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Central and Eastern European Migrant Workers in Rural Wales

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SECTION 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The enlargement of the European Union in May 2004 extended rights of mobility and employment to citizens of eight new member states in Central and Eastern Europe – the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia (collectively referred to as the 'A8 countries'). It is intended that all EU citizens will eventually be free to work throughout the territory. Such freedoms do not however currently exist, with existing member states permitted to restrict the access of A8 country citizens to national labour markets. Only three states afforded close-to-unrestricted entry and employment rights to A8 country citizens from accession in 2004: Ireland, Sweden and the United Kingdom. The UK did, however, stipulate that workers from these countries would not be entitled to out-of-work benefits until they had worked continuously for 12 months and that they needed to register on the Worker Registration Scheme (WRS).¹

Between May 2004 and March 2007, over 630,000 migrants from A8 states applied to the Worker Registration Scheme in the UK, with around 97% of applications approved (Border and Immigration Agency, 2007). This figure does not represent total labour migration from Central and Eastern Europe to the UK, as a number of categories are excluded, notably self-employed workers, and a number of migrant workers fail to comply with registration. It does however give a broad indication of the scale of trend. Nearly three-quarters of applicants to the WRS

were from Poland (71%), with Slovakia (9%) and Lithuania (7%) the next largest sources (*ibid.*).

Unlike previous immigrant communities to Britain, post-2004 migrant workers from the A8 countries have not concentrated in 'gateway' cities, but are relatively dispersed throughout the country, with around a quarter of migrant workers registered with the WRS resident in rural districts (CRC, 2007). Indeed, whilst the actual numbers of migrant workers in rural areas may be smaller than in urban areas, they tend to constitute a higher proportion of the total workforce. Furthermore, in many cases A8 migrant workers have become resident in rural communities with little or no history of significant immigration from outside the UK. These factors have generated specific issues relating to the pattern, conditions and impact of labour migration from the A8 states to rural areas.

Wales has taken in the smallest number of A8 migrant workers of all regions of the UK, with 19,060 WRS applications approved between May 2004 and March 2007 (3% of the UK total) (Border and Immigration Agency, 2007). As is discussed further in Chapter 2, A8 migrant workers are distributed throughout both rural and urban regions of Wales, but with particular geographical concentrations. Although the actual number of resident A8 migrant workers is higher in urban areas – especially Cardiff, Llanelli, Newport and Wrexham – the ratio of migrant workers to existing local population is higher in a number of rural communities.

In a Scoping Study published in 2006, we presented a preliminary analysis of the statistical evidence relating to migrant workers from the A8 countries in rural

¹ In contrast, access to the UK labour market has been restricted for citizens of Bulgaria and Romania, which acceded to the European Union in January 2007.

Wales and outlined the key issues concerning the integration and impact of migrant workers in rural areas, as identified through interviews with local government officers (WRO, 2006). The main conclusions of the Scoping Study were that:

- There is significant geographical variation in the numbers of migrant workers living throughout rural Wales
- The action that authorities have taken to address the needs of migrants differs considerably.
- Rural authorities appear to occupy one of three positions: those that consider there is no significant migrant workforce within their area; authorities that are conscious of the presence of an overseas workforce, but have taken little action to date; and those that are aware of a growing number of Central and Eastern European economic migrants and are taking action to support their needs.
- It is expected that the numbers of migrant workers in rural Wales will increase over the next five years, although the extent of this growth is unclear.
- Further research is essential to identify the numbers, characteristics and intentions of this sector of the population, in order that their demands are met and they can become fully integrated within Welsh rural communities.

Our subsequent research, presented in this report, has developed the analysis initiated in the Scoping Study with the objective of producing a more comprehensive and nuanced understanding of the patterns and

dynamics of labour migration from the A8 states to rural Wales; the living and working conditions of A8 migrant workers in rural Wales; and the integration and engagement of A8 migrant workers with local communities in rural Wales. It is not, however, the intention of this report to assess the social and economic impact of migrant workers in rural Wales, or to contribute to the debate on the contribution of migrant workers to the society and economy of Wales.²

The report has been compiled by Michael Woods and Suzie Watkin, drawing on research that was primarily led by Catherine Walkley, who was also responsible for conducting the interviews with agencies and stakeholders. Interviews for the questionnaire survey of migrant workers were conducted by Eliza Bednarek and Magdalena Markham, who also translated the questionnaire responses from Polish to English. The maps were produced by Jonathan Radcliffe.

1.2 Research Methods

The evidence presented in this report has been assembled through three main methods of data collection.

Firstly, detailed statistical data has been obtained for registrations with the Workers Registration Scheme (WRS) and for Non-National National Insurance registrations in Wales through requests under the Freedom of Information Act. Data for the Workers Registration Scheme specifically relates to migrant workers from the A8 states and was obtained for the period May 2004 to September 2006. The dataset includes information on date of registration, gender,

² See for example: 'Migrant workers 'push down wages'' BBC Wales News website, 22 November 2007; 'Migrants a boost to Wales, not a worry', *Western Mail*, 11 December 2007.

age, nationality, occupation and industry of employments, hours worked and hourly pay. Data for Non-National National Insurance registrations covers all registrations for NI numbers by non-UK nationals for each of the years 2002-3, 2003-4, 2004-5 and 2005-6. The dataset includes information on gender, age and country of origin.

As is discussed further in section 2.1, there are problems and limitations with both the WRS and NNNI datasets, as well as inconsistencies between the two datasets. Nonetheless, these datasets offer the best available approximation to a census of A8 migrant workers resident in rural Wales.

Secondly, interviews were conducted with 15 representatives of agencies and organizations working with migrant workers in rural Wales. These included the Dyfed-Powys and North Wales police forces, the National Public Health Service, the Citizens' Advice Bureau (CAB), the National Farmers' Union (NFU), Trades Union Council (TUC), Unison, Cytûn (Churches Together in Wales) and Siawns Teg, as well as local authorities and community safety partnerships.

Thirdly, a detailed questionnaire survey was undertaken of migrant workers in four case study localities: Betws-y-Coed and Llanrwst; Milford Haven and Haverfordwest; Northern Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion; and Welshpool (see section 1.3 below for more details). The questionnaire contained 115 questions covering their background, reasons for migration and process of migration, type of employment and working conditions, housing, interaction with the local community, perceptions of Wales and future intentions. The survey was primarily administered in Polish by native Polish speakers, with responses translated into English for analysis. All

respondents were paid £10 each for their participation.

A total of 100 respondents were surveyed between May and September 2007, 25 in each case study area. It was decided from the start that participants would not be recruited through either employers or accommodation providers in order to ensure that participation was voluntary and that uninhibited answers could be solicited on working and living conditions. As such, a number of strategies were employed to identify participants. Advertisements and flyers were placed in public spaces frequented by migrant workers, including shops, pubs and libraries, calling for participants. Whilst these did not in themselves generate substantial numbers of participants, they did serve to inform migrant workers in the area of the survey. The most successful mechanism for establishing initial contact in each area was for the researchers to visit the localities and to approach prospective participants in public spaces such as cafes, pubs and on the street. Once this initial contact had been made a 'snowballing' technique was employed to recruit further participants through local networks of contacts.

This recruitment method and the restricted size of the sample in each case study area means that the survey sample must be viewed as illustrative rather than representative. Compared with the WRS data, men and migrant workers aged between 25 and 34 are over-represented in our sample, and those aged between 18 and 24 and over 45 are under-represented. Migrant workers from Poland are also over-represented in the sample (94% compared to 79% of WRS registrations). No participants were recruited from Estonian, Hungarian, Latvian, Lithuanian or Slovenian migrant

workers, whom collectively comprise 11% of WRS registrations in rural Wales.

1.3 Case Study Areas

The questionnaire surveys were undertaken in four case study localities, selected as notable concentrations of A8 migrant workers in rural Wales and to illustrate different local economic structures and hence different sets of employment opportunities for migrant workers.

The first case study area is focused on the neighbouring communities of **Betws-y-Coed and Llanrwst** in Conwy. The area is located on the edge of the Snowdonia National Park, and Betws-y-Coed is an established tourist resort. Research by the North Wales Race Equality Network on migrant workers in Conwy has identified Betws-y-Coed as a significant site of migrant worker employment, primarily in hotels and catering (Turunen, 2005). Llanrwst was appended to the study area as a larger settlement hosting facilities used by local migrant workers, including a library with internet facilities and a Polish delicatessen. At the 2001 Census, Betws-y-Coed had a resident population of 534 people, only 1.7% of whom had been born outside the UK, and an unemployment rate of 4.1%. Llanrwst had a resident population of 3,037 people, 1.6% of whom had been born outside the UK, and an unemployment rate of 7.5%.

The second area is focused on **Milford Haven and Haverfordwest** in Pembrokeshire. Analysis of WRS data for the Dyfed-Powys Police has suggested that there were over 100 WRS registrations in and around Haverfordwest up to June 2006, and a further 30 registrations in Milford Haven (Dyfed-Powys Police, 2006). Some of these registrations were associated with construction work on the Milford Haven to Aberdulais pipeline, with

other employment opportunities afforded by the port and oil depots at Milford Haven, manufacturing and service sectors in both towns, and tourism enterprises in the wider local area. At the 2001 Census, Haverfordwest had a resident population of 10,808 people, 4.8% of whom had been born outside the UK, and an unemployment rate of 7.1%. Milford Haven had a resident population of 13,086 people, 2.2% of whom had been born outside the UK, and an unemployment rate of 9.8%.

The third case study locality is **Welshpool** in Powys. Analysis of WRS data for the Dyfed-Powys Police has suggested that there were over 70 WRS registrations for the Welshpool postcode area up to June 2006 (Dyfed-Powys Police, 2006), with employment opportunities primarily presented by the manufacturing and service sectors in the town, and by agriculture and tourism in the wider local area. At the 2001 Census, Welshpool had a resident population of 6,269 people, 1.9% of whom had been born outside the UK, and an unemployment rate of 4.4%.

The final case study area was initially focused on Llanbydder in Carmarthenshire. A small community of 1,420 people in the 2001 Census (1.6% of whom were born outside the UK), Llanbydder is host to a significant migrant worker population associated with the Dunbia abattoir and meat processing plant. Analysis of WRS data for the Dyfed-Powys Police has suggested that there were 95 WRS registrations for the Llanbydder postcode area up to June 2006 (Dyfed-Powys Police, 2006), and anecdotal evidence has suggested that this figure understates the true size of the local migrant worker community. Dunbia themselves have reported that 47% of their workforce of approximately 400 are Polish (equating to just under 200 individuals),

with a further 8% comprised of non-UK nationals, including Czech citizens, but also Portuguese, Bosnian and Iraqi nationals (Carmarthenshire County Council, 2007).

However, we experienced significant difficulties in making contact with migrant workers in Llanybydder. By comparison with the other study areas, the village contains few public spaces in which migrant workers can be found and

approached, and those with whom we did make contact, either in Llanybydder or at the monthly Polish Mass at Lampeter Catholic Church, were extremely wary and reluctant to participate in the research. As such, we decided to broaden this case study area to include all of **Northern Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion**, with participants eventually recruited from a number of different locations in these counties including Aberystwyth, Borth, Carmarthen and Lampeter.

SECTION 2: PROFILE OF MIGRANT WORKERS IN RURAL WALES

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a detailed analysis of available statistical data on the profile and distribution of migrant workers from A8 countries in rural Wales. The data is drawn from two sources, the Worker Registration Scheme (WRS) and Non-National National Insurance registrations. Although there are some inconsistencies between these two datasets, they represent the best available statistics on migrants workers in Britain. Both datasets, however, have problems and limitations.

The Worker Registration Scheme is obligatory for workers from A8 countries who intend to work in the UK for at least a month. Applicants need to be in work when they register, but self-employed workers are not required to register. In addition to self-employed workers, there are believed to be significant numbers of A8 migrant workers who have not registered with the scheme. Only seven out of ten of the respondents to our survey had registered with the WRS. The WRS data is also problematic in that it records registrations, but workers moving to different jobs, new areas or returning to their home country may not have formally de-registered or changed their registration details. Furthermore, WRS data records workers by place of work not by place of residence.

The second dataset records National Insurance numbers issued to Non-UK nationals. Again this data understates the number of non-UK nationals working in Britain, with a quarter of respondents to our survey reporting that they did not have a NI number. Similarly issues also arise as with the WRS with migrant workers moving to new areas or returning to their home country after registering for National

Insurance, but not necessarily amending their details. Figures for National Insurance registrations are rounded to the nearest 10.

2.2 Number of Migrant Workers in Rural Wales

Notwithstanding the issues outlined above, WRS and National Insurance data can be used to estimate the number of A8 migrant workers in rural Wales, and to approximate their profile. The latest available figures for the WRS show 5,730 registrations for the nine rural counties of Wales between May 2004 and March 2007 (WAG, 2007).³ National Insurance data has not been collated for the same period, but a comparison of WRS and NI data to the end of March 2006 shows a degree of inconsistency with WRS registrations exceeding NI registrations by A8 nationals in rural Wales by 875 (see table 2.1). Both datasets however suggest that over a third of A8 migrant workers in Wales live and/or work in rural counties, although it should also be noted that these figures include Llanelli, which has a substantial migrant worker population.

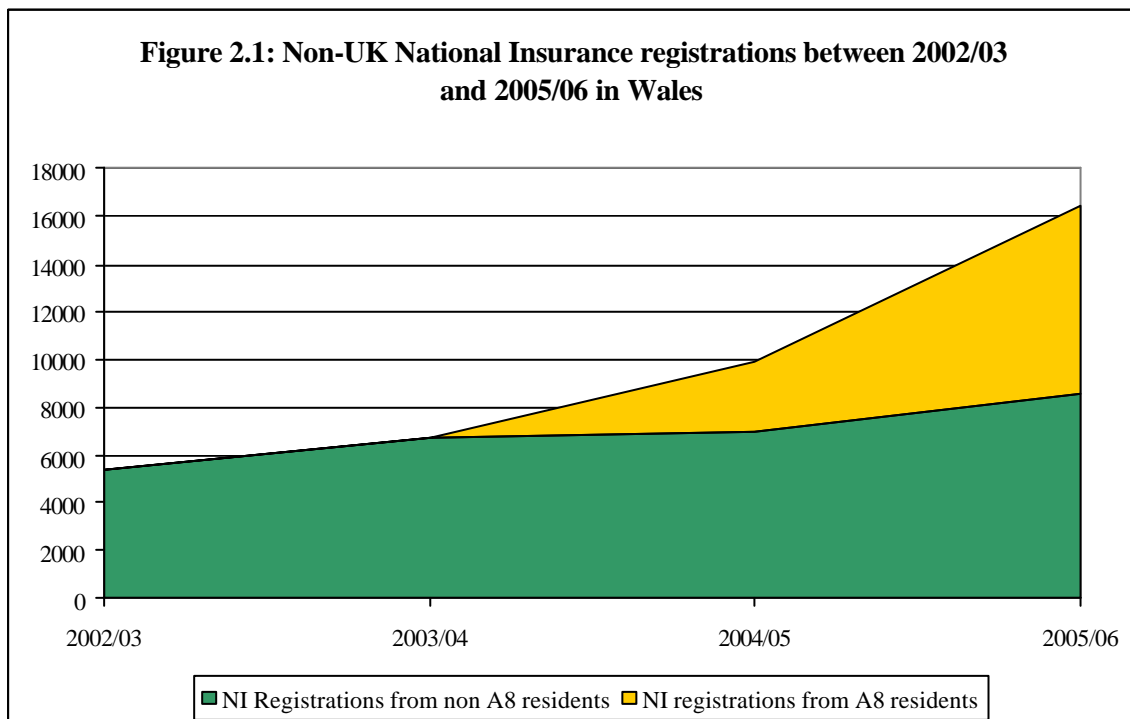
³ Rural Wales is here defined as Carmarthenshire, Ceredigion, Conwy, Denbighshire, Gwynedd, Monmouthshire, Pembrokeshire, Powys and Ynys Môn.

