Hereford Diocese, it has been necessary to limit data to the areas of Herefordshire, Bridgnorth District and South Shropshire District. A breakdown and discussion of the WRS data follows:

### **Nationality**

The nationality profile of A8 migrants in the diocese is fairly similar to the national picture. (Fig. 4) There are slightly less Poles as a proportion of A8 migrants as a whole, and more Slovaks, Lithuanians, and Latvians. This variation is probably due to clustering of migrants due to the formation of networks. As with the national profile, the majority of A8 migrants working in the Diocese of Hereford are Polish, reflecting the relative size of Poland compared to other A8 countries, but also its economic status in comparison with the UK – unemployment is currently at 14%, economic growth is lower than other new EU countries, and the pound is very strong (and increasing in strength) against the zloty.<sup>9</sup> Polish migrants, given their strong numbers, have formed

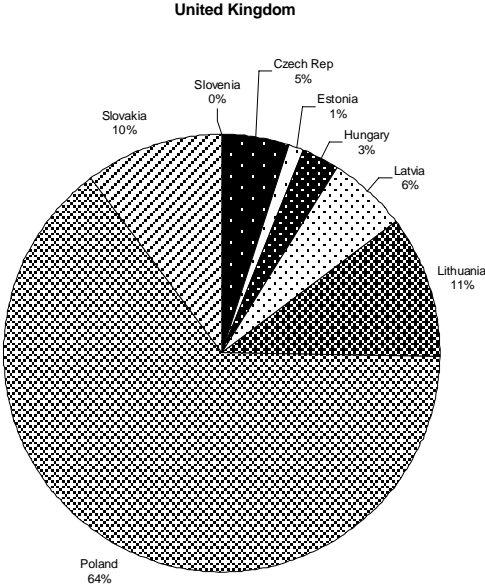
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<sup>8</sup> this statement is based on an interview with a representative of Herefordshire Council.

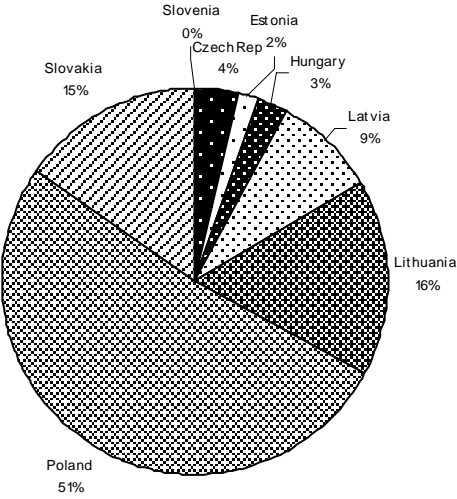
<sup>9</sup> "Jobless Poles swell rise in migrants from the east but asylum seeker numbers fall" *The Guardian*, Wednesday Feb 28<sup>th</sup> 2007, p3

mutually supporting networks in the diocese, particularly in areas where many migrants live, such as Hereford city. These networks will be explored below.

**Figure 4: WRS migrants by nationality – local and national figures**



**Diocese of Hereford**



Source: Work Permits UK (2007). Includes all registrations from May 2004 to December 2006.

## Gender

**Figure 5: Approved applications by gender, May 2004 -Dec 2006**

	West Midlands region	Diocese of Hereford
Female applications	15,857	2,717
Male applications	25,518	4,421
Total	41,375	7,138
% Female	38	38

Source: Work Permits UK

The gender ratio for A8 migrants in the diocese reflects that of the region as a whole – with just over 60% of all migrants being male. This is usual in early stage migration flows, and the proportion of female migrants is likely to increase with family reunion. However the current evidence does not suggest a trend towards a higher rate of female migration, although as we are still in the early stages of EU enlargement this could change.

## Seasonality

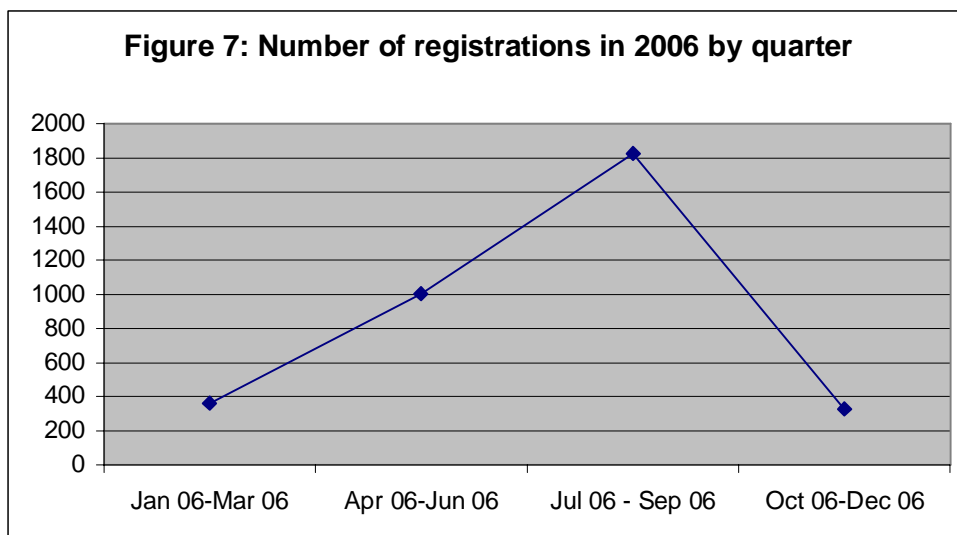
An analysis of the WRS data in terms of date of registration reveals a distinct variation in local patterns from the national and regional statistics.

**Fig. 6: Applications in 2006 by date of registration**

	West Midlands region	Diocese of Hereford	Herefordshire
Registrations in April-September 06	10,326	2,831	2,684
Registrations in Jan- March, Oct-Dec 06	9,268	688	580
Total	19,594	3,519	3,264
<b>% summer registrations</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>82</b>

Source: Work Permits UK

The West Midlands region as a whole saw a steady flow of migrants arriving and registering throughout the year (fig 6). 53% arrived in summer months (April – September 2006) meaning that as a whole the region is not particularly affected by seasonality. If we look at the Diocese of Hereford, however, 80% of migrants arrived in summer, and in the county of Herefordshire alone this figure is increased to 82%. Figure 7 shows the seasonal flow of migrants to the Diocese, and indicates the importance of seasonality to an understanding of migration in the local context.



Source: Work Permits UK

This has important implications - we can assume that many of these summer migrants are taking up seasonal jobs on farms and in packhouses. This suggests that a higher proportion of A8 migrants than in other areas may intend to return home after the end of the season. It is unknown how many seasonal workers stay on after the end of their farm contract. However, while evidence suggests that a sizeable proportion stay on, we can assume that an even large proportion returns home.