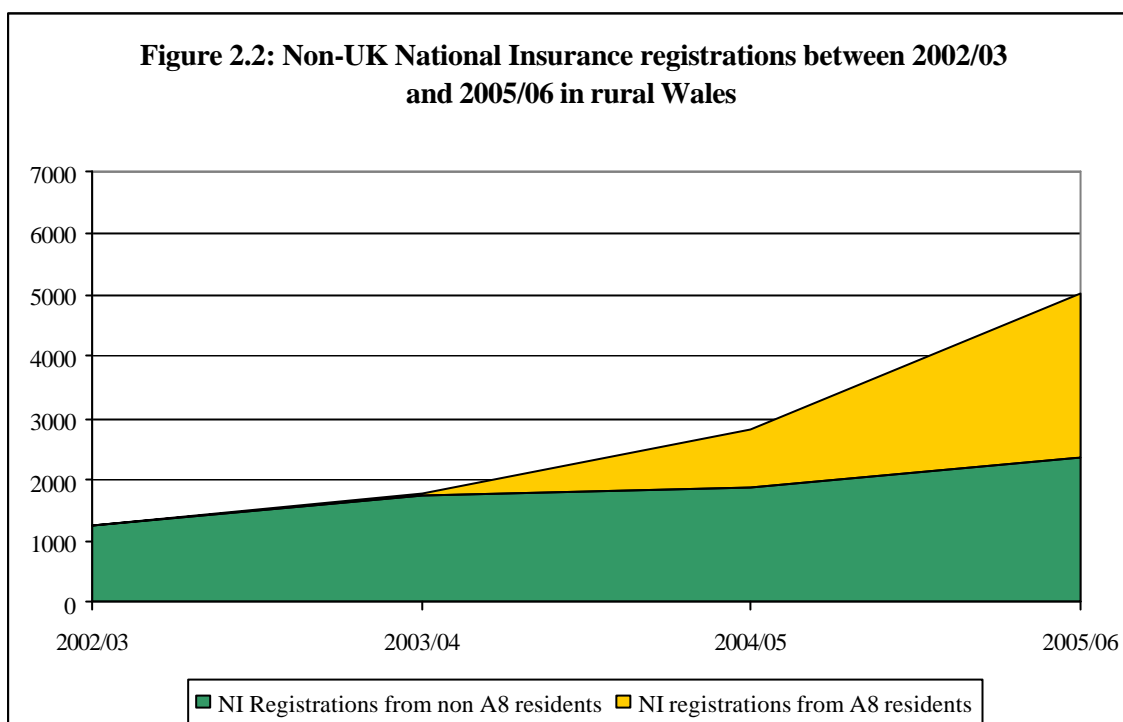
Table 2.1: WRS and Non-National National Insurance registrations by A8 country nationals

	WRS registrations, May 2004 – March 2007		WRS registrations, May 2004 – March 2006		A8 NI registrations, April 2004 – March 2006	
Rural Wales	5730	35.3%	4525	37.3%	3650	33.7%
Part-rural districts	3930	24.2%	2774	22.8%	2550	23.5%
Valleys	1750	10.8%	1120	9.2%	1450	13.4%
Urban districts	4815	29.7%	3725	30.7%	3190	29.4%
Wales	16225	100.0%	12144	100.0%	10840	100.0%

The National Insurance data records the sharp increase in migration to rural Wales from Central and Eastern Europe following the enlargement of the European Union. Prior to enlargement, only 10 nationals from the prospective A8 countries registered for National Insurance in rural Wales in 2002-3 and only 30 in 2004-5. In 2004-5, 960 citizens of the A8 states registered for National Insurance in rural Wales, increasing by 180% to 2690 in 2005-6. It should be noted, however, that

National Insurance registrations in rural Wales by non-UK nationals from countries other than the A8 states also increased by 88% between 2002-3 and 2005-6, from 1250 to 2350. As figures 2.1 and 2.2 demonstrate, migration from Central and Eastern Europe has contributed to a doubling in the rate of overseas workers entering employment in Wales as a whole between 2002 and 2006, but this impact has been particularly pronounced in rural Wales.





Analysis of WRS data shows that the number of registrations increased from 2005 into 2006, but that there signs of a

slow-down in the rate of registrations in early 2007. The slowing rate of registrations was more pronounced in rural Wales than in Wales as a whole (table 2.2).

Table 2.2: WRS registrations by date

	May 2004 – Dec 2005		2006		Jan–March 2007	
	Number	Rate per month	Number	Rate per month	Number	Rate per month
Rural Wales	2770	131.9	2800	233.3	650	216.7
Part-rural districts	1455	69.3	1930	160.8	545	181.7
Valleys	535	25.5	970	80.8	235	78.3
Urban districts	2470	117.6	1900	158.3	450	150.0
Wales	7230	344.3	7220	601.7	1770	590.0

The large majority of A8 migrant workers in rural Wales are from Poland. Both the WRS and National Insurance data suggest that over 70% of migrant workers in rural Wales are from Poland, with no other national group constituting more than 10% of the total (table 2.3). This is a greater concentration than for Wales as a whole:

64% of all WRS registrations in Wales between May 2004 and September 2006 were by Polish citizens, 16% by Slovakian citizens and 7% by Lithuanian citizens. Over 45% of WRS registrations by Polish citizens in Wales during this period were in rural counties, compared with just 23% of registrations by Lithuanian citizens, 18% of registrations by Hungarian citizens, and 17% of registrations by Slovakian citizens.

Table 2.3: Nationality of A8 WRS and National Insurance registrations in rural Wales, 2004 – 2006

Country of origin	WRS registrations, Rural Wales (May 04 – Sept 06)		National Insurance registrations, Rural Wales (2004 – 6)	
	Count	%	Count	%
Poland	3580	79.1%	2640	72.3%
Slovakia	332	7.3%	330	9.0%
Lithuania	197	4.4%	250	6.8%
Latvia	164	3.6%	140	3.8%
Czech Republic	115	2.5%	160	4.4%
Hungary	89	2.0%	70	1.9%
Estonia	44	1.0%	60	1.6%
Slovenia	4	0.1%	0	0.0%

There are also geographical variations in the distribution of different A8 nationalities within Wales, although total numbers for non-Polish nationals are small. Whilst 56% of WRS registrations by Polish nationals in rural Wales were in Carmarthenshire, the largest concentration of Estonian citizens was in Denbighshire (41% of total for rural Wales), of Hungarians in Powys (31%), Latvians in Pembrokeshire (24%), Lithuanians in Gwynedd (21%) and Slovaks in Pembrokeshire (30%).

2.3 Geographical Distribution

The analysis above has revealed variations in the geographical distribution of A8 migrant workers between rural and urban parts of Wales, but there are also geographical variations within rural Wales. As table 2.4 demonstrates, four in every ten WRS registrations in the rural counties of Wales up to March 2007 were made in Carmarthenshire, with Pembrokeshire and Powys being the next most significant counties. National Insurance data similarly reveals the dominance of Carmarthenshire within rural Wales (figure 2.3), and its position in the second quintile for the UK as a whole (figure 2.4).

Table 2.4: Geographical distribution of WRS registrations in rural Wales

	2004-5	2006	Q1 2007	Total	%
Carmarthenshire	1260	1080	295	2635	46.0%
Pembrokeshire	245	250	55	550	9.6%
Powys	250	245	40	540	9.4%
Conwy	275	195	45	515	9.0%
Gwynedd	270	205	20	495	8.6%
Denbighshire	150	565	150	375	6.5%
Ceredigion	135	130	25	285	5.0%
Monmouthshire	130	95	10	235	4.1%
Ynys Môn	55	35	10	100	1.7%
Rural Wales total	2770	2800	650	5730	100.0%

Figure 2.3: A8 National Insurance registrations in Wales, 2004-6

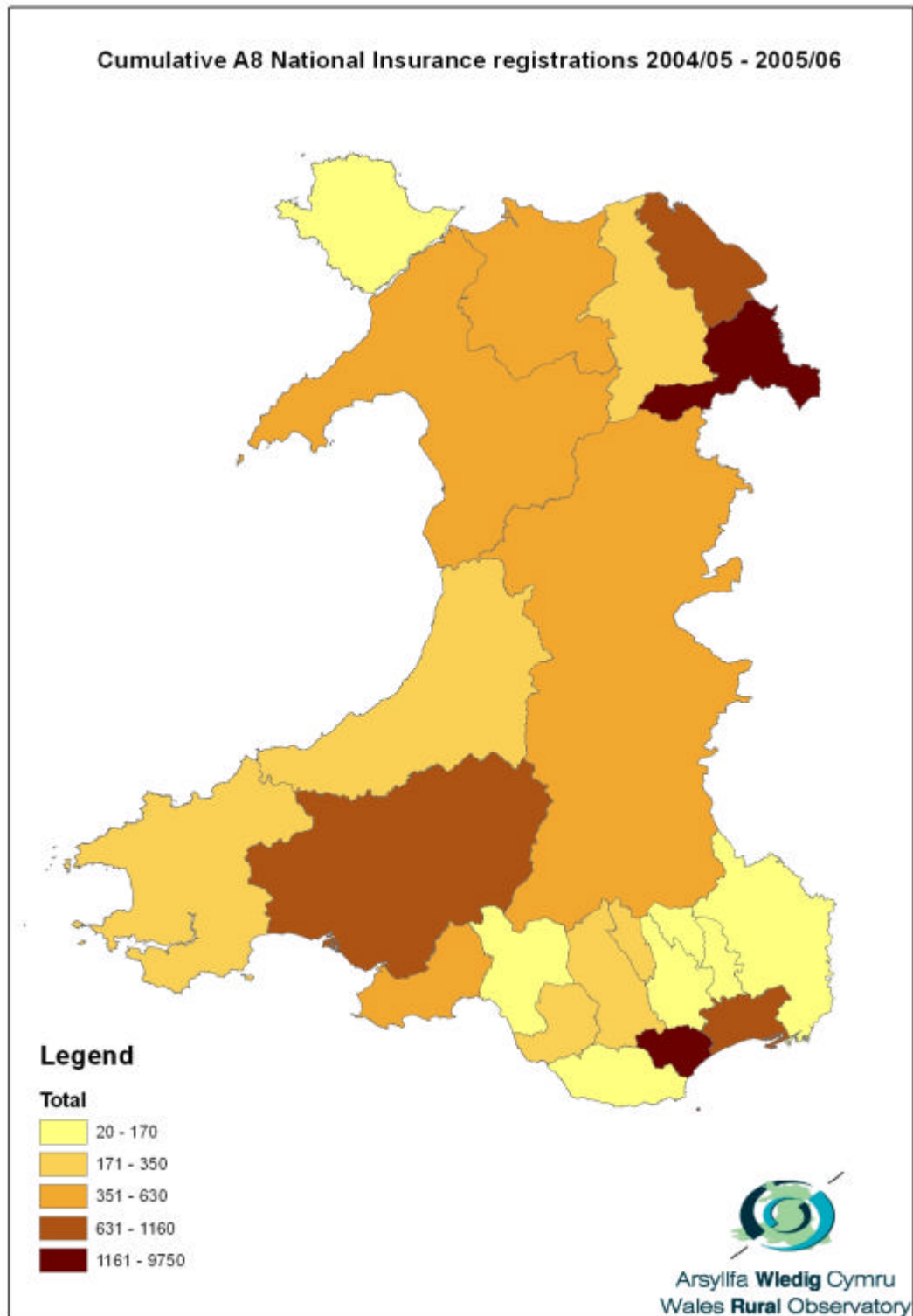
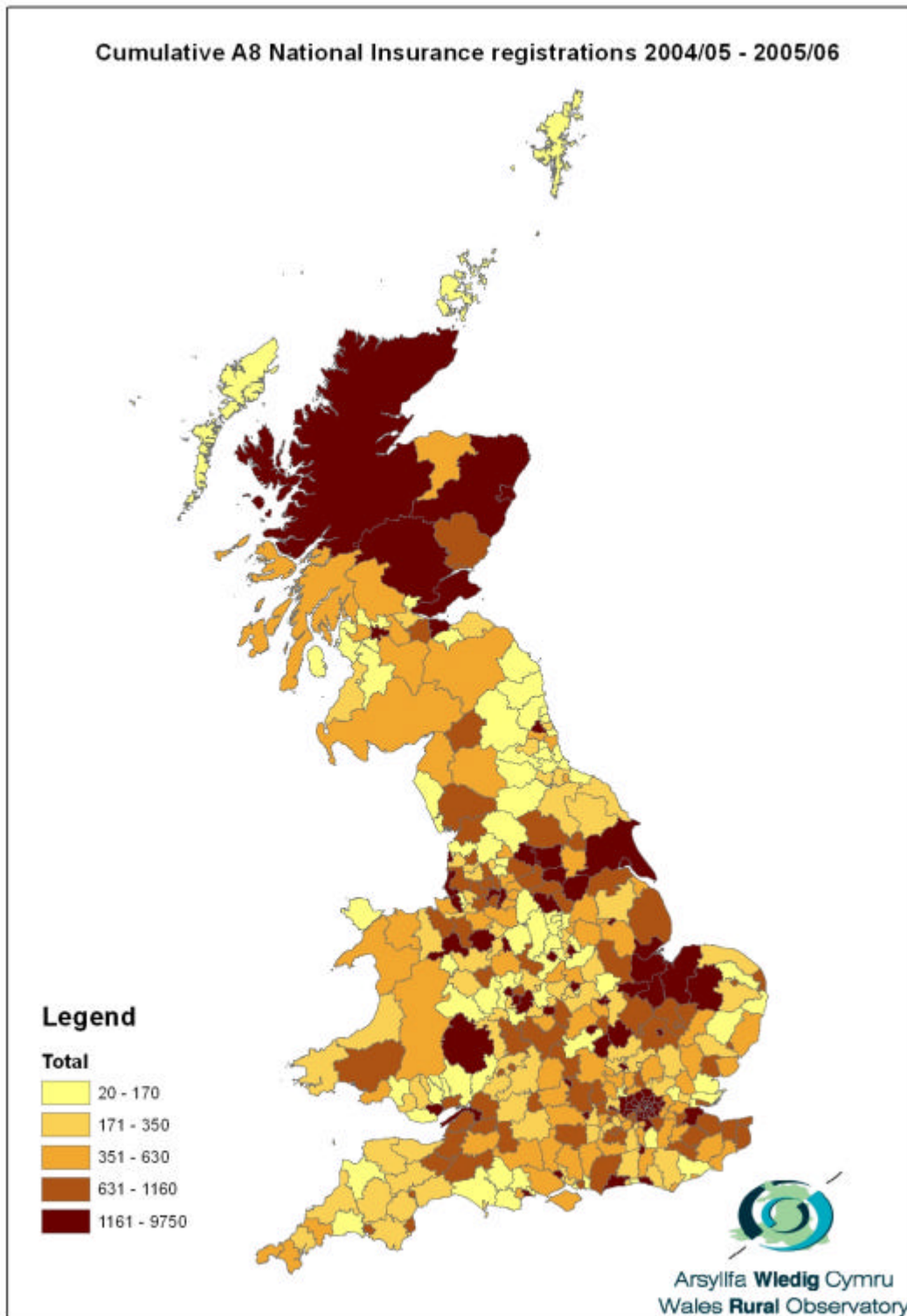


Figure 2.4: A8 National Insurance registrations by district in Great Britain, 2004 -6



The significance of A8 migrant workers in the local workforce also varies by county. In Carmarthenshire, the number of WRS approvals up to March 2007 exceeded 3.5% of total workplace employment in the

county, but in other parts of rural Wales the proportion was far less significant. WRS approvals to March 2007 were just over 1% of total workplace employment in Conwy and Pembrokeshire, but were equivalent to

less than 1% of workplace employment in all other districts (WAG, 2007). Similarly National Insurance registrations by A8 nationals were more significant in comparison to the total working age population in Carmarthenshire than elsewhere, although both Gwynedd and Powys both stand out with A8 National Insurance registrations exceeding 0.5% of the local working age population in March 2006 (figure 2.5).