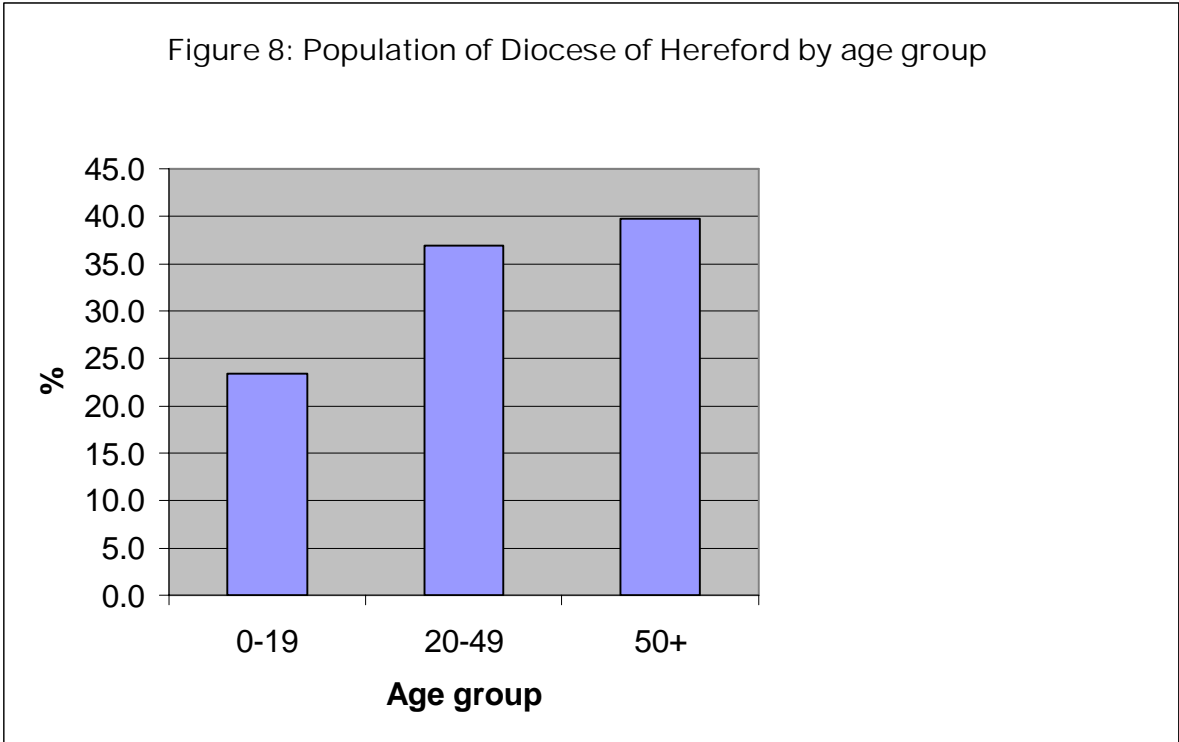
## **Age**

Fig. 8 illustrates the ageing population in the diocese, with 39.8% of the population over the age of 50 and 23.4% of the population under 20. This means that the diocese has a high dependency ratio (the ratio of those of working age to those above and below working age). Nationally, A8 migrants are young, with the majority being between 18 and 35. The age ranges of these migrants in the diocese follow a similar pattern, as figure 9 reveals. Most A8 migrants in the diocese are between the ages of 18 and 34, with only 27 registrations coming from under 18s and 24 from over 55s.

Further information from Work Permits UK tells us that between May 2004 and December 2006, only 139 out of the 7,138 WRS applications in the Diocese stated that they had dependants with them, with a total of 191 dependants registered in all, including those over 17. This figure does exclude, of course, dependants who arrive after initial registration, however the figure is very low – only 2.6% of all registered migrants are dependants.

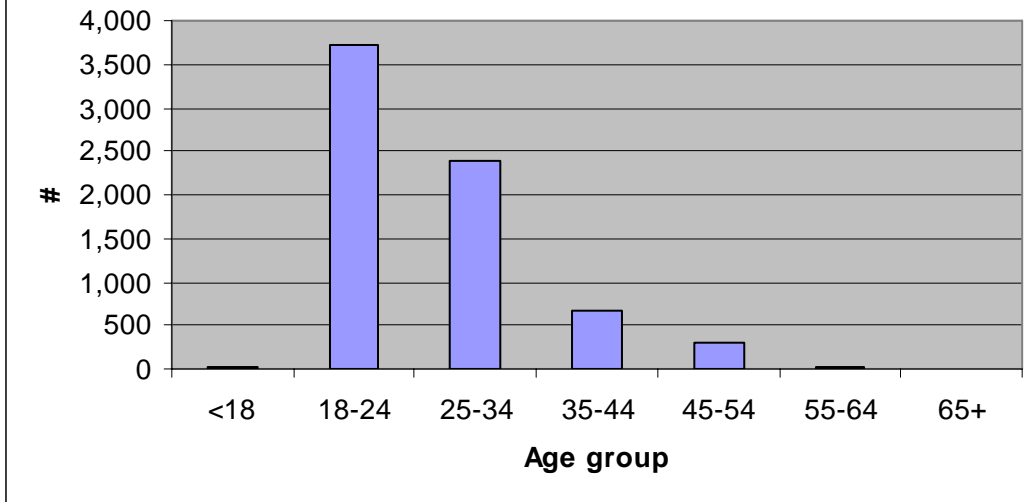
It is difficult to directly compare ages of A8 migrants with census data (which excludes most A8 migrants, as it dates to 2001), as the age ranges used are different. However, a general comparison can be made between long-term residents and A8 migrants by looking at figures 8 and 9. It is likely that as migrants stay for longer periods of time, they will bring dependants, or have children whilst living in the UK which will change the demography of migrants in the area, however current data make this hard to measure.

The Pupil Level Annual School Census for May 2006 indicates that 286 children in Herefordshire schools do not speak English as a first language, with 54% of these coming from a “white” ethnic group. Between 2005 and 2006, the number of pupils in Herefordshire learning English as an additional language rose from 167 to 275, an increase of 65%<sup>10</sup>. So while official data cannot give us an accurate number of migrants bringing dependants, the recent increase in EAL take-up is likely to be a result of A8 migrants with dependants. Given that 46% of schoolchildren who did not have English as a first language were not defined as “white”, we can assume that many migrants bringing dependants do not come from A8 countries, and that they or their parents migrated from outside of Europe. Any policy decisions made relating to migrants should consider not only migrants from the new Europe but also those from further afield, who may face different cultural and race-related challenges.



<sup>10</sup> Herefordshire Council (2006:10)

**Fig. 9: Registrations May 2004-Dec 2006 in the Diocese of Hereford by Age Group**



Source: Work Permits UK

## Industry Sectors

Figure 10 shows industry sectors that migrants are registered as working in. In the diocese of Hereford, 72% of all registrations are for work in agriculture and related activities. This is particularly interesting if compared to the figures for the region as a whole, where only 20% of all registrations involve agricultural work. If we take Herefordshire away from the West Midlands regional total, only 8% of migrants in the region work in agriculture. This profile has some important consequences, discussed earlier in the section on seasonality. Just as the seasonality data indicated that most migrants arrived in the summer months, this shows that most are working in agriculture or related activities. So the majority of initial applications are for seasonal work on farms in Herefordshire and to a certain extent South Shropshire. In terms of integration, the large amount of short-term labour migration which seems to be apparent in the figures means that migrants are less likely to invest in their communities, and are less likely to bring dependants.

However, an initial registration as a seasonal farm worker does not necessarily mean that the migrant will remain there until they leave the country. Three migrants interviewed said that they initially came to Herefordshire to work on farms, then found alternative work as the season ended. For two of the three this was Sun Valley, for the third an administrative post.

So the data on agricultural labour need to be understood in terms of the following: whilst many migrants initially work on farms as seasonal labourers, some choose to stay in the area afterwards and seek other employment. Their status then changes from a short-term migrant to having longer-term plans. A typical pattern for A8 migrants is to move on to factory work after the growing season ends.

Registrations for seasonal agricultural labour cannot be used as accurate figures for number of migrants in the diocese. While at certain times of the year there are higher

levels of overseas workers than others, many come and go throughout the season, and the majority return home at the end of the season.

It is also interesting to note some of the absences in these figures. Sun Valley Foods, in Hereford is one of the largest employers of migrants locally, so we would assume that meat processing would feature prominently in the registration data. However, in Herefordshire only 14 people have registered as working in meat processing, and only 4 since 2005, which is when Sun Valley Foods reported having employed more workers from A8 countries. This suggests that workers at Sun Valley have either registered previously in another industry, for example in agriculture if they were seasonal workers prior to their current employment, or they are registered as working in the manufacturing sector due to their being employed by agencies as temporary workers. This acts as a precaution, then, in relying too much on the WRS data as a means of assessing numbers and employment sector of migrants.

Another particularly telling absence is in the professional/skilled sectors. Computer services, financial services, Government, law-related services and telecommunications have all seen no registrations in the diocese, while retail, catering, health and medical services and manufacturing have seen the most registrations outside of agriculture. Migrants from A8 countries, then, are concentrated in low-skilled, low-paid jobs. The figures also indicate that there are very few migrants working in skilled manual jobs, for example, as tradespeople. This may be as a result of the WRS not being necessary for those who are self-employed, however anecdotal evidence suggests that A8 migrants are not taking on skilled work as much as they are in some areas of the UK. This is perhaps due to the availability of other, more regular work, such as agricultural and factory work.

**Fig 10: Registrations May 2004-Dec 2006 by industry sector.**

	Admin, Bus & Man Services	Agriculture Activities	Computer Services/Telecommunications	Construction & Land Serv	Education & Cultural Act.	Ent & Leisure Services/Sporting Activities	Extraction Industries	Financial Services	Government	Health & Medical Services	Hospitality & Catering	Law Related Services	Manufacturing	Meat Processing Sbs	Other Food Processing Sbs	Real Est & Prop Services	Retail & Related Services	Secur & Protect Services	Transport/Utilities	Total
<b>Herefordshire</b>	583	5,006	0	103	68	18	10	0	0	92	166	0	344	14	37	9	62	0	39	6,611
<b>Bridgnorth District</b>	103	28	0	2	0	3	0	0	0	2	39	0	5	0	4	0	5	0	0	191
<b>South Shropshire District</b>	68	116	0	2	0	9	1	0	0	27	69	0	12	11	14	0	7	0	0	336
<b>Total Number of registrations</b>	754	5,150	0	107	68	30	11	0	0	121	274	0	361	25	55	9	74	0	39	7,138

Source: Work Permits UK

## Self-employment

Self-employed A8 nationals are exempt from registering on the WRS. This makes estimating the number of A8 nationals working on a self-employed basis in the UK very hard. The British Government recently estimated the total number of self-employed A8 nationals in the UK at around 160,000. (Ruhs 2006:10)

While many A8 nationals are known to be working on a self-employed basis in the construction sector nationally, there is little local evidence to suggest that this is happening in the diocese. Interviews, focus groups and anecdotal evidence have not revealed any knowledge of A8 nationals working on a self-employed basis.