Geographical variations in the distribution of A8 migrant workers are even more evident at the local scale within counties, although available data becomes more unreliable at this scale. The dominance of Carmarthenshire within rural Wales is largely a result of the concentration of A8 migrant workers in Llanelli. Analysis of postcode area level WRS data for Dyfed-Powys Police found 1574 registrations at workplaces in the Llanelli and Gwendraeth Valley areas (SA14 and SA15 postcodes) up to June 2006, representing 81% of all WRS registrations in Carmarthenshire (Dyfed Powys Police, 2006). This figure however is likely to understate the true number of A8 migrant workers in the area. The Polish Advice Centre in Llanelli estimates that there are at least 2000 Polish nationals living in and around the town, whilst over 1000 citizens of A8 states have registered with GP practices in Llanelli (Carmarthenshire County Council, 2007).

Similarly, figures for Conwy include a significant number of A8 nationals living and working in Llandudno, although this figure has not been quantified. Llanelli and

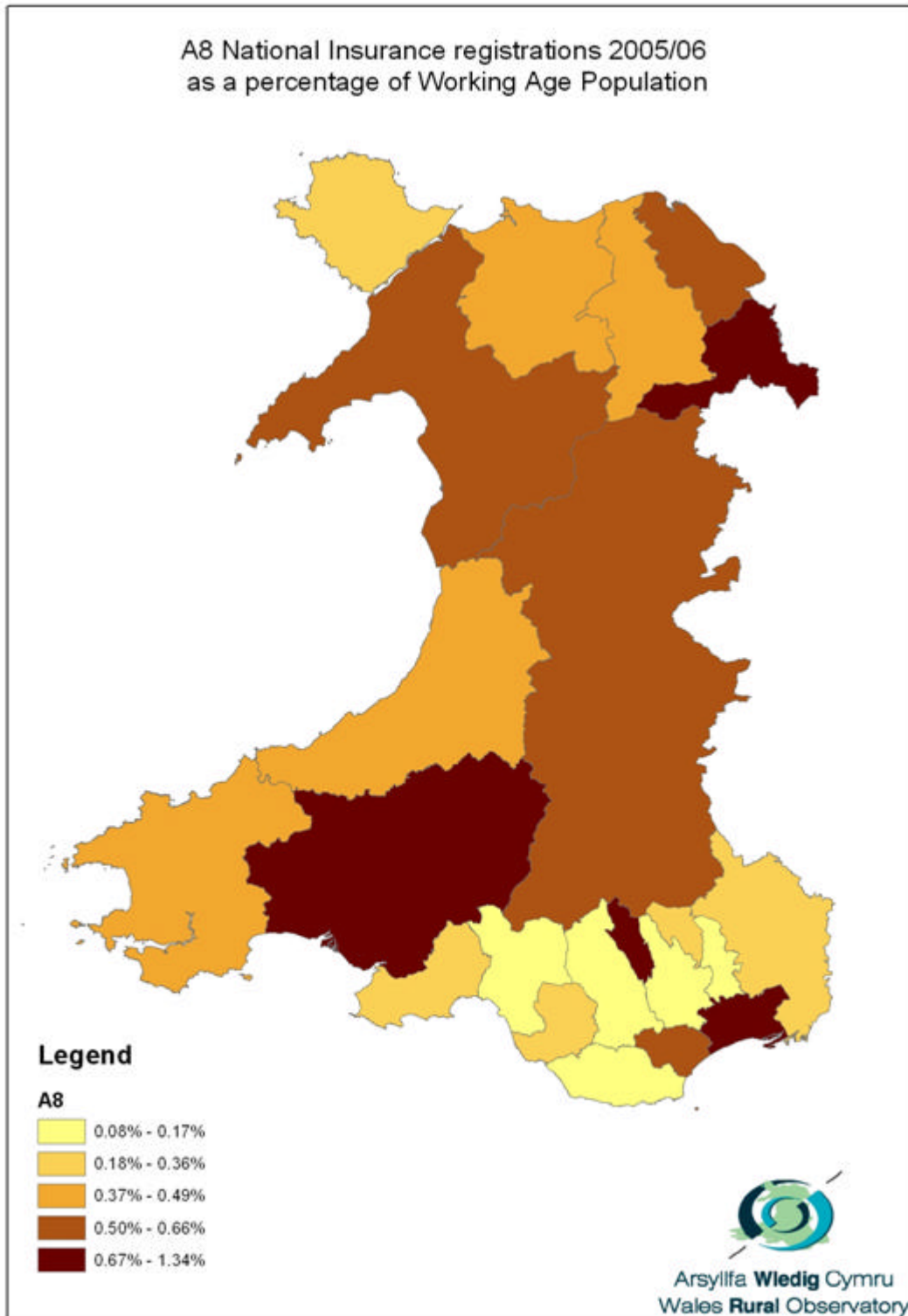
Llandudno are both substantial towns which whilst included within the definition of 'rural Wales' when defined at the local authority level are normally excluded when 'rural Wales' is defined by smaller-scale units such as postcode areas or wards. If these two towns are excluded, total WRS registrations in rural Wales can be estimated to be reduced to between 3000 and 3250 up to March 2007.

Other geographical concentrations of A8 migrant workers, identified by postcode area analysis and other local evidence, include Haverfordwest, Llanybydder and Tenby, all with WRS registrations in the region of 100 up to March 2006, and Aberystwyth, Betws-y-Coed, Brecon, Carmarthen, Llandrindod Wells, Milford Haven, New Quay and Welshpool, with at least 30 WRS registrations up to March 2006.

2.4 Gender and Age

The majority of migrant workers from A8 states working in rural Wales are men, but the gender balance is much closer than has traditionally been observed for migrant labour, for example Mexican workers in the United States and Turkish workers in Germany, which have tended to be male dominated. 57% of WRS registrations in rural Wales up to March 2006 were by men. Two features of A8 migrant labour in rural Wales are particularly distinctive in this respect.

Figure 2.5: National Insurance registrations by A8 nationals relative to local working age population.



Firstly, migrant workers in rural Wales include a significant number of single young people, both male and female. 41% of WRS registrations between May 2004 and March 2006 were by individuals aged between 18 and 24, and a further 34% by

people aged between 24 and 35 (table 2.5). Notably, just over half of workers registered aged between 18 and 24 were women. Furthermore, of the respondents to our survey, 49% described themselves as single.

Table 2.5: Age and gender of migrant workers registered with WRS in rural Wales, May 2004 – March 2006

Age	Men	Women	All	% of total	% female
18 – 24	921	933	1854	41.1%	50.3%
25 – 34	968	560	1528	33.9%	36.6%
35 – 44	370	215	585	13.0%	36.8%
45 – 54	262	199	461	10.2%	43.2%
Over 55	31	35	66	1.5%	53.0%
Age not stated	6	10	16	0.4%	62.5%

Secondly, there is a significant group of migrant workers who came to Wales with their partners, or have subsequently brought their families to Wales. Just under a quarter of respondents to our survey said that they had come with their partner, and over a third reported that their family was living with them in Wales. The large majority of migrant workers in rural Wales are not however supporting dependents. According to WRS data, 97% of workers in rural Wales stated that they did not have any dependents when registering – a higher figure than for any other part of Wales. Six out of ten of the respondents to our survey said that they did not have any children.

These patterns do, however, vary to some extent by type of employment, and hence by area within rural Wales. Employment in hotels, catering and tourism-related businesses, as well as in the care sector, tends to attract more women and younger workers. As such, women comprise over half of the WRS-registered migrant workers in Conwy, Denbighshire and Gwynedd; whilst migrant workers aged 18-24 are in the majority in several counties including Ceredigion, Conwy and Gwynedd. In contrast, only 31% of WRS-registrations to March 2006 in Carmarthenshire were by workers aged 18-24, and only 38% were by women (table 2.6).

Table 2.6: Geographical differences in age and gender of WRS-registered migrant workers, May 2004 – March 2006

	Aged 18-24	Women
Carmarthenshire	31.1%	37.6%
Ceredigion	54.0%	46.0%
Conwy	54.5%	55.3%
Denbighshire	41.1%	51.9%
Gwynedd	60.0%	53.5%
Monmouthshire	43.1%	34.9%
Pembrokeshire	52.1%	46.0%
Powys	41.1%	46.3%
Ynys Mon	36.5%	40.5%

2.5 Employment

Migrant workers in rural Wales are more dispersed into different sectors of employment than are migrant workers in Wales as a whole. Overall, 64% of WRS registrations between May 2004 and September 2006 were in the service sector, but these were less concentrated in administration, business and management services than for Wales as whole (table 2.7). The most significant sectors are hospitality and catering; manufacturing; and administration, business and management services, each accounting for between a fifth and a quarter of WRS registrations in rural Wales. One notable

feature of migrant labour in rural Wales compared with rural districts of England, is the relative insignificance of agriculture as a source of employment. Only 4.5% of WRS registrations in rural Wales were in agriculture, compared with around 10% across the UK as a whole. Roughly half of all migrant workers in rural Wales employed in agriculture work in Pembrokeshire, with over 10% in each of Carmarthenshire, Monmouthshire and Powys. A further notable feature of migrant labour in rural Wales is the small but significant level of employment in meat processing, accounting for 3.4% of WRS registrations up to September 2006. However, over 80% of these jobs were in Carmarthenshire.

Table 2.7: Industry of employment of migrant workers registered with WRS, May 2004 – September 2006.

	Rural Wales	All Wales
Hospitality and catering	27.0%	18.8%
Manufacturing	23.0%	16.0%
Administration, Business and Management Services	21.7%	40.9%
Health and medical services	7.6%	5.4%
Agriculture	4.5%	3.1%
Entertainment & leisure services	4.1%	2.4%
Construction & land services	3.0%	2.4%
Meat processing	3.4%	1.9%
Other food processing	1.9%	3.0%
Retailing & related services	1.9%	3.0%
Transport	1.2%	1.8%
Other	1.1%	1.6%

More broadly, there are noteworthy geographical variations in the distribution of migrant workers employed in these sectors, as table 2.8 shows. Tourism-related employment, especially in hospitality and catering, dominates in the

coastal counties of west Wales; manufacturing is most important in Carmarthenshire and Powys; whilst non-tourism-related service sector employment prevails in Denbighshire and Monmouthshire.

Table 2.8: Three largest sectors of employment for WRS-registered migrant workers in rural Wales, by county, May 2004 – September 2006.

Carmarthenshire	Manufacturing 43%	Admin, Business and Management 40%	Meat processing 6%
Ceredigion	Hospitality & Catering 35%	Entertainment & leisure services 20%	Health & medical services 13%
Conwy	Hospitality & Catering 80%	Health & medical services 6%	Entertainment & leisure services 4%
Denbighshire	Health & medical services 43%	Hospitality & Catering 31%	Manufacturing 6%
Gwynedd	Hospitality & Catering 55%	Entertainment & leisure services 19%	Health & medical services 7%
Monmouthshire	Admin, Business and Management 35%	Hospitality & Catering 12%	Agriculture 10%
Pembrokeshire	Hospitality & Catering 42%	Agriculture 24%	Construction 13%
Powys	Manufacturing 14%	Health & medical serviced 12%	Admin, Business and Management 8%
Ynys Môn	Hospitality & Catering 38%	Agriculture 16%	Meat processing 12%

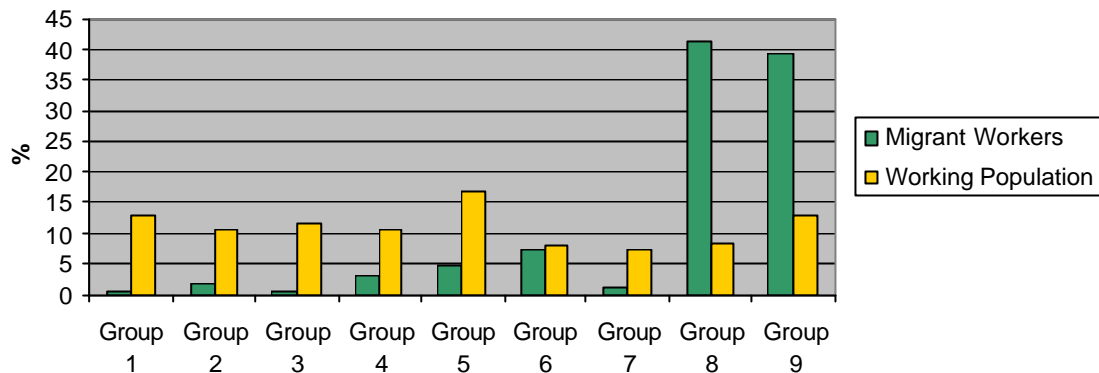
Migrant workers from the A8 countries tend to be employed in lower-order – and lower-paid – occupations within these industries. Analysis against the Standard Occupational Classification (SOC) (ONS, 2000) shows that 80% of WRS-registered migrant workers in rural Wales were employed in the two least-skilled occupational groups: process, plant and machine operatives (group 8) and

elementary occupations (group 9) (table 2.9). By comparison, these two groups comprise only 21% of the full working population of rural Wales (figure 2.6). The profile is, however, slightly less concentrated than that for migrant workers in Wales as a whole, with a proportionally higher level of employment in professional occupations, administrative and secretarial occupations, and personal service occupations.

Table 2.9: Categorisation of WRS registrations, May 2004 – September 2006, by Standard Occupational Classification groups.

SOC category	Rural Wales		All Wales	
	Number	%	Number	%
Group 1: Managers and senior officials	23	0.5	70	0.6
Group 2: Professional occupations	77	1.7	155	1.3
Group 3: Associate professional and technical occupations	22	0.5	49	0.4
Group 4: Administrative and secretarial occupations	142	3.1	291	2.4
Group 5: Skilled trades occupations	216	4.8	420	3.5
Group 6: Personal service occupations	332	7.3	544	4.5
Group 7: Sales and customer service occupations	61	1.3	206	1.7
Group 8: Process, plant and machine operatives	1871	41.3	5461	45.0
Group 9: Elementary occupations	1774	39.2	4926	40.6
Not classified	7	0.2	18	0.1

Figure 2.6: Migrant Workers and Working Population in Rural Wales, by Standard Occupational Classification Group



The highly concentrated nature of the migrant labour force in rural Wales is further indicated by the fact that over three-quarters of all A8 registrations with the WRS between May 2004 and September 2006 were for just ten occupations. Four in ten WRS-registered migrant workers are employed as factory process operatives, that is as unskilled or semi-skilled routine labour in factories

(table 2.10). Other significant occupations include kitchen and catering assistants, care assistants, waiting staff, hotel maids and room attendants, packers and cleaners and domestic assistants. This evidence shows that the large majority of A8 migrant workers are employed in low-grade and often low-paid menial jobs that require few if any skills or qualifications.

Table 2.10: Top occupations for WRS registrations in rural Wales, May 2004 – September 2006.

Rank	Occupation	Rural Wales Number	Rural Wales %	All Wales % and rank
1	Factory process operative	1798	39.7%	41.7% (1)
2	Kitchen / catering assistant	364	8.0%	5.8% (4)
3	Care assistant / home carer	281	6.2%	3.8% (7)
4	Waiter / waitress	263	5.8%	3.8% (6)
5	Hotel maid / room attendant	244	5.4%	3.7% (8)
6	Packer	162	3.6%	5.3% (3)
7	Cleaner / domestic assistant	141	3.1%	4.1% (5)
8	Administrator	97	2.1%	1.6% (10)
9	Food processing operative	89	2.0%	2.5% (9)
10	Warehouse operative	86	1.9%	8.4% (2)
11	Farm worker	85	1.9%	1.1% (14)
12	Bar staff	83	1.8%	1.4% (11)
13	Chef	73	1.6%	1.0% (15)
14	Building labourer	57	1.3%	1.4% (12)
15	Leisure park attendant	53	1.2%	0.6% (18)

There are again variations between counties both in the type of occupations taken by migrant workers, and in the

degree of concentration of the migrant labour force in particular occupations (table 2.11).

Table 2.11: Three most numerous occupations for WRS-registered migrant workers in rural Wales, by county, May 2004 – September 2006.

Carmarthenshire	Factory process operative: 1453 (69%)	Food processing operative (meat): 109 (5%)	Packer: 104 (5%)
Ceredigion	Cleaner / domestic assistant: 41 (19%)	Catering / Kitchen assistant: 38 (18%)	Factory process operative: 19 (9%)
Conwy	Hotel maid / room attendant: 92 (23%)	Waiter / waitress: 86 (21%)	Catering / Kitchen assistant: 73 (18%)
Denbighshire	Care assistant / home carer: 109 (38%)	Catering / Kitchen assistant: 32 (11%)	Factory process operative: 19 (7%)
Gwynedd	Catering / Kitchen assistant: 49 (12%)	Waiter / waitress: 49 (12%)	Hotel maid / room attendant: 37 (9%)
Monmouthshire	Factory process operative: 47 (24%)	Warehouse operative: 38 (19%)	Catering / Kitchen assistant: 23 (12%)
Pembrokeshire	Catering / Kitchen assistant: 73 (17%)	Waiter / waitress: 55 (13%)	Packer: 36 (8%)
Powys	Factory process operative: 87 (21%)	Hotel maid / room attendant: 55 (14%)	Catering / Kitchen assistant: 52 (13%)
Ynys Môn	Hotel maid / room assistant: 10 (14%)	Factory process operative: 9 (12%)	Catering / Kitchen assistant: 6 (8%)

2.6 Summary

This chapter has attempted to present an overall profile of migrant workers from the A8 nations in rural Wales, using evidence drawn from data for the Worker Registration Scheme and National Insurance registrations by non-UK nationals. This analysis indicates that at least 5,750 migrant workers from Central and Eastern Europe moved into rural Wales between May 2004 and September 2007, but shortcomings in the data and a high-level of non-registration by migrant workers means that an accurate figure is impossible to calculate. Our best estimate, taking into account non-registrations is that over 10,000 migrant workers from A8 states will have come to rural Wales by early 2008, two-thirds of whom are likely still to be living and working in the region (including Llanelli and Llandudno).

The data analysis additionally shows that:

- Seven in ten A8 migrant workers in rural Wales are from Poland, a higher concentration than for Wales as a whole, or for the UK as a whole.
- There are roughly three male migrant workers for every two female migrant workers in rural Wales, but that most migrant workers under the age of 25 are women.
- Over 70% of migrant workers in rural Wales are aged under 35.
- Two-thirds of migrant workers in rural Wales are employed in the

service sector, with hospitality and catering and administration, business and management services being the largest industries of employment.

- Nearly a quarter of migrant workers are employed in manufacturing.
- Migrant workers are overwhelmingly employed in low-grade unskilled or semi-skilled positions, with just ten occupations accounting for over three-quarters of migrant worker jobs in rural Wales. Four in ten migrant workers in the region are employed as factory operatives.

The geographical distribution of A8 migrant workers in rural Wales is significantly uneven. Over 45% of migrant workers in rural Wales – as defined at the local authority level – are to be found in Carmarthenshire. However, the figure for Carmarthenshire is inflated by a very large migrant worker population in Llanelli, conventionally recognised as an urban area. If Llanelli and Llandudno (where there is a smaller but still significant migrant worker population) are excluded, the total number of migrant workers in rural Wales is reduced by at least 2,000.

There are also variations in the profile of A8 migrant workers between different parts of rural Wales. In counties such as Conwy, Gwynedd and much of Pembrokeshire, tourism forms the main sector of employment for migrant workers, attracting more women and generally younger migrants than rural Wales as a whole. In Carmarthenshire and Powys, by contrast, manufacturing is the main sector of employment, and the migrant labour force tends to be older and more male-dominated. This analysis will be developed further in the following chapters.

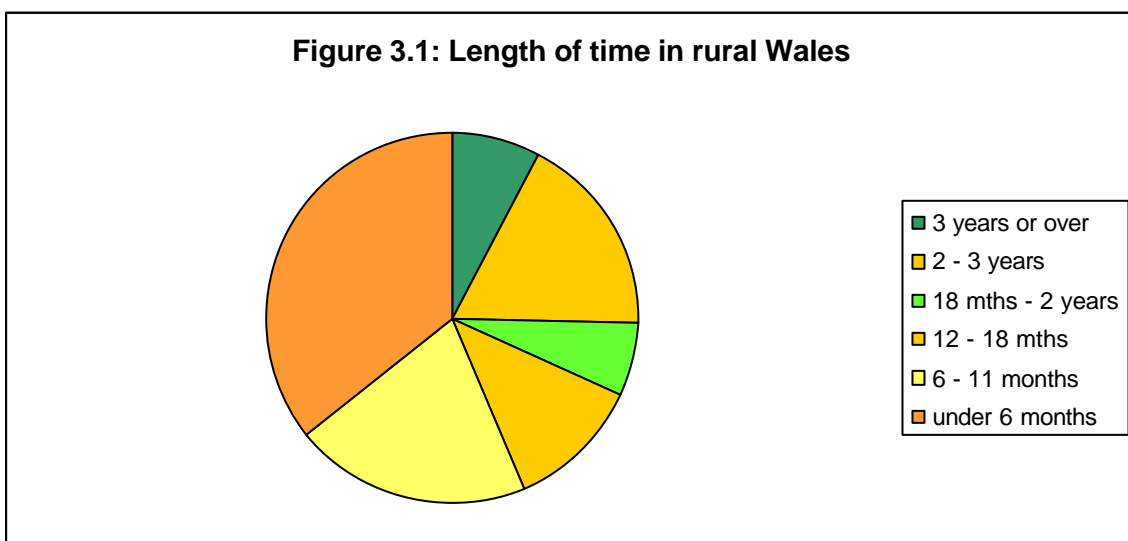
SECTION 3: PATTERNS OF MIGRATION

3.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the patterns of migration for workers from the A8 states of Central and Eastern Europe in rural Wales. It focuses in particular on the decisions to leave their home country and to come to communities in rural Wales; the routes of migration; previous connections with Wales; on-going ties to the home country; and future intentions on residence. The analysis draws primarily on data from the questionnaire survey conducted with migrant workers in the four case study localities of Betws-y-Coed and Llanrwst; Northern Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion; Milford Haven and Haverfordwest; and Welshpool. Whilst this analysis provides a good insight into the migration decisions and processes of A8 citizens currently resident in rural Wales, it is limited in that it provides no information on those migrant workers who have already moved out of the area, including those who have returned to their home country.

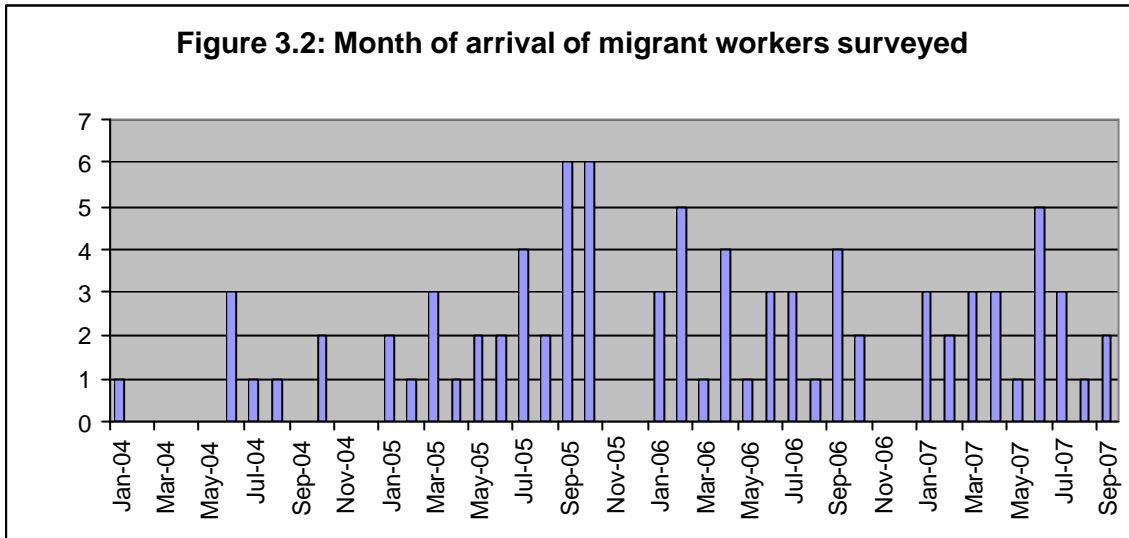
3.2 Arrival in Wales

In keeping with the analysis of WRS data, the questionnaire results point to a steady pattern of on-going migration since the accession of the Central and Eastern European states to the European Union in May 2004. The survey respondents divide into three roughly equal groups. Approximately a third had been in rural Wales for over 18 months, approximately a third arrived between 6 and 18 months before the survey, and approximately a third had arrived within the previous six months (figure 3.1). This does not, however, necessarily point to a trend of increasing migration, with the figures for earlier arrivals depleted by return migration and individuals moving on to other regions.



If allowances are made for return migration, the long-term pattern suggests that the rate of arrivals has slowed slightly – again corresponding with WRS data – but is still steady and significant. The long-

term pattern also hints at a seasonal pattern, with peaks for arrivals in June/July and September/October, although a more extensive analysis would be required to confirm this trend (figure 3.2).



There are quite significant differences between the case study localities. In the Welshpool and Carmarthenshire/Ceredigion areas respondents tended to have been in the locality for longer, whilst in the Betws-y-Coed/ Llanrwst area, and particularly the Milford Haven/Haverfordwest area, people had spent less time living in the locality, with 58 per cent moving to Haverfordwest or Milford Haven in the last 6 months, and 42 per cent in Betws-y-Coed and Llanrwst (the figures were 28 per cent and 12 per cent for Welshpool and Carmarthenshire/Ceredigion respectively).

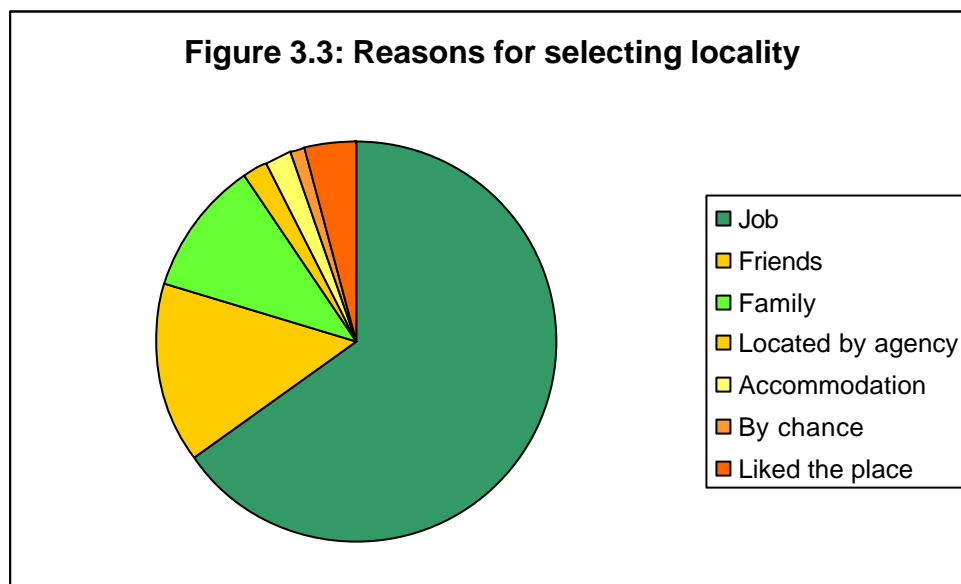
In spite of recent reports of migration from A8 countries to the UK slowing in scale, around half the respondents expected migration from their country to the UK to continue to increase. Only one in six felt that rates of migration would decrease significantly. Respondents in the Betws-y-Coed/ Llanrwst case study area were least

likely to predict increasing migration, which may be significant as they tended to be younger than respondents in the other case study areas.

Migrant workers have arrived in rural Wales by a variety of routes. Overall, half said that they had lived elsewhere in UK previous to their present home. This was especially the case in Milford Haven/Haverfordwest and Betws-y-Coed/ Llanrwst, where eight out of ten respondents had lived elsewhere in the UK previously. In contrast, over three-quarters of respondents in both Carmarthenshire/Ceredigion and Welshpool had moved straight to the area from their home country. Those migrant workers who had lived elsewhere in the UK had come through a range of places, including notably London, Llanelli and towns in the Welsh Marches such as Ledbury, Leominster, Coleford, Tetbury and Ross-on-Wye. In most cases, these stays were fairly short-term and transitory, ranging

from overnight accommodation on first arrival in the UK to residence of a few months. At least three respondents, however, had lived elsewhere in the UK for a year or more.

In most cases, the destination of migrant workers was determined by employment, but around a quarter had moved to the town to join friends or family (figure 3.3). Moving to join friends or family was particularly cited by respondents in Welshpool.



3.3 Leaving Home

Migrant workers in rural Wales have been drawn from both urban and rural areas in their home countries. The large majority of migrant workers surveyed described

themselves as coming from a town or city in their home country, although the proportion moving from rural home locations was higher in Betws-y-Coed/Llanrwst and Welshpool, possibly reflecting a conscious selection of a similarly rural area (table 3.1).