## SAWS workers

Data from Work Permits UK dated 19 March 2007 show that 2,422 SAWS permits have been given out for work on farms in Herefordshire and South Shropshire. In Herefordshire, 398 permits were given to Haygrove Ltd, who recruit for their own farms near Ledbury, and 772 were given to S&A Produce Ltd, who recruit for their

farms between Hereford and Leominster. 624 permits were given to HOPS labour solutions, and 579 to Concordia, who provide labour for many different farms. In south Shropshire, 45 permits have been granted through SASTAK, which also recruits for multiple farms.

40 per cent of the SAWS permits allocated for each operator are required to go to Romanian and Bulgarian nationals, with the remaining 60% for workers from outside of the European Economic Area (EEA). Workers from outside of the EEA are required to be students, so we may expect the majority of these workers to be under 25 years old. This requirement is not applicable to Romanian and Bulgarian workers, so it is likely that there will be a more of a mix of ages of these seasonal workers, just as there are on farms that currently employ seasonal workers from within the EEA. SAWS workers are not allowed to bring dependants.

## *Key Themes*

This section explores some of the themes that arose in interviews and focus groups.

### *Vulnerability of Seasonal Workers*

Workers from outside of the European Union, such as those on the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme, are particularly vulnerable in terms of their employment status. Their accommodation is always tied to their place of work, and they may only work on SAWS registered farms. They are much more vulnerable to seasonality than other workers, then, as they cannot find alternative employment if there is no farm work available. As SAWS workers' accommodation is tied to their employment, the employers are in a position to deduct costs for "extra services" from their wages, such as transport for shopping or medical care, entertainment, use of Internet etc. Although this is regulated by the Agricultural Wages Board, evidence from interviews with people working with seasonal workers suggests that this is not always complied with, and also that although some deductions from wages/extra costs are optional, employees often have limited choice but to pay inflated prices (e.g. £4 each way for a lift into the local town, £2 for a loaf of bread from the on-site shop).

SAWS workers may not have a good knowledge of English, and are less likely to have the opportunity to practise English. This also increases their vulnerability. If they are asked to leave the farm, due to misconduct or a lack of work, there is a danger that they "disappear" into the grey economy, leaving them more vulnerable to criminal activity and illegal working practices. When asked about the extent of this problem, interviewees were often confused between workers from EU states, who have a right to remain and work in the EU, and former SAWS workers, who are illegally resident. As a result, it is difficult to estimate how many non-EU workers now reside in the Hereford area illegally.

Interviews with those in contact with seasonal workers on two large soft fruit farms revealed incidences where seasonal workers had reported underpayment, deductions from wages, bullying by supervisors, cramped living conditions and unfair disciplinary structures. As these problems were reported by a third party, it is not the place of this report to comment on the cases in question. It must be recognised, however, that it is the specific vulnerability of seasonal workers, their relative poverty which drives their accepting of unacceptable working conditions, their lack of knowledge of labour laws, of English, of how to complain, and their fear of being sent home, which enables these practices to continue. Moreover, it is the pressure on food producers by buyers that create the conditions within which these practices are seen as necessary. Church groups involved with seasonal workers have worked with unions to improve working conditions and are planning to work more closely with employers in the future.

The short-term status of seasonal workers puts them in a very different category from other migrants who may wish to stay in the UK for many years. In terms of integration, they have different expectations and needs, and these need to be taken into account when planning services. As a result, recommendations for involvement with seasonal workers will be handled separately from other migrants in the recommendations section.

### *Migrant networks*

One of the first questions asked to migrants in interviews was, “Why here?” In other words, what made them choose to live and work in this part of the country as opposed to elsewhere. Migrants interviewed came to the diocese for the reasons listed below:

- Knew friends here
- Came to join family – who came to work at fruit farms
- Knew family here
- Worked at a farm
- Did not like London
- Brought to work here by gangmaster from another part of the UK

The importance of personal contacts in moving to the area and in finding work was mentioned by all migrants interviewed. One migrant who had been in the UK for a few years brought his mother and sisters over every summer to help out on the farm where he worked. When asked about securing work, accommodation and about initial migration arrangements, a network of contacts was the primary source of information. Informal networks need to be utilised if agencies wish to access those migrants with little or no English language. Migrants often feel ashamed of their English and find it intimidating dealing with official agencies. For this reason they often bring friends or family members with them for support. Certain individuals also become well-known through migrant networks as being particularly helpful, especially if they speak other languages. Agencies can facilitate their engagement with migrant groups through nominating one member of staff to work with migrants. He or she may then become known through informal networks as being someone who is helpful and patient.

### *Community participation*

Migrants who work in a small community, for example on a farm near a small village, may find community integration easier than those who live and work in larger towns. It is likely that the employer is known locally and this can give a “way in” to the community. One Polish farm worker, who is well known in the village near where he lives, spoke of the importance of his employment as a key factor in his being “accepted” into village life. He plays pool on a local pub team and knows many people in the village. He has lived on the farm where he works for three years, and despite being in temporary accommodation, feels part of local life. As his job involved coming into contact with customers, especially other members of the farming community, this enabled him to build up a social network of acquaintances to draw on outside of work. This local knowledge is also important “cultural capital” and gives shared terms of reference when speaking to other members of the community. People living in small communities were able to identify which companies locally employ migrants, and were likely to know where migrants lived. This makes it easier for migrants to integrate. There are likely to be only a few individual migrants in small communities (except, of

course, in places where there are large farms accommodating seasonal workers, but this is a different issue), and the relatively small numbers are considered to be an important facilitator in integration, as British communities then feel less threatened, and are more likely to be welcoming. One Polish interviewee, who had lived in Herefordshire prior to and after EU expansion, discussed how EU expansion, and the resulting increase in migrants from new EU countries, had made long-term residents of the area less welcoming towards migrants. He reported that he noticed a difference in the way he was treated before and after larger numbers of migrants arrived in Herefordshire, and felt that this was to do with demographic change happening too fast, meaning that local residents were less willing to welcome migrants and more likely to respond negatively.

Another Polish migrant discussed the way in which older British people are more familiar with Poles and Poland than younger Britons, and those who remembered World War II often shared stories about Polish soldiers with him. He felt that this shared history, and older people's previous experience of Poles helped to break down cultural barriers, which were perhaps stronger among younger Britons. Many British people know very little about former eastern bloc countries – they have not until recently been countries of tourism, their languages are unfamiliar, and despite the iron curtain falling some time ago, they are still not comfortably part of many British people's world knowledge. This unfamiliarity, with language, food and culture of migrants may lead to hesitancy or fear, which may emerge as hostility. This would suggest that the more British people know about the cultures and origins of migrants, the more likely they are to communicate with them, and welcome them into their lives. Focus group participants discussed how friends and family have felt "intimidated" by migrants in towns. When questioned about this, they confirmed that this is to do with migrants walking in large groups and speaking another language, rather than as a result of threatening behaviour on the part of migrants. Again, this suggests that unfamiliarity with difference is the root of fear of and hostility towards migrants.

## *Racism and Discrimination*

While racism has historically referred to judgments based on imputed biological difference, a newer definition of racism focuses on cultural difference, whereby linguistic and cultural markers of difference are used in discriminatory and judgmental behaviour.

McKay's research found that discrimination in the workplace was relatively commonplace amongst migrant workers, especially where workers were isolated. They also found, however, that discrimination was more acute for Black migrants than for Europeans. Of some concern were their findings about the attitudes of some supervisors, who openly discriminated in terms of allocating the worst jobs to migrants, name-calling and bullying. There was also evidence of racism not being challenged by workers or by colleagues, suggesting that victims and employers were complicit in the perpetuation of racist actions. This is backed up by most research on racism in rural communities. In Redditch, a BNP candidate had drawn attention to migrants from Central and Eastern Europe in a speech – demonstrating the degree to which discourse around migrants in becoming racialised.

Some British research participants bemoaned the treatment of migrants by others – there was a general assumption that Herefordshire was a racist place, and moreover that those who were most discriminatory were “Herefordians”: local people rather than supposedly more cosmopolitan in-migrants from other part of the UK. Many of those interviewed spoke of how Herefordshire in particular was an insular place, not particularly welcoming to migrants from anywhere. There was a definite trend in the focus groups towards participants distancing themselves from those who were seen to be racist, and it was clear that boundaries were being drawn along the lines of social class.