Table 3.1: Home area of migrant workers surveyed in four case study localities (%)

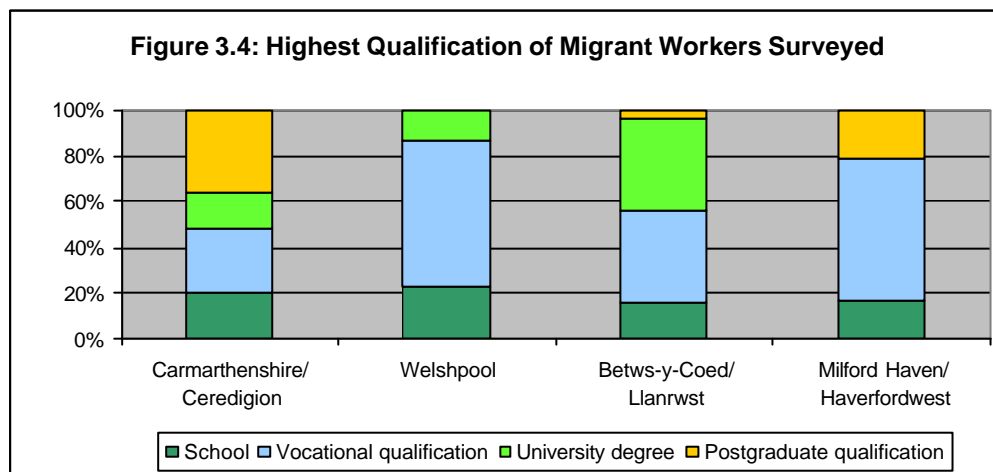
	Carmarthenshire/ Ceredigion	Welshpool	Betws-y-Coed/ Llanrwst	Milford Haven/ Haverfordwest
Village	0	14	25	11
Town	21	32	8	17
City	79	54	67	72

In each case study area around half of the respondents were in work prior to leaving their home country, though this rises to 76% in Milford Haven/ Haverfordwest. Betws-y-Coed / Llanrwst and

Carmarthenshire /Ceredigion have the highest proportion who were previously studying (both at 32%). Only one in eight respondents had been unemployed prior to moving to the UK.

Many migrant workers are highly qualified. Over a third are university graduates – many with a postgraduate qualification – whilst nearly half have a vocational qualification. However, qualification levels vary quite significantly across the case study areas, perhaps reflecting variations in the age profiles of migrants, as well as the type of employment (figure 3.4). In Betws-y-Coed/ Llanrwst many migrants are students and young people, often working in short-term unskilled jobs in the tourism industry to earn some money before returning to university in Poland. In Haverfordwest and Milford Haven most respondents (61%) had a vocational

qualification, which reflects the skilled industrial jobs they are doing there, such as operating cranes or working as specialised mechanics. In Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion the qualification profile of the respondents shows the greatest proportion of postgraduate qualifications (36%), perhaps reflecting the local employment market. No respondents in Welshpool had a postgraduate qualification, but nearly two-thirds had a vocational qualification, again reflecting the predominance of skilled occupations and factory work in the area.



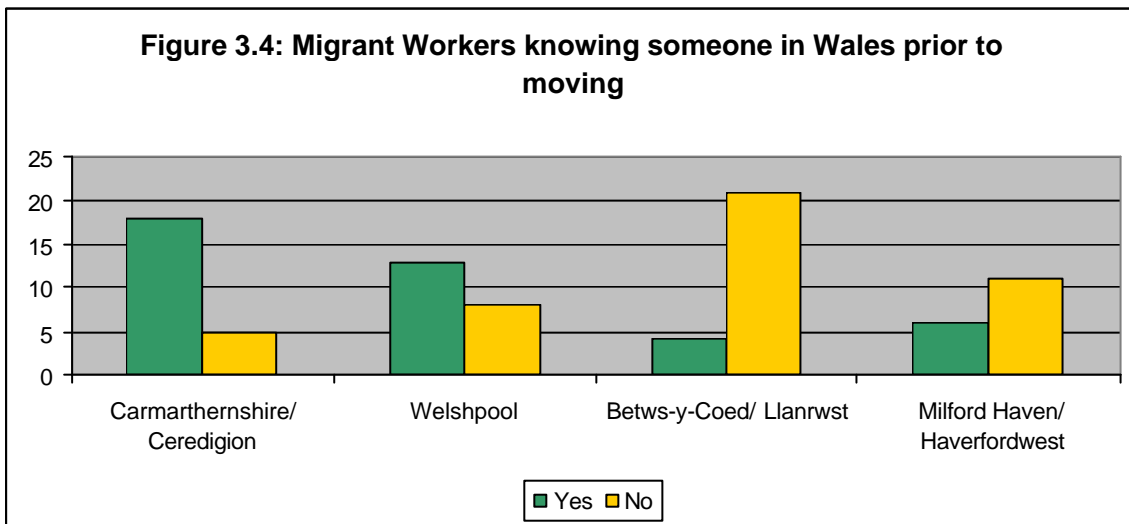
When asked why they had decided to leave their home country almost every respondent said it was for financial reasons: “the small income in Poland” or the “lack of valuable enjoyable work”, unemployment or that there is “no work in Poland”, “to earn money” or “better earnings”, others said it was because of a “lack of prospects” and that for people with university degrees there are no professional jobs at home and “no future”. For some it was because they wanted “adventure and the possibility of getting to know a new culture”, some citing wanting to learn English.

Almost all respondents had been living in their home country immediately prior to moving to the UK, but over a third had had experience of living abroad previously, including a majority of respondents in Betws-y-Coed and Llanrwst. Countries lived in included Slovakia, Croatia, Ukraine, Denmark, the Netherlands, Ireland, Italy, South Africa, and, most commonly, Germany. Two-thirds had been on holiday outside their own country. However, only one in ten respondents had been to Britain prior to moving here, and even fewer had visited Wales previously. Over a third had never left their own country, including a majority of respondents in Milford Haven and Haverfordwest.

3.4 Connections to Wales

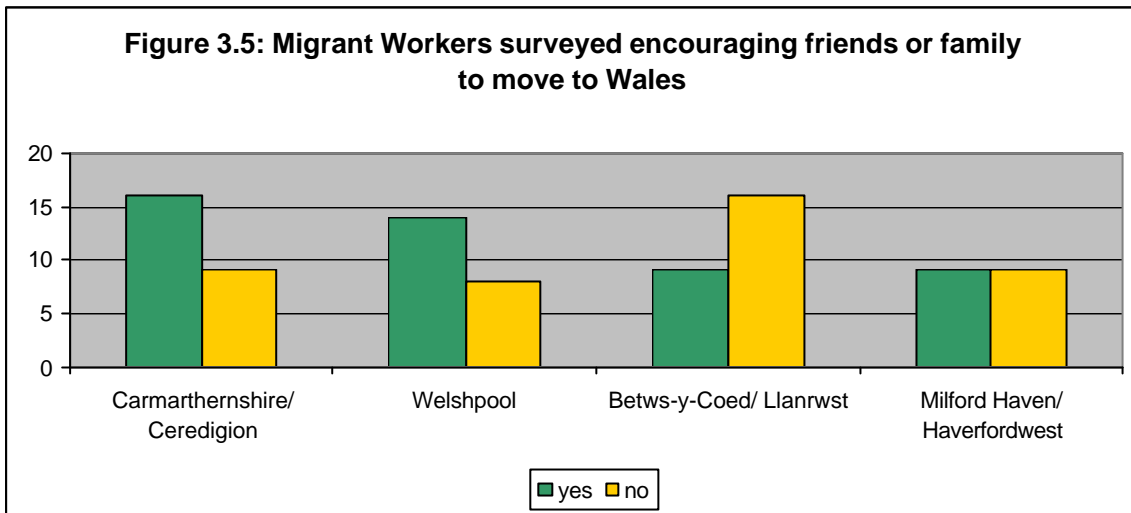
Although the large majority of migrant workers surveyed had not visited Wales prior moving here, many did have connections to Wales, notably through friends and family who had already migrated. Three in five respondents already knew somebody in the UK; usually one or two people, though some people living in the Welshpool area already knew larger groups of people of more than ten. Half of all respondents already knew somebody in Wales, but there is a clear contrast between migrant workers in

Carmarthenshire/Ceredigion and Welshpool on one side, and Betws-y-Coed/Llanrwst and Milford Haven/Haverfordwest on the other (figure 3.4). This distinction is reflected in the reasons for moving to the locality concerned. In both Carmarthenshire/Ceredigion and Welshpool, joining friends and family was highly cited as a reason, whereas in Betws-y-Coed/Llanrwst and Milford Haven/Haverfordwest the move to the locality is more commonly determined by employment.



Just over half of migrant workers surveyed came with someone from their home country, although this was not the case for respondents in Milford Haven/Haverfordwest, most of whom had travelled alone. In most cases, respondents had travelled with one companion, usually a partner, friend or relation; but a few had travelled in larger groups of four or five. Similarly, slightly more than half of the migrant workers surveyed stated that they had encouraged

friends or family to come and living and work in Wales, though this was more commonplace for respondents in Carmarthenshire/Ceredigion and Welshpool than for respondents in Milford Haven/Haverfordwest and Betws-y-Coed/Llanrwst (figure 3.5).

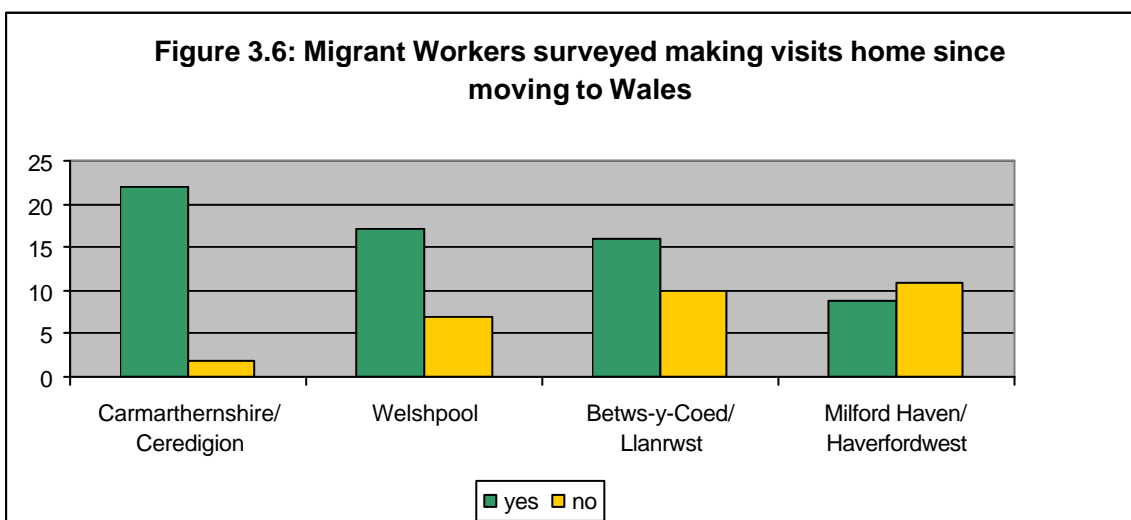


3.5 Ties to Home

Many migrant workers from A8 countries in rural Wales retain strong ties to their home communities. Two-thirds have made return visits home since moving to Wales, and for many these trips are fairly frequently with some going home every four months. Fewer respondents in Milford Haven and Haverfordwest had returned home for a visit, but this is explained by the fact that a higher proportion of respondents in this area were recent arrivals in the previous six months than for the other case studies. Trips home are primarily to visit friends and family, although in a few cases this was

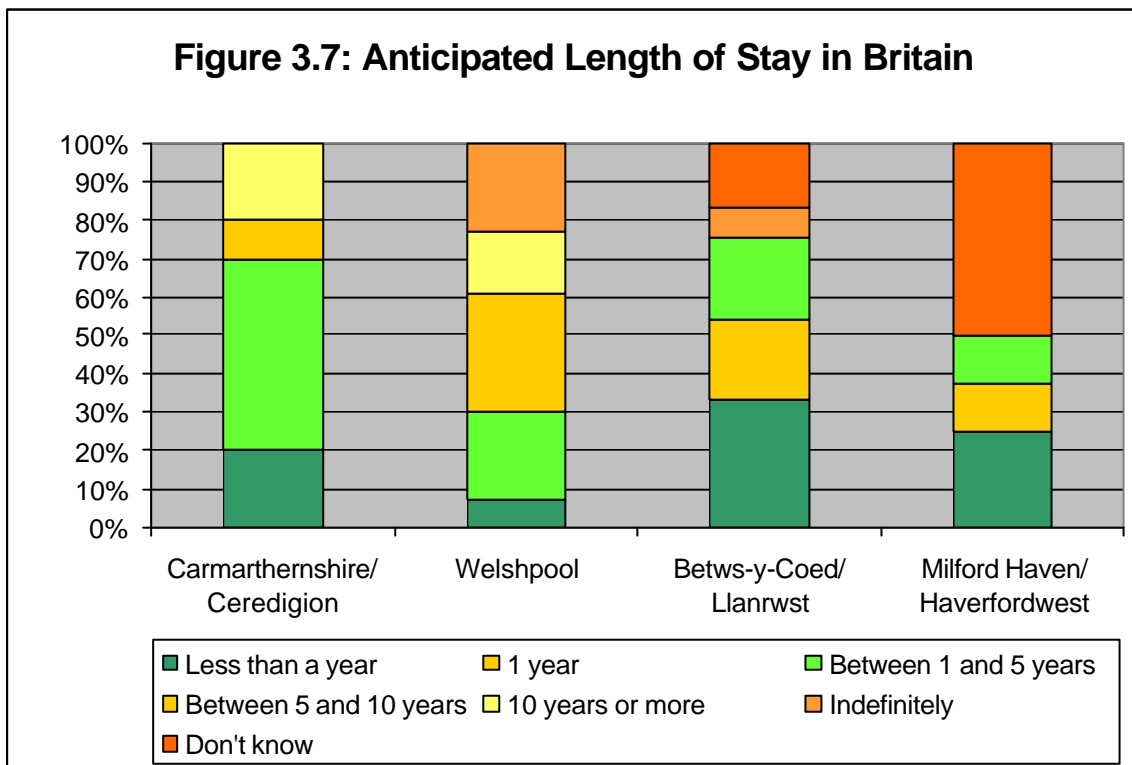
combined with looking for work. None of the migrant workers surveyed said that they had returned to their home country primarily to search for employment.

Nearly half of the respondents are sending money home, although this again varies between places with far fewer people living in Betws-y-Coed/Llanrwst sending money home, which might be explained by their young ages and absence of dependants (figure 3.6). Remittances vary in value, but can constitute a third or more of earnings.



The migrant workers surveyed expressed a variety of positions on their intended length of stay in the UK, with the majority proposing to return to their home country at some stage. Only around a fifth of respondents said that they intended to remain in Britain either indefinitely or for more than five years. A quarter anticipated staying between one and five years; whilst over a third intended only to stay for a year or less. There is, however, significant

variations in the intentions of migrant workers between the case study areas, with respondents in Carmarthenshire/Ceredigion and Welshpool most likely to intend staying longer. In contrast, over half of the respondents in Betws-y-Coed and Llanrwst anticipated staying in Wales for a year or less (figure 3.7).



Three-fifths of the respondents who intend to stay in the UK intend to stay in their current locality, but there are some variations between localities. The large majority of respondents in Carmarthenshire/Ceredigion and Welshpool intend to stay in the locality, whereas only a third of respondents in Milford Haven and Haverfordwest intend to do so.

3.6 Summary

Patterns of migration from Central and Eastern Europe to rural Wales are complex and dynamic. Most of the migrant workers surveyed had decided to migrate primarily for financial reasons and their relocation to rural Wales was essentially determined by the jobs that they secured. However, as the first wave of migrant workers has become settled, joining friends and family in Wales has become a motivating factor for later migrants. Although very few of the respondents had visited Wales prior to

moving here, around half knew someone already living in Wales. Roughly half of the migrant workers surveyed had moved directly to rural Wales from their home country, and half had lived somewhere else in the UK previously – for anything from a few nights to a few years.

Most migrant workers maintain strong ties to their home country. Half had travelled to the UK with at least one companion from home, normally a partner, friend or relative. Two-thirds of the migrant workers survey had returned home to visit since moving to Wales, in one case monthly. Nearly half of the respondents were sending remittances to family at home. The majority of migrant workers surveyed intend to move back to their home country at some point, although their anticipated length of stay in the UK varies significantly. Only one in five of survey respondents said that they expected to stay in the UK indefinitely or for at least five years.

The migrant worker population in rural Wales is hence fragmented in terms of their motivations, routes of migration, and future intentions. Although each migrant experience is different, three broad groups can be identified:

'Gap-year students': Young people taking short-term employment in the UK before, during or immediately after studying in their own country. These migrants are particularly employed in seasonal jobs in industries such as hospitality and catering in localities such as Betws-y-Coed. Their reasons for coming to Wales generally include a combination of motivations including earning money, learning English and adventure. Many expect to return to their home country within a year.

'Guestworkers': Workers who have migrated to the UK primarily to earn money and whose choice of area of residence is

primarily determined by available employment. Many have lived in more than one place in the UK, moving to follow employment opportunities. They generally intend to return to their home country, but may expect to stay in the UK for up to several years. They are less committed, however, to staying in the present locality. Many 'guestworkers' are sending remittances home. In this study, migrant workers fitting the 'guestworker' model were most commonly found in the Milford Haven and Haverfordwest area.

'Settlers': Migrants intending to stay in Britain long-term, usually in their current area of residence. Although economic reasons may be part of the motivation for migration, joining friends and family is also important. Many members of the group knew people in Wales prior to moving, and joining friends and family is an important factor in the choice of place of residence in Wales, alongside employment opportunities and residential preferences. In this study, migrant workers fitting the 'settler' model were most commonly found in the Carmarthenshire/Ceredigion and Welshpool areas.

The differential experiences and characteristics of these three groups with respect to employment and housing will be analysed in the next chapter.

SECTION 4: EMPLOYMENT AND HOUSING EXPERIENCES AND CONDITIONS

4.1 Introduction

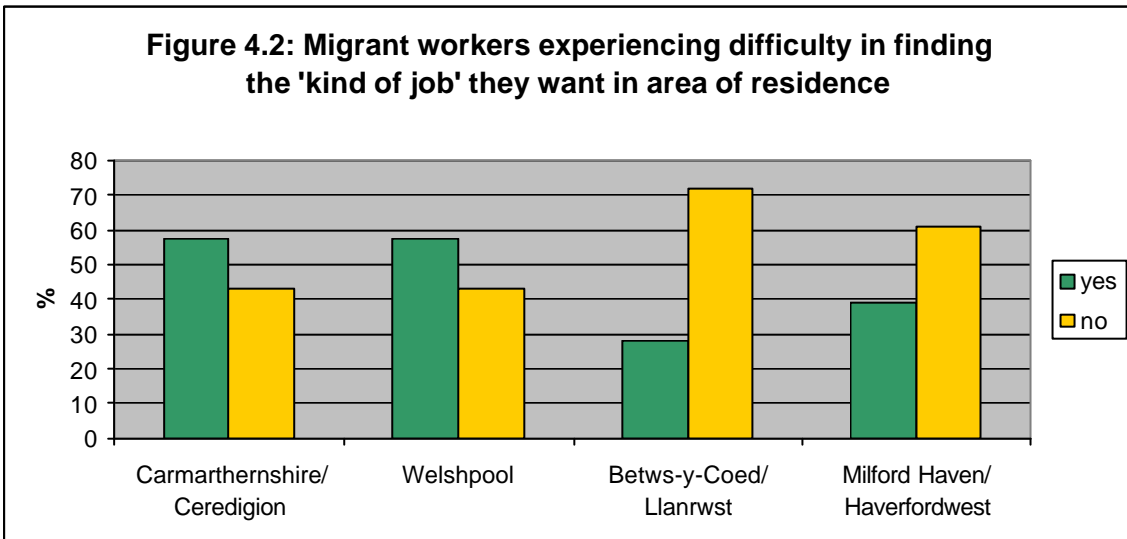
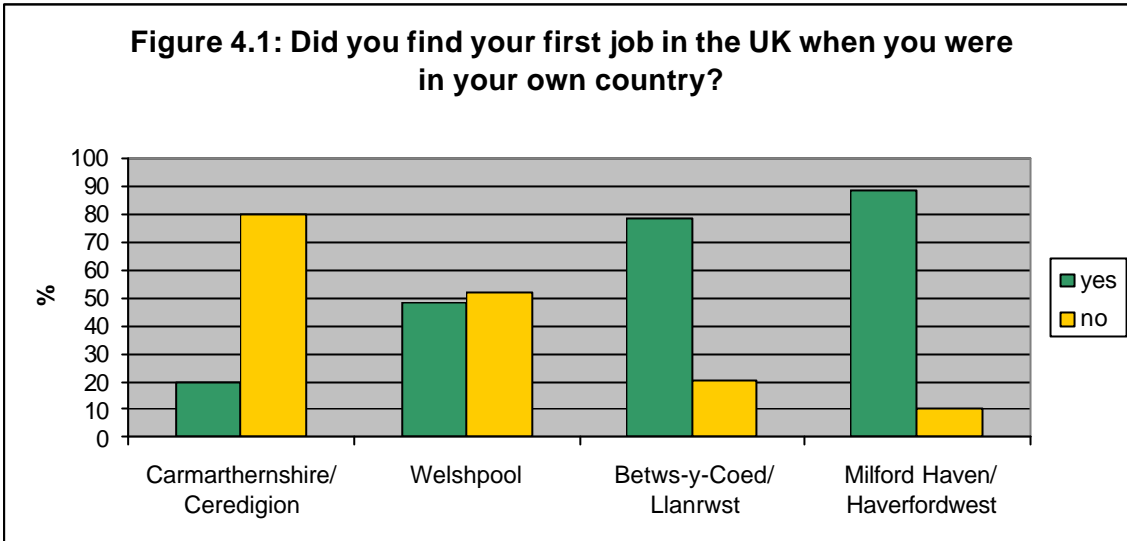
This chapter examines the experiences of migrant workers in rural Wales in finding employment and housing, and the conditions in which they work and live. It considers the type of employment obtained by migrant workers from the A8 states, the processes by which they find work, and their working conditions including hours worked and pay. It also examines the experiences of migrant workers in finding accommodation, the standard of housing, and level of rent paid. The chapter draws primarily on analysis of the questionnaire survey of migrant workers conducted in the four case study localities of Betws-y-Coed/Llanrwst, Northern Carmarthenshire/Ceredigion, Milford Haven/ Haverfordwest, and Welshpool; supplemented by WRS data and evidence from interviews with key agencies supporting migrant workers.

4.2 Finding Work

All but one of the migrant workers questioned were in work at the time of the survey, whilst an eighth had been unemployed in their home country prior to leaving. The one respondent who was not in employment had very recently resigned from their job and was actively looking for new employment. One in eight respondents had more than one job.

Generally speaking, the migrant workers surveyed had experienced little difficulty in finding employment in Wales. Nearly three-quarters either had secured a job before they moved to rural Wales, or had found work within a few days. Over half had found their job whilst still in their home country, although there are differences between the case study areas with respondents in Northern Carmarthenshire/Ceredigion being more likely to have only found employment after arriving in Wales (figure 4.1). A fifth of respondents had paid someone to find them work in the UK, including over a third of respondents in Betws-y-Coed/Llanrwst, perhaps reflecting the dominance of students and young people taking short term hotel and catering work in this area. A quarter of the migrant workers surveyed are employed through an agency.

Finding a job, however, is not the same as finding employment in an appropriate or desired field. Nearly half of the migrant workers surveyed reported that they had had difficulty finding the right kind of job that they wanted in the area in which they live. This was more frequently the case in Carmarthenshire/Ceredigion and Welshpool than in Betws-y-Coed/Llanrwst and Milford Haven/Haverfordwest (figure 4.2). As is discussed further below, this difficulty in finding employment in a desired field means that many migrant workers in rural Wales are not employed in the occupations for which they have trained or been qualified.

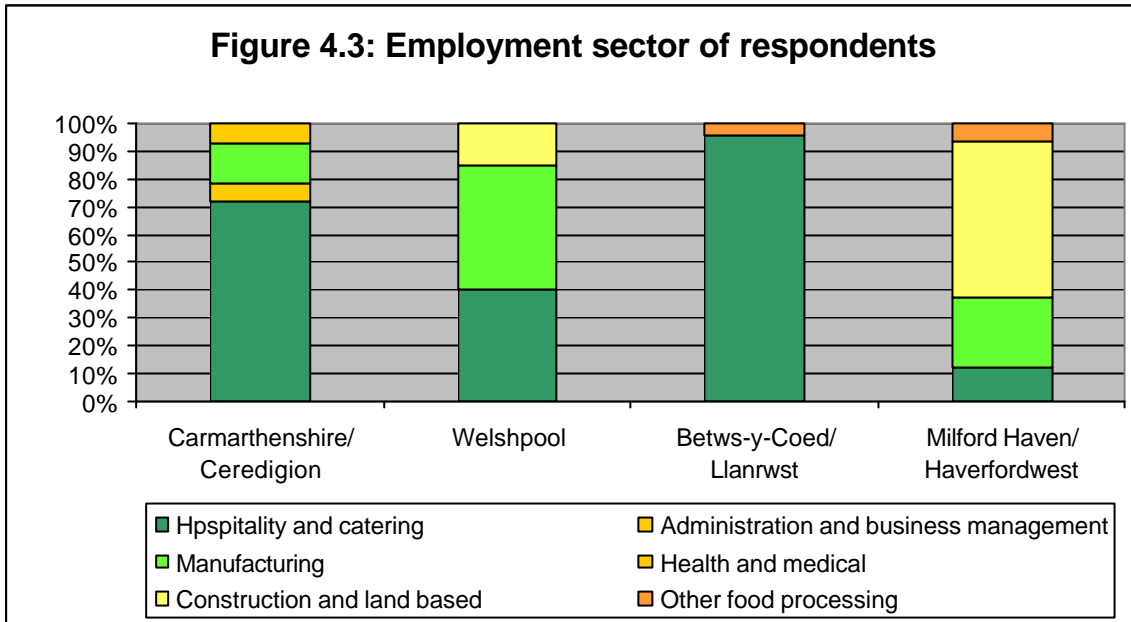


4.3 Type of Employment

There are significant variations in the industries in which migrant workers are employed between the different case studies, but these are broadly in line with the pattern of WRS registrations for the respective counties, as discussed in chapter 2. The greatest degree of concentration is in Betws-y-Coed and Llanrwst, where all but one of the respondents worked in the hospitality and catering sector. Manufacturing is the single

largest industry of employment for respondents in Welshpool, and construction and land-based industries for respondents in Milford Haven and Haverfordwest. Most respondents in Northern Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion were employed in hospitality and catering, but unlike the other case study areas, respondents in this area also worked in the health sector and in administration, business and management services (figure 4.3).

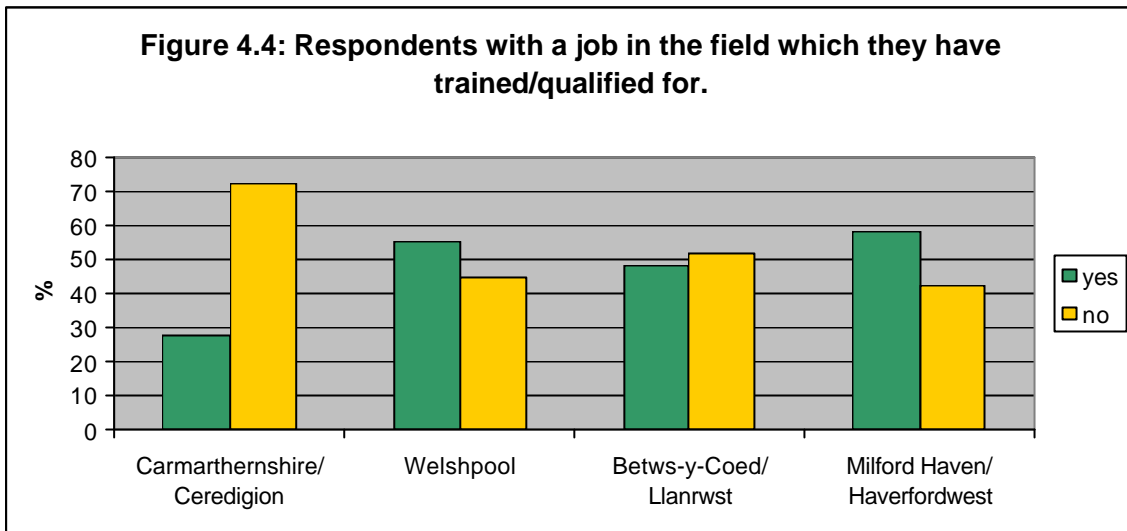
Figure 4.3: Employment sector of respondents



Specific occupations vary across the study areas, but process, plant and machine operatives and elementary occupations predominate, again reflecting the overall WRS data as discussed in chapter 2. The occupations most frequently reported by the survey respondents included chef, waiter/waitress and catering assistant, all in the hospitality and catering sector, and factory process operative (especially among respondents in Welshpool). In the construction and land-based sector, the respondents included three crane operators and four mechanics in Milford Haven and Haverfordwest, and a welder and a gardener in Welshpool. Other jobs reported include cleaner, domestic assistant, housekeeper, driver, packer, and butcher or slaughterhouse worker. The very few more skilled or professional occupations reported include an electrician, a technical officer and a dentist.

There are key employers in each locality, including a hospital in Carmarthenshire/Ceredigion employing auxiliary workers, a food processing factory in Welshpool, a hotel in Betws-y-Coed/Llanrwst, and a Belgian construction company in Milford Haven/Haverfordwest. Almost all respondents had a single regular workplace, usually within 15 minutes walk of their accommodation. Several respondents in the Milford Haven and Haverfordwest area had transport provided by their employer, whilst many of the respondents in Betws-y-Coed/Llanrwst working in hotels had accommodation at their workplace.

Around half the respondents said that their job was not what they were trained or qualified for, though migrant workers in Milford Haven/Haverfordwest and Welshpool were more likely to be in an appropriate job (figure 4.4). Just over half of the respondents not working in their trained field had tried to find a more appropriate job.