The Community Cohesion Panel recognises that resentment and opposition to migration happens more in working-class communities – indeed, more affluent

communities are not in a relationship with new migrants where they perceive a threat. Migrants are more likely to live in less affluent areas, sending their children to different schools and taking less skilled jobs, meaning that they do not compete for resources with more affluent communities. McGee (2006) argues that resentment towards migrants needs to be understood in terms of competition for scarce resources and in terms of a response to perceived social or economic insecurity.

There is also evidence of racism amongst migrants. One interview with a migrant from Poland confirmed this, as an interviewee expressed a wish to live in Herefordshire due to its largely white population, as compared to Birmingham. Other interviews with migrants prompted observations about Black and Asian people in the United Kingdom. Interviewees from A8 states discussed their own unfamiliarity with people from different ethnic backgrounds, although only one interviewee discussed this in racist terms.

West Mercia Police have received very little self-reported incidents of racism and discriminatory behaviour through their “true vision” self-reporting scheme. This may be due to a lack of awareness by migrants of the existence of such a scheme, a lack of linguistic competence or a reluctance to take such incidents further. Verbal harassment, for example, may not be construed by many migrants as a criminal matter. There is also a mistrust of the police by some migrants. While reporting of racist incidents is encouraged, this is not generally taken up, despite many migrants being able to recount incidents experienced by themselves or someone they know.

Every migrant interviewed recounted evidence of hostility towards them by British people. This took the form of:

- Verbal abuse in the street
- Verbal abuse in bars and pubs
- Being refused service in shops and agencies
- People pretending not to understand
- Patronising/condescending behaviour
- Deliberate unhelpfulness.

These isolated incidents are unlikely to be reported to the police, being relatively minor. However they do constitute racial harassment and bullying, and are unacceptable forms of behaviour. Their prevalence is perhaps of most concern here. It is probable that some perpetrators of these actions are not aware that their actions are racist and illegal. This is perhaps one of the areas where local communities can be assisted in their “preparedness” for new migrants.

British interviewees also reported incidents of hostility, racial abuse and harassment towards migrants that they had witnessed. One interviewee had received a report from migrants scared to go out in Hereford city centre at night, another reported incidents of seasonal workers being repeatedly subject to harassment and bullying in supermarkets by customers – most of whom were young adults. Focus groups revealed reports of taunting by local schoolchildren on buses. All students involved in the focus groups had witnessed some form of taunting or harassment, and in nearly all of these cases the perpetrators were young teenagers. We perhaps need to ask why these young people feel hostile towards migrants, and what can be done to counter this in schools.

Tension can occur between migrants from different areas. This is commonplace on farms, where there are large groups of seasonal workers living together, but also exists among migrants living locally. There are of course historical reasons for tensions between groups: one Polish woman spoke of her dislike of being placed in the same category by British people as migrants from Russia or Belarus<sup>11</sup>. This can be seen as a reaction against local historical ignorance as well as a desire to communicate a distinct, and perhaps European Union identity.

### *Images of migrants*

One of the most significant findings of both the interviews and the focus groups was the lack of knowledge about migrants living in the area by British people. Very few

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<sup>11</sup> Interview with recent Polish migrant, 28-2-07

interviewees and focus groups participants had had any contact with migrants, and those who worked with migrants often had no social contact with them. British people, even those working with migrants, often confused and conflated migrants and seasonal workers, and considered them to be from similar places. Many were not aware of the numbers of Portuguese migrants living in Herefordshire, and tended to use the term “Eastern European” to describe those from as far apart as Poland and Russia.

In focus groups participants all discussed these migrants’ reputation as hardworking. The focus group discussions also emphasised the similarities between the migrants and the participants, drawing on notions of European identity and youth (focus groups were conducted with local college students). Despite this, very few focus group participants had had any interactions with migrants, and this was purely at work. One participant had made friends with a young Polish man who was working for an agency in his market town, and he expressed a desire to visit him in Poland. This was seen as unusual, however. Focus groups all defined migrants in terms of their work – discussing work as their motivation for being in the area and also their willingness to work hard and for long hours.

The popular image of A8 nationals as being “hardworking” and “reliable” may also backfire, as British citizens who are outside of the labour market, or those who work less hours or less productively may resent the appearance of workers “upping the ante” or may feel threatened by workers doing jobs that they may be unprepared to do. Potentially this could lead to a feeling of moral inferiority – the work ethic of migrants from new European countries has been praised and celebrated – indeed agencies in Herefordshire and Shropshire advertise their provision of “Eastern European workers” to potential employers, implying their desirability as workers. McGhee discusses the notion of “status slippage”: a loss of status caused by the supposedly preferential treatment of those seen as “at the bottom of the ladder” – hence, if migrants are perceived by employers as hardworking and reliable, this may lead to a fear by British workers that their status may be overtaken by migrants, and this may provide a basis for conflict.

## *Trade Unions*

Many migrant workers had little prior knowledge of union organisation. Some have worked in areas which were not unionised, or felt that they were in the UK for such a short period of time that there was little point joining a union (McKay 2006). Migrants from some countries, for example former Soviet states, often had a negative view of unions, as they associated them with state corruption.

T&G have become involved locally in action centred on pay and working conditions in two fruit farms. One shop steward felt that membership of local unions may not be attractive to short term migrants, given the cost of joining and the fact that some of the benefits of union membership are more suited to long-term members. He suggested that unions could work harder to promote international affiliations, and to encourage migrants to join unions in their country of origin.<sup>12</sup>

Unions can have a very positive impact on integration in the workplace; both through ensuring equal pay and treatment of migrants and non-migrants and through bringing workers together to talk about shared issues. Unions can also encourage integration and avoid factions through, for example, encouraging workers from different backgrounds to represent each other.

## *The role of civil society, including religious organisations*

In a paper presented at a conference in the summer of 2006, Cooke and Spencer noted that they had found considerable evidence of local organisations – employers, unions, voluntary organisations and community organisations contributing to integration of new migrants. They note how these are often responding to need at local level, yet may not be co-ordinating or sharing information at any level above the local.

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<sup>12</sup> interview with T&G Senior Shop Steward

In the last section on integration, we note Modood's assertion that the institutions of the majority society should "take the lead" – as a central institution of British society, the Church is well placed to fulfil this role.

In Peterborough, Stenning et al found that the Church had emerged as a significant player in the integration of migrant workers. A local priest felt that the Church was "the most visible sign of continuity with their country...the point where they engage with their culture" (2006:84). They note that churches, particularly Catholic churches, have seen dramatic increases in congregation size, and have often provided information on practical matters as well as spiritual/pastoral. This reflects the situation in Herefordshire, where faith groups are leading the way in providing services for migrant workers, in befriending them and encouraging them to participate in local communities. Our Lady's Roman Catholic Church, in Belmont, Hereford, holds a monthly Mass in Polish, which is very well attended.

Churches are well positioned to support integration since they are focal points in the community; they provide a means of communicating to local people, either through the church, through newsletters and magazines, or through social networks. Churches have certain levels of status within communities, and as a result can mobilise people, and can encourage people to welcome migrants. They also have access to buildings and other resources which can be used to provide services for local communities. Nationally, churches have been some of the first organisations to work with new migrants, and this is reflected locally.

Most church work with migrants in the diocese has up until now focused on seasonal workers, providing pastoral care, church services, friendship and advice. This will be explored in the later section on seasonal workers. Churches now need to ensure that they are making the distinction between migrants and seasonal workers, and that they tailor support to the groups within their parishes. Parishes where there are large numbers of seasonal workers have responded quickly to a perceived need, however the support for migrants living in local parishes is not so highly developed. The recommendation section later suggests some co-ordinated projects which could be run

through parishes to support the integration of migrants, as distinct from projects which provide pastoral and spiritual support to seasonal workers.

Hereford Baptist Church and Gorsley Baptist Church have built on historical links with Ukraine to meet a perceived pastoral need by migrant and seasonal workers for chaplaincy, support and advocacy in the form of a Ukrainian pastor, Vladimir Makeyev, who will work from Herefordshire from May 2007 for three years. Due to the existing work being undertaken to the north of the county (Leominster Friendship Centre and Marden Church), they have focused on providing support for workers in the south of Herefordshire. They felt that due to language barriers, they were unable to carry out pastoral duties without someone with knowledge of Slavic languages.

Although the Government is moving away from Ukraine and Russia as providers of SAWS workers, there are still many Ukrainians arriving in the summer of 2007.

The Ukrainian minister speaks a number of languages, including Polish and German, and will be able to interact with many of the seasonal workers. The pastor is planning to provide support, mainly to seasonal workers, by undertaking activities such as holding services on farms, organising social activities, organising film evenings and providing chaplaincy services. The church is also committing to supporting migrant workers' integration through:

- Organising English classes
- Assisting families in settling in the area
- Giving language lessons to British congregations
- Opening a drop-in centre in Hereford and in Gorsley once a week
- Providing Internet access.

Members of the congregation involved in the nightshift café in Hereford on Friday and Saturday nights have noticed hostility towards migrants by visitors to the café. The church intends to work towards combating this.

Members of the Baptist Church expressed their pleasure in being able to ask for something from other parts of the world – a recognition that the Church in Britain does

not always have to be the giver of knowledge and expertise, but may also be the receiver.

### *Access to Services*

Major barriers stopping new migrants from accessing services are language and lack of information. The section on English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) discusses provision of English language classes, however this needs to be accompanied by reliable and affordable translation and interpretation services to enable those with poor English language skills to access services. Herefordshire Council is currently working with partners from throughout the county to investigate interpretation and translation needs. It has formed a group of interested parties and there was a shared recognition of a lack of a central point of contact for organisations to access translation and interpretation.

Herefordshire Literacy Project have recently secured funding for a new project which will deliver ESOL awareness training to community organisations, train community interpreters from migrant groups, who will be awarded Level 2 accreditation, and train fully qualified interpreters and translators. This will significantly increase the bank of interpreters in the area.

### **Citizens Advice Bureaux**

Nationally, Citizens' Advice Bureaux, particularly in rural areas, have recently experienced an increase in enquiries from new migrants<sup>13</sup>.

The Citizens' Advice Bureau in Hereford has seen enquiries about immigration issues rise by 60% over the past year, and enquiries about employment issues rise by around 30%. This has been attributed in part to the increase in migrants living and working in

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<sup>13</sup> CAB (2006)

Leominster and Hereford. Claire Keetch, the CAB Manager, notes that immigration enquiries were simply “not on the radar” a couple of years ago, while the bureau has received over 100 enquiries in the last year. Voluntary advisors have had to have extra training to maintain their competence in this area. The Bureaux are advised to use formal interpretation systems, such as Language Line, despite the cost, to limit the possibility of misunderstanding.

Hereford CAB is currently providing basic training for organisations working with migrants on some of the key issues/problems migrants face. This will enable more people involved in working with migrants to provide basic information, disseminate that information to more migrants and take the pressure off the CAB. The Bureau is keen to develop its networks with other agencies who work with migrants to provide a direct referral service, ensuring more clients have access to the services the CAB provides.

### **Internet Access**

Access to the Internet is very important to migrants in terms of access to local information but also for contacting friends and relatives. Migrants use public libraries offering free Internet access widely. There are currently 88 public access PCs in Herefordshire. In summer months, when numbers of seasonal workers increase, public access PCs in libraries are very busy, often until late into the evening. All migrants interviewed expressed a wish for more Internet access points. Apart from libraries, there are very few public places to access the Internet in the diocese. All migrants interviewed would welcome a social space with access to the Internet, and which is open in the evenings.

Public libraries in Herefordshire have also increased their stock of books in other European languages, primarily in Portuguese, Polish and Russian, and have translated information about the library service, and its terms and conditions, into these three languages as well. The library service also allows seasonal workers to become

members, as they can take out a temporary 6-month membership without having an address. Library staff have all received diversity training.

### **Tourist information centres**

These are used by migrants to book bus and train tickets. Again, staff in Herefordshire have had diversity training. Literature is currently translated into French, German and Spanish, however it is recognised that other languages would be useful, as migrants may wish to explore the local area and encourage family and friends to visit.

### **Housing**

Finding affordable housing of a decent quality is a major issue for recent migrants. All migrants interviewed confirmed that this was a problem, that housing was expensive and that this often led to overcrowding. While rental property is available, interviews with migrants have confirmed that it is very difficult to rent houses or flats from letting agents, as many ask for one year's credit history or 6 months' rent in advance. It is generally felt that agencies are not interested in letting to migrants, and migrants' experience of agencies has been disappointing. One migrant interviewee said of agents, "They just look for the holes in your application", and this mirrors a rather negative impression of local estate agencies by migrants.

This is backed up by an interview with an employee of a local letting agent who asked not to be named, who claimed that migrants were perceived by agents as less desirable as tenants than UK nationals. He also reported an increase in requests for rented accommodation from migrants, whom his agency was unwilling to house.

"Sometimes every other application comes from Eastern European people. Some of my colleagues just throw the applications away when they've left the shop."

The employee claimed that many Hereford estate agents have strategies to prevent certain migrants from renting from them.

"At the end of the day, it's all about reputation. We don't want to be known locally as the agent that migrants go to. Our landlords won't like that."

He reported that there was a perception that landlords would not be keen on renting homes to migrants, and also that agents did not want the “stigma” of being associated with migrants – of being the one agency, for example, that takes migrants. There was a fear that if an agency gained a reputation of letting to migrants, this would discourage landlords from using it as a managing agent. The employee I spoke to estimated that around a quarter of all requests for rental accommodation came from migrants, while very few had actually been offered accommodation.

As a result most migrants rent in the private sector by responding to advertisements in the local press. On arrival, migrants often stay with friends and family, or have temporary accommodation arranged by contacts. This accommodation can be overcrowded and of a poor quality. Those migrants who have short-term goals are more likely to share rooms and live in poor quality accommodation in order to save money. All migrants interviewed knew people who were living two, three or even four to a room.

“Last year was bad – there were 5 of us in a flat with one bedroom. My dad and brother lived in a flat with my cousin, and then my mum and I moved in too. It was really hard. Now we have a three bedroomed house –it’s like having a normal life!” – Ewa, 19

“When we moved here, we lived in a horrible place, sharing a bathroom with 5 other people. My friend told us about the place. We saved up a deposit as quickly as we could so we could have our own house” - Irina, 22.

Many migrants live in overcrowded accommodation on arrival, until they had got themselves established with full-time jobs. Given that many jobs migrants do on arrival, such as cleaning, are for only a few hours a day, living in cheaper accommodation is often necessary in the short term. Sharing accommodation is often a choice made by full-time workers in order to minimise expenditure, just as working overtime is often a choice made to maximise income.

As with most young, single people on a low income, living alone is often prohibitively expensive. The absence of higher education in the diocese, and an absence of a “flat-share” culture which is part of urban living, means that shared accommodation is in short supply, and is often looked upon less favourably by local residents.

Although there are stories of migrants paying “over the odds” for accommodation rented from “unscrupulous landlords” in both Hereford and Ross-on-Wye, this is becoming less common as existing networks of migrants in the local area are able to advise on rent levels, and also support new arrivals in finding appropriate accommodation.

Taylor and Rogaly noted that the appearance of HMOs (Houses of multiple occupation) in West Norfolk was a cause for concern in terms of both living conditions of workers and also as a threat to community cohesion, the HMOs being an “issue” around which hostility towards the workers was being constructed. Both Taylor and Rogaly (2004) and Zaronaitė & Tirzite (2006) noted that getting and keeping accommodation was a problem for migrants, and that discrimination was encountered when trying to find property to rent. They also found that the existence of HMOs was a key concern for many of the longer-term residents, often articulated in terms of overcrowding/health and safety issues. Taylor and Rogaly’s research recognised overcrowding as a real and not just perceived problem in West Norfolk.

There is little evidence of HMOs becoming an “issue” in the same way in Herefordshire, mainly because seasonal workers tend to be housed on farms outside towns and cities, meaning that there are relatively few crowded HMOs.

In the TUC paper *Overworked, Underpaid and Over Here* (2003) reference is made to increased vulnerability produced by having accommodation tied to employment. This report will address housing issues and assess the extent to which migrants’ housing needs are met, and also explore the relationship between housing and employment in the local context. Generally migrants felt that housing attached to employment (for example in the care sector) was positive, since it took away one aspect of the stress of moving to a new place. However tied accommodation is of course open to exploitation and can lead to vulnerability if abused.

## *Information/Education*

The transition between short-term and long-term residency leads to a change in job aspirations. One of the major barriers to migrant workers gaining skilled employment in the UK is the lack of recognition of overseas qualifications. This is being addressed and the Learning and Skills Council are currently undertaking research investigating ways in which migrant workers can best meet current skills gaps.

Lack of English language ability has been identified as the main barrier to integration, both in the existing research on integration and in the data produced here. Inability to speak English at a basic level is often interpreted as rudeness by local people (this was discussed in both focus groups), and also leads to vulnerabilities on behalf of migrants (Taylor and Rogaly, for example, discuss how English language proficiency enables individuals to secure better jobs within the harvesting/packhouse environment).