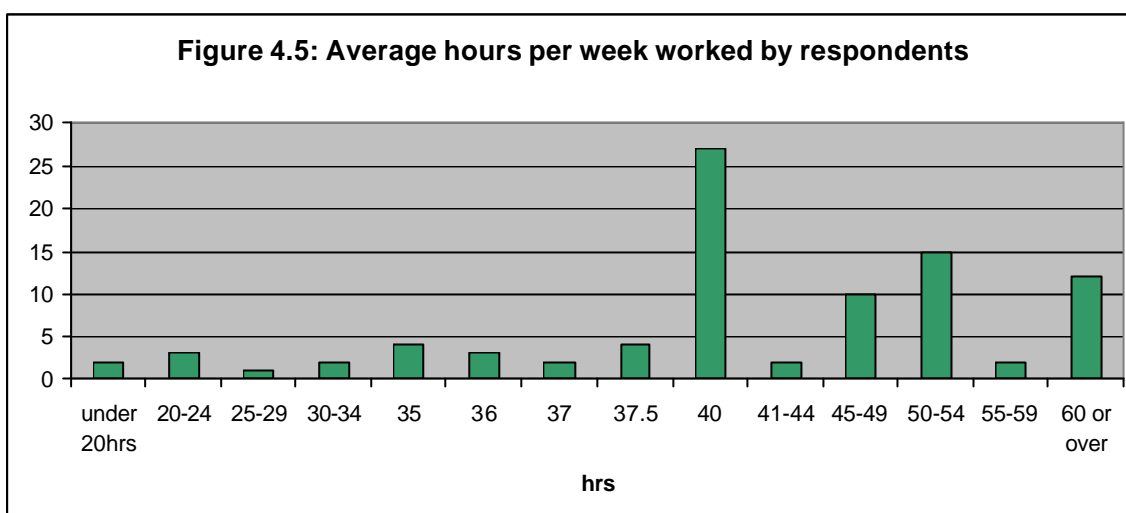


4.4 Working Conditions

The employment conditions of migrant workers in rural Wales can vary significantly, but given the prevalence of low-grade occupations it is unsurprising that many are working long hours for relatively low rates of pay (see also Winckler, 2007). Nearly half of the migrant workers surveyed were working more than 40 hours per week, including an eighth who were working more than 60 hours per week (figure 4.5). These figures are significantly higher than the profile suggested by WRS data, which indicate that only 12% of migrant workers in rural Wales are working more than 40 hours per week, and only 1% are working more than 60 hours per week. Although the discrepancy could be

produced by the small sample used for the survey, it is probable that there is some degree of under-reporting of work hours to the WRS and/or that many migrant workers have picked up additional hours subsequent to registered with WRS at the start of their employment.

Significantly, 80% of the migrant workers surveyed for this study considered that their working hours were normal for their workplace. Respondents in the Milford Haven and Haverfordwest area were most likely to be working longer hours, with a third working more than 60 hours per week, and most likely to consider that their hours were not normal for their workplace.



Analysis of WRS data reveals that migrant workers in rural Wales are on average paid less than those working in other parts of Wales (table 4.1). Only 7.5% of WRS-registered migrant workers in rural parts of

Wales were earning more than £6 per hour at the time of registration, compared with 15.8% of migrant workers across Wales as a whole. Almost nine in ten migrant workers in rural Wales were earning between £4.50 and £5.99 per hour, around the level of the minimum wage.

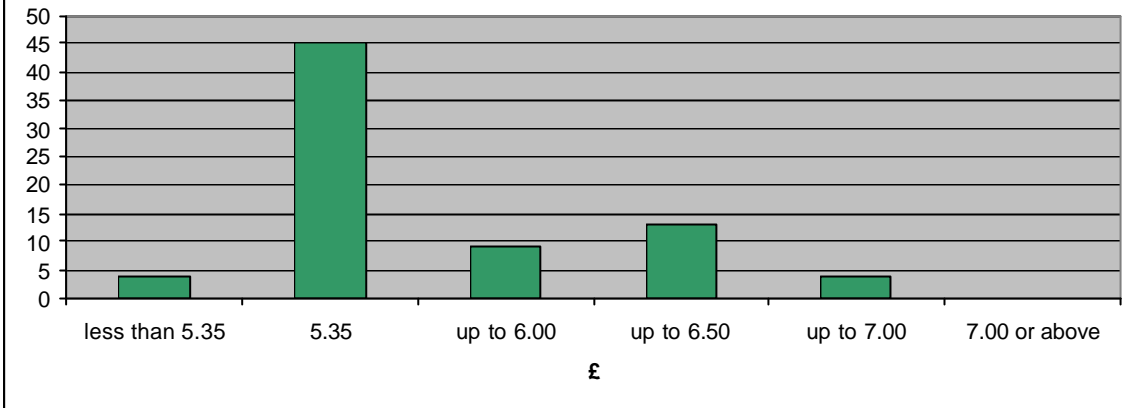
Rate of pay per hour	Rural Wales	Mixed Areas	Valleys	Urban Areas	All Wales
Below £2.99	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3
£3.00 - £3.79	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1
£3.80 - £4.49	2.9	0.5	2.4	1.0	1.7
£4.50 - £5.99	89.1	72.5	83.3	80.2	82.0
£6.00 - £7.99	5.4	24.2	11.2	17.0	13.8
£8.00 - £9.99	1.7	1.4	1.2	0.9	1.3
£10.00 - £11.99	0.0	0.4	0.4	0.1	0.2
Over £12.00	0.4	0.5	1.1	0.6	0.5

Table 4.1: Hourly rate of pay of migrant workers in Wales (%), according to WRS data.

There are also, however, notably variations in pay levels within rural Wales, as shown by the questionnaire survey. Overall, two-thirds of respondents who were paid an hourly rate received the National Minimum Wage (£5.35 per hour at the time of the

survey). Fewer than a quarter earned more than £6 per hour (figure 4.6). The lowest levels of pay were reported in the Betws-y-Coed/Llanrwst, which is consistent with the dominance of elementary work in hospitality and catering in that area. Nearly half of the respondents in Betws-y-Coed/Llanrwst received a weekly wage packet of less than £200.

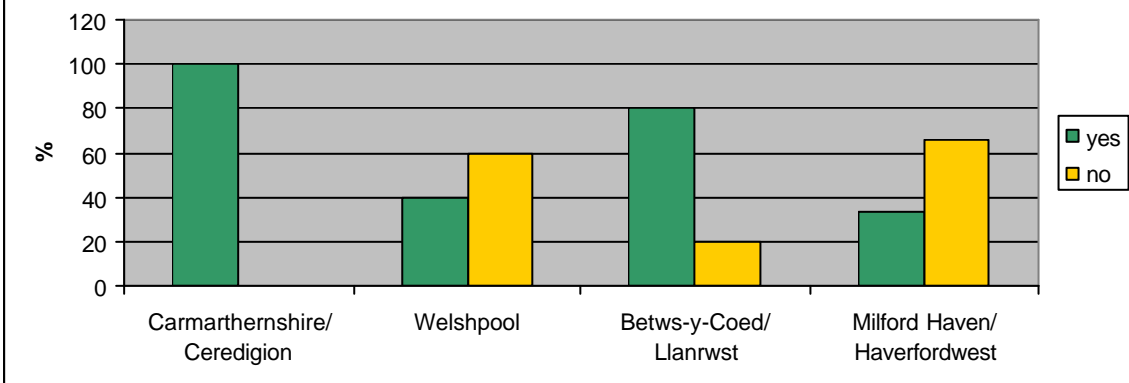
Figure 4.6: Hourly rate of pay of survey respondents



Only ten respondents reported receiving a monthly salary payment. Of these, six earned more than £1,000 per month, including three earning more than £2,000 per month. The highest rates of pay were reported by respondents in the Milford Haven and Haverfordwest area, including one respondent who was earning £3,000 per month.

Overall, two thirds of survey respondents felt that their level of pay was normal for people doing similar work in their workplace, though the majority of respondents in Milford Haven/Haverfordwest and in Welshpool disagreed (figure 4.7).

Figure 4.7: Respondents agreeing that their rate of pay was normal for people doing similar work in their workplace

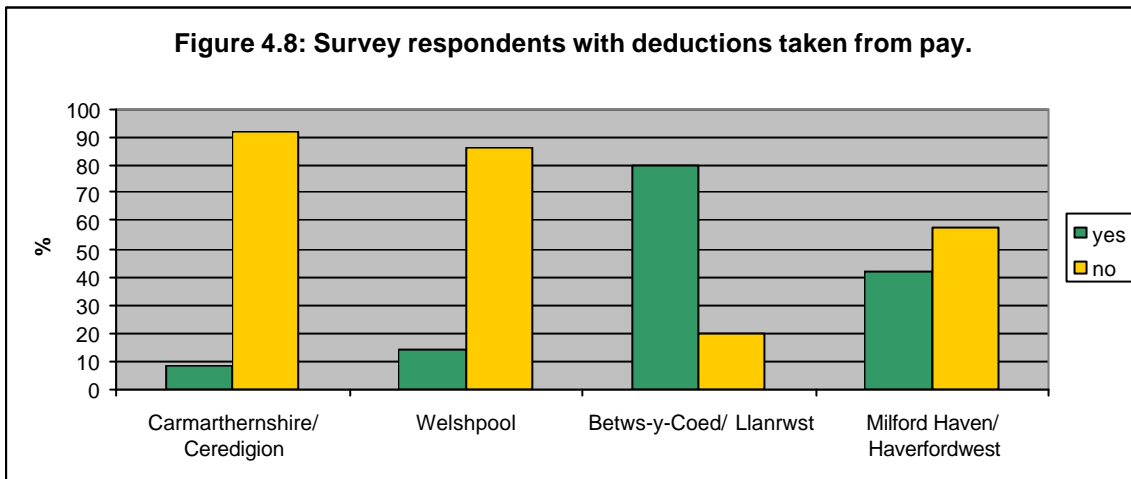


Just over a third of the migrant workers surveyed had deductions taken from their pay, usually for accommodation and/or food. This practice was most

commonplace in the Betws-y-Coed and Llanrwst area where 80% of respondents had accommodation and sometimes food

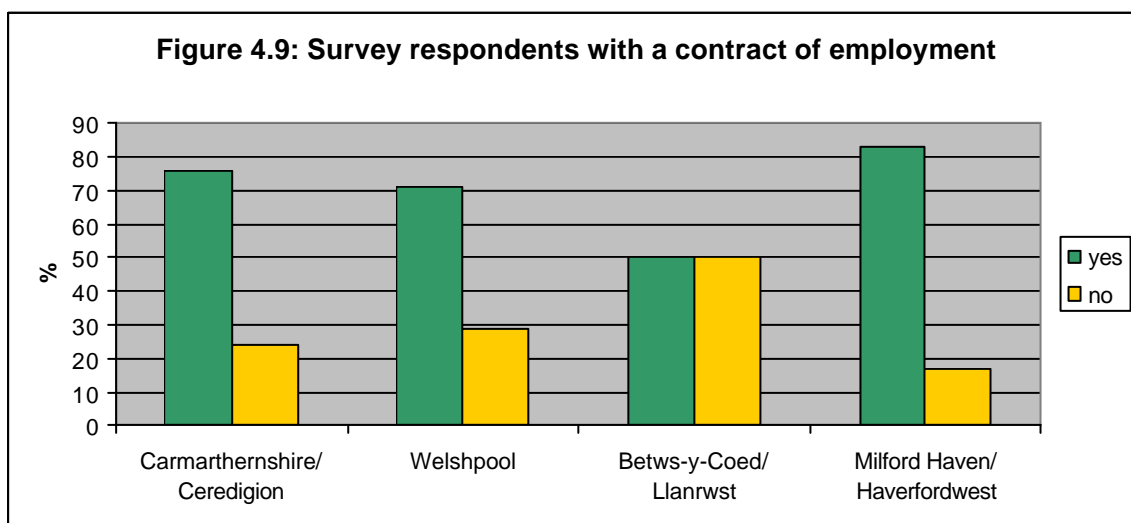
costs deducted from their pay (figure 4.8). Most reported that they were told that deductions would be made when they were appointed, but there is also some evidence of hidden deductions that are not transparently recorded and which may not be recognised by the individuals

concerned. For instance, whilst 58% of respondents in Milford Haven and Haverfordwest say they do not have wage deductions, 53% of them say that they have no housing costs and that their housing is provided by their employer.



One third of the migrant workers surveyed did not have a contract of employment, including half of the respondents in the Betws-y-Coed/Llanrwst area (figure 4.9). Only two respondents stated that they were members of a trade union (one in Milford Haven/Haverfordwest and one in Betws-y-

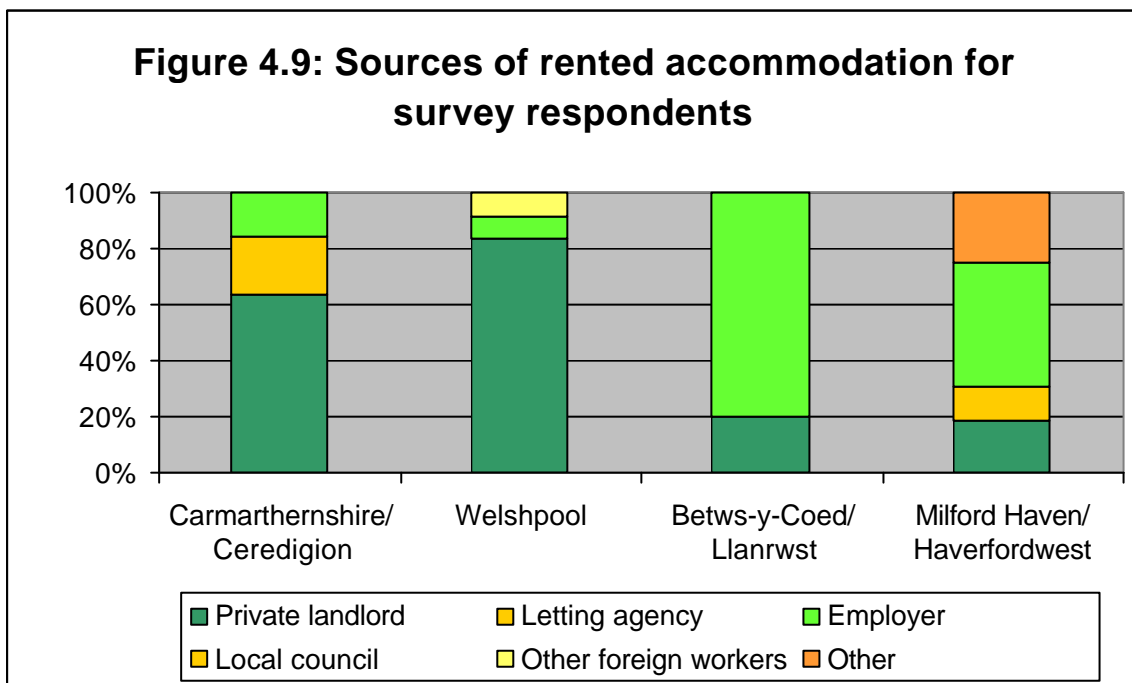
Coed/Llanrwst). This correlates with the Wales TUC's own assessment that fewer than 3% of migrant workers are trade union members, and its observations that there is a lack of understanding of the role of trade unions among the migrant workforce (Winckler, 2007).



4.5 Living Conditions

All of the migrant workers surveyed are in rented or tied accommodation, with the type of housing roughly equally dividing between flats and houses, and only three respondents stating that they lived in a hostel. Overall, half of the migrant workers surveyed rented property from a private landlord and just over a third rented accommodation from their employer.

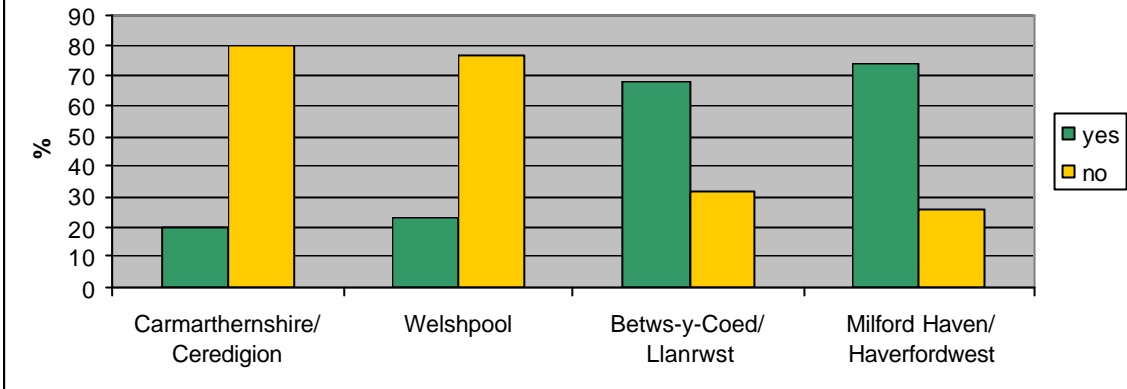
There are however, significant differences in this balance between the case study areas (figure 4.9). Whilst the majority of respondents in Carmarthenshire/Ceredigion and Welshpool rented from private landlords, eight out of ten respondents in Betws-y-Coed/Llanrwst and nearly half of respondents in Milford Haven/Haverfordwest rented accommodation through their employer.