When asked about socialising with British people, Ewa, a Polish migrant with good spoken English, stated:

When I speak with English people you always feel the difference – they always make you feel the difference...you don't speak as well as they want.

Other migrants also discussed feeling shy or uncertain about their English, and this sentiment was also reiterated by ESOL tutors. It may be the case that those unfamiliar with hearing foreign accents find it harder to understand them, and that this would be different in a more cosmopolitan area.

While English language tuition is available in the area, and a few employers fund this tuition, the formal Cambridge ESOL qualifications offered by institutions such as Herefordshire College of Technology are too expensive for the majority of the migrants in Herefordshire and Shropshire, who are concentrated in low-paid jobs. There is also a shortage of ESOL qualified trainers in the area.

Free language tuition is currently available on the Skills for Life ESOL Programme, which operates at various sites around the Diocese, including Hereford College of

Technology, South Wye Learning Centre, Ross-on-Wye, Ledbury and Leominster. Students who are currently enrolled on language courses tend to have aspirations to gain British qualifications and improve their career prospects in the UK, even if their long-term plans are to return home to their country of birth. For many migrants, learning English is one of the primary aims of their stay in the UK.

### **English for Speakers of Other Languages at Hereford College of Technology**

Of the students who study ESOL at Hereford College of Technology, the majority are Polish, with a significant minority Portuguese and other European nationalities. All are working, except one student who is at home with children. Many work with the large employers of migrants in the city, Sun Valley Foods and TRP. This is perhaps due to the fact that courses are designed to fit in with shift patterns at these places of work. There is a very high level of demand for ESOL, although due to high dropout rates, those on waiting lists usually get absorbed throughout the year. Lack of student retention makes it difficult for classes to progress. Drop-out rates are high due to changing shift patterns and changing jobs as many migrants are on temporary contracts or are employed by agencies, and time constraints, for example due to working extra shifts.

One tutor interviewed felt that those with very weak English, and those who had not attended higher education in their home country often felt intimidated by ESOL lessons. Around 65% of students are female, and the vast majority are in their twenties and thirties. She noted that most of her students were highly motivated, and nearly all were working below their capabilities. Discussions with students had suggested that most migrants were looking to stay in the UK for at least 5 years and were intending to move towards better-paid, more skilled work. A number of her students were qualified nurses working in care homes. Pass rates are high. For many, ESOL classes were the first stage in gaining other qualifications in the UK. Higher education establishments

usually demand International English Language Testing System (IELTS) Level 6 or equivalent, for example, so formal English tuition is often a prerequisite.

**Riverside Training and Development**, in Hereford, have recently begun offering free ESOL Skills for Life training for migrant workers from the EU, as part of a work placement and training scheme, leading to a National Vocational Qualification in Customer Service, which has been adapted to include ESOL and entitled “Communication in the Workplace”. This includes a course on cultural aspects of living and working in the UK. This has already attracted interest from over 150 migrants, and gives them access to a British vocational qualification to add credibility with employers to their existing qualifications. Riverside Training and Development have a Migrant Liaison Officer, who is Polish. Migrant networks have assisted in dissemination of information about this scheme, and also about the availability of a Polish-speaking member of staff, who is able to assist in tax, WRS, banking and National Insurance queries. This additional service, which runs informally alongside the core responsibilities of the post, is a lifeline for new migrants, who are confused and overwhelmed by the paperwork involved in moving to a new country.

The UK Government has recently cut its funding for ESOL, meaning that only those people in receipt of state benefits are eligible for free ESOL tuition. Since the vast majority of migrants in the area are not claiming state benefits, this will have an impact on the ability and willingness of migrants to gain qualifications and learn English.

Other barriers to access to English language classes are:

- Lack of a formal qualification on free courses
- Cost of courses ending with a formal qualification
- Shift working patterns meaning that a single weekly slot is often difficult to maintain, particularly where migrants are working continental shifts (4 days on 4 days off). McKay (2006) found that many migrant workers were too tired after working long shifts to learn English, even where classes were provided by employers.

- Lack of transport to and from college, particularly in the evening.

One ESOL tutor interviewed felt that introducing fees for ESOL would encourage students to attend more regularly. It was noted that there was a very high dropout rate, due in part to a transient population but also possibly due to the fact that students are less likely to value something that is completely free. It may be that introduction of a low fee for ESOL will in fact lead to better progression and attendance, and make ESOL courses more effective.

### **Qualifications and Skills**

As well as language provision, another barrier to integration in terms of making the transition from a short- or medium-term migrant to someone who wishes to stay in the UK for an extended period is the transferability of qualifications and skills. Migrants from A8 countries tend to be middle class, tend to have university or high school education, and often have professional qualifications. The transfer of these qualifications is an important issue, and is currently being investigated by the Learning and Skills Council. EU nationals are able to access higher education fee loans and are charged fees at the same rate as UK citizens. Loan repayments may be taken in the country of origin, and adjusted according to different levels of local income.

Universities and educational establishments are more used to converting qualifications from other countries than employers, meaning that while it is possible for migrants to get onto training courses, employers may be sceptical of qualifications gained abroad. Certain professional qualifications (nursing, medicine, law) gained abroad will not be recognised and conversion courses are necessary before practising in the UK. Enabling migrants to use their qualifications and skills in the UK would not only encourage them to stay for longer periods but would also contribute to filling skills gaps in rural areas such as Herefordshire and Shropshire.

### *Community Safety*

West Mercia Police report that incidents most likely to involve migrants are alcohol- and motoring-related, particularly drink-driving. Despite widespread concern about

migrants' lack of knowledge of the law, and of lawbreaking, particularly with regard to motoring offences, the number of migrants charged with offences of any kind in the last two years is so small as to be insignificant. West Mercia Police also report that custody rates for migrants have dropped in the last two years.

Employers, police and migrants identified problems associated with driving in the UK. Certainly there is a widespread agreement among local, often rural residents, that migrants from Eastern European countries in particular, tend to drive dangerously through the country roads, drive old and unsafe vehicles and may possess neither licences, tax nor insurance. Drink-driving has historically been seen as an accepted part of rural life, and Herefordshire in particular has a particularly high incidence of road accidents, yet migrants are often blamed for making the roads unsafe. One employer of migrants, who had discussed them in glowing terms throughout the interview, said that the illegal driving he had witnessed his employees doing was "the one thing I really disagree with". Indeed, in the nearest village, discussions with other residents revealed that migrants' driving practices was the key issue for them in terms of migrants living and working nearby. Local residents made attempts to rationalise migrants' driving behaviour: "It's different over there ... you pay a bribe to get a driving licence – it's not surprising they reject the idea". Despite concern about migrants' driving, in fact there were no convictions of migrants driving without insurance in 2006.<sup>14</sup>

Three migrants interviewed drove in the UK. Two drove legally, and discussed the high cost of motor insurance for overseas nationals. The third, who lived in rural Herefordshire, admitted to driving illegally. Living in remote communities, with little or no access to public transport leaves rural residents little choice but to drive. When people are earning very low incomes, may have to pay for instruction to get a UK licence, and have not accrued a no-claims bonus for motor insurance, driving legally becomes too expensive to consider, especially if migrants have financial obligations to families in their home countries. Illegal driving, which is commonly seen as due to a

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<sup>14</sup> Interview West Mercia Police, 13-12-06

lack of knowledge about British road laws, is probably due more to a calculated risk brought about through physical isolation and poverty.

Residents living in areas with high numbers of seasonal workers do report incidences of petty theft, as would be expected in areas with a large, very low-paid, transient population. However, they mention that criminal activity is much lower now migrants come from overseas than previously, when seasonal workers came from large urban centres in the north of England such as Liverpool and Manchester. Despite police figures demonstrating virtually no convictions for theft by migrants, there is a widespread mistrust of migrants. One focus group participant described the following incident which happened at her workplace in a supermarket in Hereford.

“A few weeks ago during the nightshift some PS2s went missing. All the staff thought it was the Polish workers.”

### *Integration in the Workplace*

Migrants interviewed who worked with British people discussed the benefits of having to speak English all day at work. Those who worked in larger factories, where many employees were migrants, were disadvantaged in terms of integration, as they did not have to interact with British people as much on a day-to-day basis. Workers in the service and care sectors, however, were often the only non-British member of staff and many socialise with British colleagues, or with other migrants who spoke different languages, meaning that English was the shared language.

Employers at Sun Valley Foods were interviewed regarding their employment of migrants. Training manuals and signs are currently available in Portuguese, and interpreters are used for induction. Recruitment is mainly achieved through word of mouth, as migrants tell friends and relatives about work. This minimises the use of agency staff as much as possible, given the seasonality of the work. Being very used to working with migrants, and being highly dependent on good health and safety and food hygiene practices, Sun Valley have developed some positive structures for working with migrants. As around 35% of the workforce is comprised of migrants,

from many different countries, migrant networks are created around the workplace, with information about housing and access to services being communicated informally through social networks. The proximity of many other migrants also ensures that those who have little knowledge of English are treated fairly, for example by landlords, as colleagues will warn migrants if they are paying too much rent. Migrants who work in other places often gain local information through friends and family who work at factories with a large migrant workforce.

### *Employment practices as a barrier to integration*

The other side of the coin, however, is that many of the jobs undertaken by migrants do not demand knowledge of the English language. This is true of some jobs on farms, where work is undertaken in gangs, with a foreman or team leader translating, and also of some factory work, where again a foreman or team leader can translate. Migrants who have little or no knowledge of English will take these jobs out of necessity. This does pose a problem in terms of integration, however, as if migrants do not need to speak English in the workplace, and are surrounded by people of the same nationality, there may be little incentive to learn English, particularly if they aspire to return to their country of origin.

The availability of the types of jobs where knowledge of English is unnecessary, then, can be seen as a clear barrier to the integrative process.

To counter this, ESOL provision needs to be as accessible as possible, with free or very cheap classes being made available to fit in with shift working. Employers can also encourage the learning of English in the workplace, through placing migrants alongside English colleagues, and through giving migrants paid time to learn English.

## Recommendations

The recommendations listed below are commensurate with the scope of this research. As such they are locally focused and achievable. The issue of labour migration to rural and small town areas such as the Diocese of Hereford cannot be understood without reference to larger forces discussed in the literature review, and the issues and problems faced by migrants and communities affected by migration cannot be eliminated through small local endeavours. Nevertheless, migrants can be supported and welcomed into communities and parishes, and work can be undertaken with local communities to ensure change is welcomed rather than resisted.

Issues such as the demand for cheap food, competition from overseas and the pursuit of higher profit margins on the part of supermarkets have led to an intensified food production climate with needing temporary, flexible labour. These changes have led to migrants coming to the diocese, and indeed they can make their stay here less than ideal. Producers come under increasing pressure to squeeze costs, and labour costs are the only left to squeeze.

The price we pay for food is directly related to the price paid for labour, whether in the UK or overseas. Buying direct from producers, or from independent retailers, reduces the power held by a few large corporations to dictate the working conditions of seasonal workers living in the diocese. Similarly, pressure by unions and consumers on food retailers can bring about change. Ultimately, the globalisation of production, coupled with huge global economic inequalities, is pushing production costs down in the UK. It must be recognised, however, that labour migration has positive economic outcomes, not only for the receiving country, who benefits from the labour, but for those living in sending countries, who receive remittances and capital from returning migrants.

## *Seasonal workers*

As seasonal workers on the SAWS scheme can only stay for up to 6 months in the UK, and are tied to living and working on farms, they have different needs from longer-term migrant workers. They have access to many basic services on-site, including leisure facilities, meaning that they are less likely to be actively involved with local communities than migrant workers. They stay for a shorter period of time, and so do not necessarily have a desire to invest in their community, to learn English and create relationships with local residents. This needs to be understood as a rational response to a short-term situation rather than a resistance to “joining in”. Of course, many seasonal workers have chosen to come to the UK specifically to learn English, and their isolation and lack of contact with British people can be a source of dissatisfaction. Many would relish the opportunity to interact more with British people, and would welcome more opportunities for this to happen, but without costing them too much money.

Parishes where there are a significant number of seasonal workers need to tailor their actions to the specific situation of seasonal rather than migrant workers. This is already being done very effectively by groups such as Leominster Friendship Centre and by Marden Church.

### **The Leominster Friendship Centre**

Brierley Fruit Farm, near Leominster, is run by S & A Produce Ltd. It employs large numbers of seasonal workers, for whom Leominster is the nearest centre. Most of Brierley’s 2500 seasonal workers come from EU countries, with fewer SAWS workers than at S & A’s other farm at Marden.

The Leominster Friendship Centre opened in May 2006 as a drop-in centre. Originally part of Churches Together in Leominster, its vision was primarily social – to offer hospitality, sports events, walks and outings. It also offers information about other agencies, facilitating access to services. It is based at the Moravian Church, in Leominster, which is on the road workers walk on to get from the Brierley Fruit Farm

into Leominster. In 2006 it opened for 2 hours a day – the hours when workers were most likely to be walking from the farm to the shops.

In the summer of 2006, the Friendship Centre held a barbecue which included traditional folk music from workers' countries of origin as well as from the UK. This was highly successful and attracted around 50 workers and 50 local people. Volunteers also took workers on an outing to Croft Castle. The centre ran English classes on a weekly basis, led by 6 voluntary teachers, and attracting up to 60 students a week. Hospitality was also encouraged, and local residents involved with the Friendship Centre invited seasonal workers into their homes for evening meals. Some residents got together to arrange larger meals for up to 10 workers. A concert of Ukrainian folk music was organised to raise funds for the Centre.

There are around 70 volunteers involved in the running of the Friendship Centre, with around 25 people manning the centre every week. In summer 2006, the centre was seeing 40-50 workers per session, offering drinks and biscuits as well as information and friendship. It is publicised by word of mouth, and by a flyer which is given out in welcome packs on arrival at the farm. Initially, many of the workers were suspicious of the offers of free food and drink, however the centre is now established and its reputation has spread.

As well as its social function, the Friendship Centre was central in involving the T&G Union in employment relations at the fruit farm. In 2006, the T&G hired a room in the Minster School to hold a meeting which was attended by over 150 workers.

### **Marden Church.**

One of S&A Produce's fruit farms is located just outside the village of Marden. Last year, over 1500 seasonal workers lived and worked on the farm, doubling the size of Marden parish for seven months. Seasonal workers arrive with little knowledge of how to get into town to shop for food and how to telephone. Most workers are students on

the SAWS scheme, and are young, often in a foreign country for the first time. They are “pretty much on their own” in terms of finding their way around.

Parishioners at Marden Church have been active in helping workers settle in, giving advice and support as well as practical help. Residents of the village will pick up workers walking to and from town. Some have offered to keep money safe (sending money home via Moneygram is very expensive), offered hospitality in the form of family meals, helped with using telephones and the Internet. The church has been running English conversation classes on a weekly basis, staffed by a team of volunteers, who will often invite students into their homes to speak further after the class has finished. Lasting friendships have developed through these informal sessions, and some returned migrants are still in touch with people from Marden Church. Acts of hospitality and befriending have given seasonal workers a real experience of life in the UK, which they would not otherwise have got living and working on a large farm with other migrants. They have also been highly rewarding for local people, who have learned a great deal about other cultures, and have enjoyed teaching English and meeting new people.

While not all volunteers have been regular churchgoers, the church in Marden has acted as the focus for a co-ordinated response to a desire to get to know and help seasonal workers. The Church is very well placed in rural communities to communicate messages, to gather support and co-ordinate activities. In particular, Marden parish magazine has been used to attract volunteers and support.

Church groups currently involved with seasonal workers, such as the two mentioned above could distribute information about their operations to other parishes that host significant but smaller numbers of seasonal workers. In this way knowledge, information and good practice could be shared throughout the diocese.

## *Migrants*

As discussed in previous sections, migrants have different needs from seasonal workers in terms of integration, and have longer-term goals and aspirations. Support from the Church towards these groups needs to be focused less in terms of direct care and more in terms of facilitating community relations and integration.

Parishes, as focal community points, are in a strong position to strengthen community relations. They need to be supported in this, however, through larger organisations. The diocese is in a strong position to provide this support.

Below are a number of projects/schemes that could be considered:

## *Befriending*

Mentoring and befriending schemes have been used throughout the country with vulnerable groups, and very successfully with refugees. Refugees' needs in terms of integration are more immediate, since their intentions are almost always to remain in the UK, and as a result they are often highly motivated to integrate. Many of the difficulties faced by refugees are of course similar to those experienced by new migrants – social isolation, poverty, lack of money for social activities, poor housing, discrimination and racism and difficulties in accessing mainstream services.<sup>15</sup>

A befriender is not the same as a formal advisor. Befriending is a social, two-way relationship rather than a one-sided advisory relationship. A befriending scheme would involve matching migrants with a British befriender. Meetings between befriender and “friend” would take place at a minimum every two weeks, and should be as informal as possible. Befrienders may decide to conduct the meetings at home, or in a public place such as a pub or café.

Befriending could facilitate integration through:

- Language learning

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<sup>15</sup> Save the Children (2006:1)

- Cultural exchange
- Access to services
- Interaction between migrants and British people

Befriending can help migrants through:

- Having a native speaker to ask for support with access to services, such as finding out about training courses, finding a GP or dentist, finding out about transport
- Participating in social activities, for example trips to the café, the pub, the cinema, playing sports, going on trips
- Introducing migrants to aspects of British culture
- Improving English
- Practical support in terms of help with applying for jobs, training etc.
- Introducing migrants to a new social circle

It can help befrienders through:

- Satisfaction of helping someone and introducing him or her to the local area and culture
- Opportunities for participating in social activities
- A new social circle
- Learning about other cultures

A befriending scheme would involve:

- A project worker/manager to oversee the scheme and to support befrienders (voluntary or paid)
- A steering group to plan the service and meet quarterly.
- An induction programme for befrienders. This would involve screening and police checks (for working with children and vulnerable people) and training workshops and contracts for volunteers, outlining what they can and cannot be expected to do as befrienders, as well as confidentiality and boundaries.
- A system for referring migrants to the scheme (usually involving partnerships with other agencies e.g. Citizens Advice Bureau, Connexions).

- A system for matching befrienders with migrants – matching may be based on similarity in terms of gender or age, or on proximity to migrant’s home
- A system for “getting out” of the befriending relationship.
- A system for monitoring the scheme – this will be necessary for securing funding in the future.

Support for setting up a befriending scheme can come from:

- Herefordshire Voluntary Action – advice on setting up voluntary organisations, training volunteers, financial and constitutional issues.
- Mentoring and Befriending Foundation [www.mandbf.org.uk](http://www.mandbf.org.uk) The local contact is [sue.wragg@mandbf.org.uk](mailto:sue.wragg@mandbf.org.uk) or 07932453498.
- Ruth Wilson, Tandem (Leeds) can give advice about setting up mentoring/befriending organisations and has worked with similar projects. <http://www.tandem-uk.com/>

### *Welcoming migrants to the Church*

West Cornwall Faith Forum has put together a pack for faith leaders. This includes postcards with key phrases on in Polish and Lithuanian, posters to advertise local events, guides to the local area in Polish and Lithuanian and guides to Poland and Lithuania in all three languages. These are given out to congregations and migrants. This is a very useful model which can easily be translated to the Diocese of Hereford.

### *After services*

Offer coffee after services and encourage new migrants to stay and chat with other members of the congregation.

### *Challenging Myths*

Priests can use their position to challenge myths about migrants and encourage communities to recognise similarities rather than differences. They could be supported through provision of a briefing paper which could form the basis of a sermon. Prayers related to this issue could also be circulated.

### *Employers' Voluntary Code of Practice*

Business in the Community Northern Ireland has kindly offered the use of its Voluntary Code of Practice for employers of migrant workers. Employers are asked to sign up to this code, and are given support in working towards the standards of the code. BITC Northern Ireland also holds biennial workplace awards, where an award is given to the employer who has shown best practice in working with its migrant workforce. This award is based on the code of practice.

The Northern Ireland example is a useful one to follow, as the country has not experienced cultural diversity until recently. Northern Ireland has had to deal with an increase in racism and community unrest, and BITC Northern Ireland has worked hard to highlight the positive aspects of migration. They are currently looking to extend the code of practice to contractors, ensuring subcontractors of migrants are included in the Code of Practice, which will place pressure on agencies and other subcontractors to follow suit. Already BITC Northern Ireland is working with one recruitment agency. The code of practice aims to encourage integration into the company and into the community at large.

### *Cultural events*

Films could be shown in different languages with English subtitles. After the film there could be an informal discussion. Migrant groups to be encouraged to participate in community arts events.

### *Language training*

There is a need for more English language classes in the diocese. The Government's plans to limit free ESOL provision will be detrimental to the integration of migrants. Language classes need to be tailored to migrants' needs – in accessible places, cheap or free, and preferably in work time.

### *Workplace rights and trade unions*

Written information about workplace rights should be made widely available in different languages. This can be distributed through community groups, in shops

catering for migrants, in places of employment and also through networks of migrants. Those who work with migrants could be given training on workplace rights in order to communicate these to migrants. Trade Unions are in a better position than most to lead on this, and need to actively engage with migrants, even when they are not themselves union members. Trade Unions can also encourage integration in the workplace through bringing employees together, and through encouraging migrants to get involved in union activities.

### *Internet Access*

Both migrants and seasonal workers have a great need for more free Internet access. Seasonal workers have to pay for Internet access on farms and there are not enough free access computers in local libraries to cater for the needs of large numbers of seasonal workers. Community centres with existing Internet access could target migrant communities more effectively, and community groups working with migrants may wish to consider how they could provide more free access to the Internet. Groups working with seasonal workers could work with employers to increase free access, or provide access themselves.

### *Long term projects*

An International Internet café/social space. This would offer free access to the Internet and wi-fi access, and would be open in the evenings. In order to nurture the integration process, it is important that the café be truly international, and not dominated by one national group. In particular, British people as well as migrants could be encouraged to use the facilities. This social space could incorporate a “One-Stop” centre for new migrants, giving information about tax, banking, national insurance etc, and displaying notices about accommodation, employment and social events. This would only need to open for limited hours, and could be undertaken as a social enterprise or a private/voluntary partnership. In this way it would avoid using large amounts of public funding, which can lead to local resistance as well as rigid management structures tied to funding.

*A note of caution:*

When setting up projects to support integration of migrants, it is essential that the “two way” nature of the relationship is stressed. In other words, migrants should not be seen as “victims” who need to be “helped” or as powerless individuals in need, but rather local people with whom the Church can work to build relationships and encourage a shared sense of community.



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## Some Migrant Biographies

### **Pawel**

Pawel is from Poland. He initially came to Herefordshire to work as a seasonal labourer on a fruit farm. His English was already good, and he was moved into the office very quickly. When the growing season finished, he found permanent employment with a local training company. His job involves working with other migrants, and providing them with training, as well as other administrative tasks. He has excellent English, and as a result has not been held back from taking jobs at a higher skill level, despite not having formal UK qualifications. He believes that ability to speak English has increased his quality of life in Herefordshire, where he has met many people both from the UK and from abroad. His proficiency in English has meant that he is often called upon by other migrants to help with problems such as finding accommodation, registering with the Home Office, applying for residency etc. Coming from a mountainous part of Poland, he enjoys living near the Welsh mountains, and takes advantage of free weekends to explore local beauty spots. He is firmly committed to making Herefordshire his home.

### **Stefan and Irina**

Stefan (31) and Irina (22) are a married couple from the North of Poland. They have lived in Herefordshire for 12 weeks, and moved here from eastern USA, where they had been working for 2 years. They moved to the UK as they wanted to live in Europe, and as they already had acquired good English ability in the USA. They moved back to be nearer to Stefan's father, who was ill, and to be in Europe. They were also concerned about the lack of health care in the USA. The couple have both expressed a wish to stay in the UK and to train for professional jobs. Irina is currently applying for a BSc in nursing. At the moment Stefan is working for a cleaning contractor in a supermarket, and Irina works in a café. They moved to Herefordshire because they had a friend who lived there already, and who offered them a room to live in until they found

somewhere more permanent. They now live in a two-bedroom house in the south of Hereford.

### **Ewa**

Ewa is 19 years old. She comes from Poland and moved to Hereford with her mother to join her father and brother, who were already living here. Her father and brother initially moved to Herefordshire to work on fruit farms, then got work at Sun Valley Foods after the season ended. They found work at the farms through another contact. Her brother is employed by an agency and her father is employed directly. Ewa speaks good English, as does her brother, but her parents do not. She finds that she has to accompany her parents on trips to the shops and to the bank, and she had to organise housing for the family, who now live in Bobblestock, in Hereford. Her mother now works in Sun Valley, and Ewa works in a furniture store. She is studying anatomy and physiology, and Swedish massage at Hereford College of Technology. Ewa and her brother want to stay in the UK, however her parents are planning on returning home after around 3 years, since they find it very hard to get by without English language.

### **Marek**

Marek has been living in the UK for 41/2 years. He arrived as an illegal migrant to work for an agency in Nottinghamshire, living in a house with 10 other people. He found out about the agency through his brother and sister, who worked there before. His employer then found him work in Herefordshire, where he regularised his immigration status and found permanent work for a farm in the south of the county. He lives in a caravan on the farm where he works. He is well known in the nearest village, drinks in the local pub and plays on the pool team. He feels that he would be isolated if he did not do this, and if he did not speak such good English. His experience and language skills mean that he is often asked for help with paperwork by other migrants, or to find jobs for wives, girlfriends and children of friends of his. He feels that local people are less welcoming than they were when he first arrived, and that this is due to larger numbers of migrants living in the area – he is no longer a novelty.