Fewer than one in ten of the migrant workers surveyed reported experiencing problems finding accommodation (all in the Carmarthenshire/Ceredigion and Welshpool areas), and only one reported having spent a night without accommodation in Wales. Just under half of respondents had received assistance with finding housing from their employer,

but this was more likely in the Betws-y-Coed and Milford Haven/Haverfordwest areas than in Carmarthenshire/Ceredigion and Welshpool (figure 4.10). The difference between case study areas probably reflects the higher number of migrant workers in the former areas who moved to the area having first obtained a job and the types of occupation concerned.

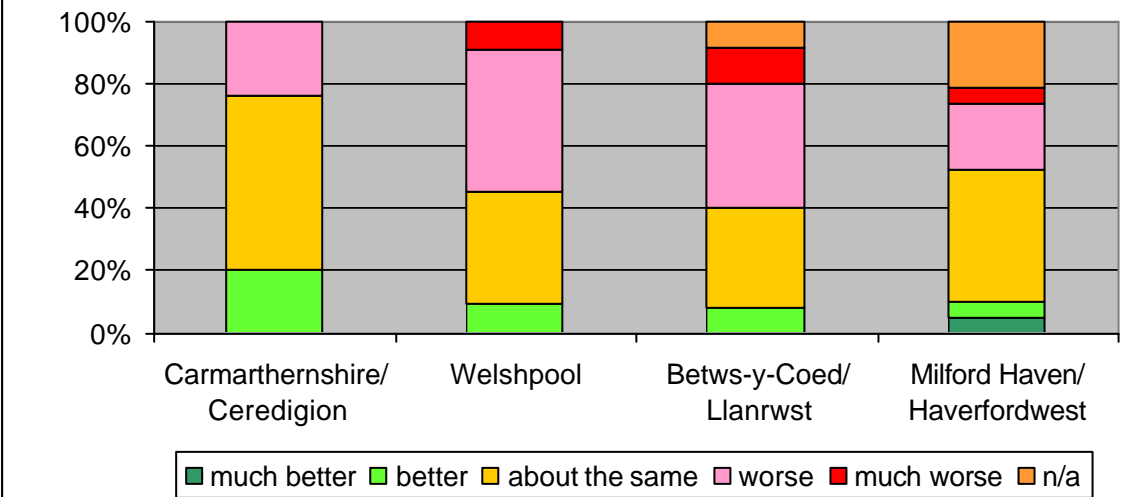
Figure 4.10: Survey respondents receiving assistance from employer in finding housing



One in seven of the migrant workers surveyed stated that they had experienced difficulties with the quality of their accommodation, and two out of five considered their present accommodation to be worse than their previous accommodation in their home country. These views varied between the case study localities, with over half of the respondents

in Betws-y-Coed/Llanrwst and Welshpool stating that their housing in Wales was of a worse quality than that in their home country (figure 4.11). In contrast, nearly eight in ten of respondents in Carmarthenshire/Ceredigion considered that their housing in Wales was equivalent to or better quality than their previous accommodation at home.

Figure 4.11: Comparison of accommodation in Wales with previous accommodation in home country

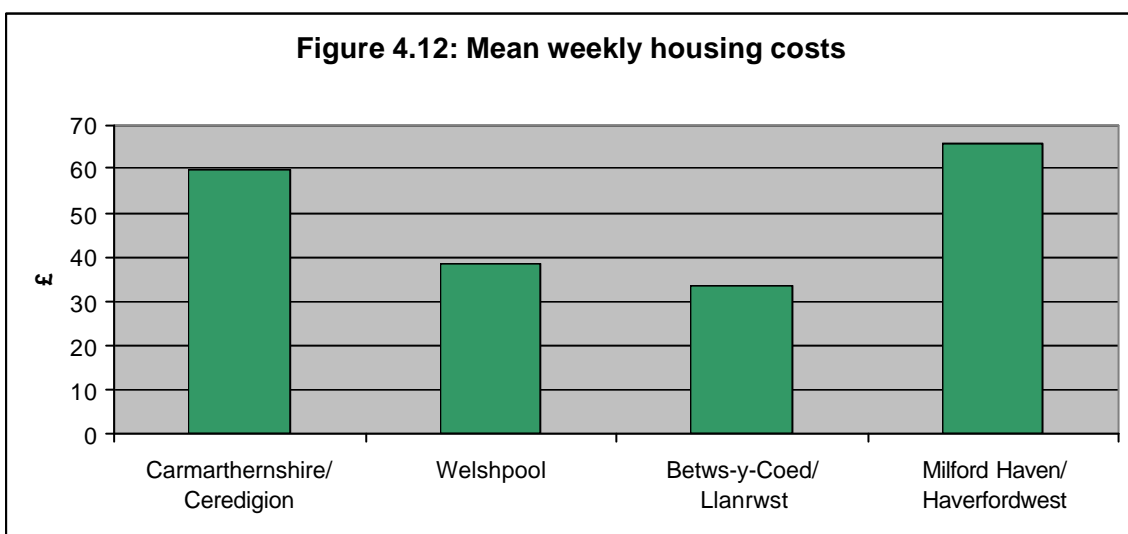


The amount of rent paid by migrant workers for housing varies considerably. Three in five of the migrant workers surveyed paid for accommodation weekly, and of

these two-thirds paid less than £60 per week. Additionally, half of the respondents in the Milford Haven and Haverfordwest area reported that their accommodation

was provided free of charge by their employer. In contrast, of the two-fifths of respondents who paid for accommodation monthly, 70% were paying more than £300 per month, including nearly a quarter who were paying more than £500 per month. Combining these figures it can be estimated that two-thirds of migrant workers are paying less than roughly £300 per month for housing, a sixth are paying between £300 and £400 per month, and a sixth are paying more than £400 per month.

There are, though, notable variations in the cost of housing between the four case study areas, with mean reported housing costs in Carmarthenshire/Ceredigion and Milford Haven/Haverfordwest running at nearly double those for Betws-y-Coed/Llanrwst and Welshpool (figure 4.12). Comparison of housing costs and wage levels suggests that the average migrant worker in rural Wales is spending around a fifth of their gross earnings on housing.



The majority of migrant workers surveyed either lived alone, or with one or two other residents (figure 4.13). This contrasts with the popular image of migrant workers living in larger groups in over-crowded housing. Such high-density accommodation does exist however, even if it is not commonplace. An eighth of respondents stated that they shared accommodation with five or more other people, and our researchers were shown one house used by migrant workers in Welshpool where residents were sleeping in all rooms including the kitchen. Over half of the

respondents were living with a partner or family member, although this figure was far lower in the Milford Haven/Haverfordwest area. Three out of five of the migrant workers surveyed were living with other workers from the same workplace, and nearly a third were *only* living with other workers from the same workplace. Respondents in Milford Haven/Haverfordwest and Betws-y-Coed/Llanrwst were most likely to be living with co-workers, reflecting the importance of employers in providing accommodation for migrant workers in these localities (figure 4.14).

Figure 4.13: Number of people normally resident in household

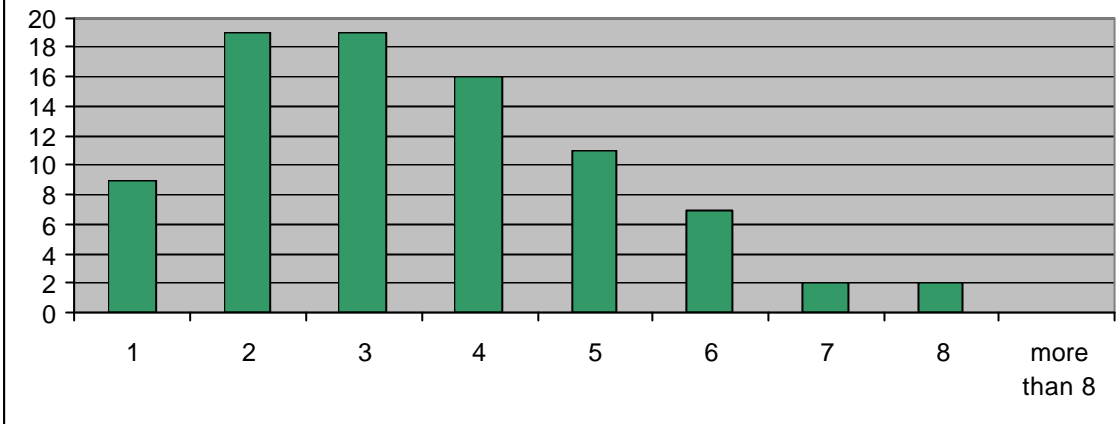
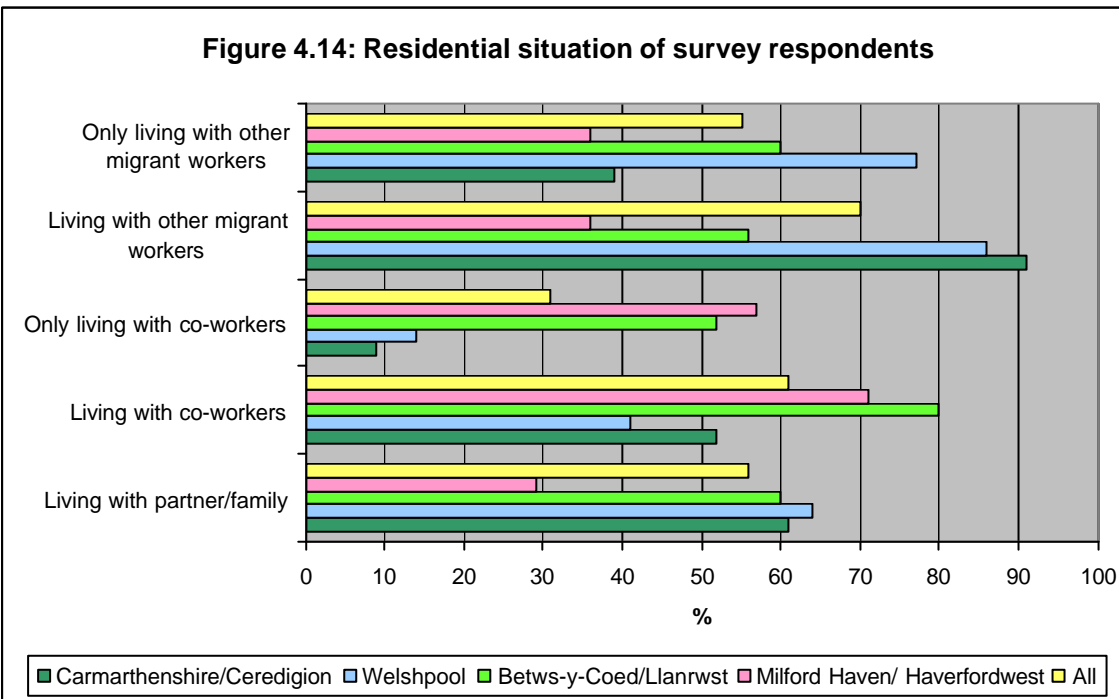


Figure 4.14: Residential situation of survey respondents



4.6 Summary

The working and living conditions of migrant workers in rural Wales can vary significantly, but there is a clear overall pattern that places the majority of migrant workers in lower-grade, low-paid employment and in lower-quality housing. The migrant workers surveyed encountered few difficulties finding employment in Wales and nearly three-quarters had found a job in Wales *before* leaving their home

country. However, many respondents reported difficulties finding the type of job that they ideally wanted in rural Wales, with the majority employed in low-grade factory or elementary occupations that are not the skilled vocations and professions that they have trained for.

Many migrant workers in rural Wales are working long hours for limited pay. Nearly

half of the migrant workers surveyed work more than 40 hours per week, and the majority are paid at the National Minimum Wage level. However, a majority of respondents considered both their working hours and rate of pay to be normal for workers doing a similar job in the same workplace.

A significant proportion of the migrant workers surveyed are living in accommodation provided or found by their employers, especially in the Betws-y-Coed/Llanrwst and Milford Haven/Haverfordwest areas. The majority of migrant workers without employer-provided accommodation live in private rented housing. Rents paid for housing vary significantly, with a small number of migrant workers receiving free tied accommodation from their employer, and a similarly small number paying over £400 per month for accommodation. One in seven respondents reported problems with the quality of their housing, and two out of five considered their accommodation in Wales to be of a worse quality than their previous housing in their home country.

There are differences in these responses and experiences between the four case study localities, and these to some extent reflect the different types of migrant worker identified in the previous chapter. Migrant workers fitting the 'gap-year student' model, for instance, are primarily employed in elementary occupations such as kitchen assistant, maid or room attendant, waiter/waitress, bar staff, shop assistant or domestic assistant, often in the hospitality and catering sector. They have normally obtained a job in Wales prior to leaving their home country, often through an agency. Most are paid the National Minimum Wage and may work long hours, and many do not have a formal contract of employment. Many migrant workers in this group live in

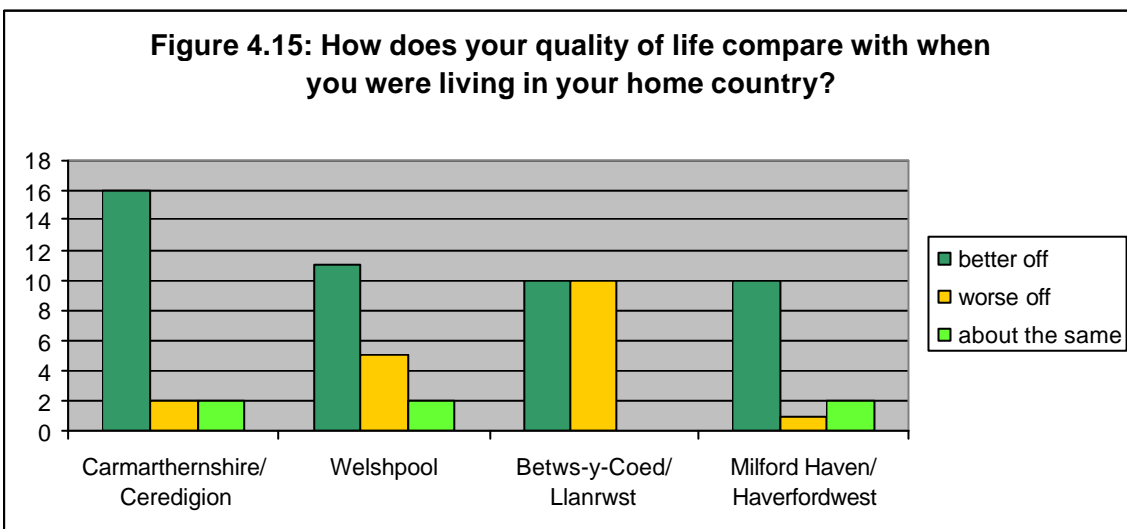
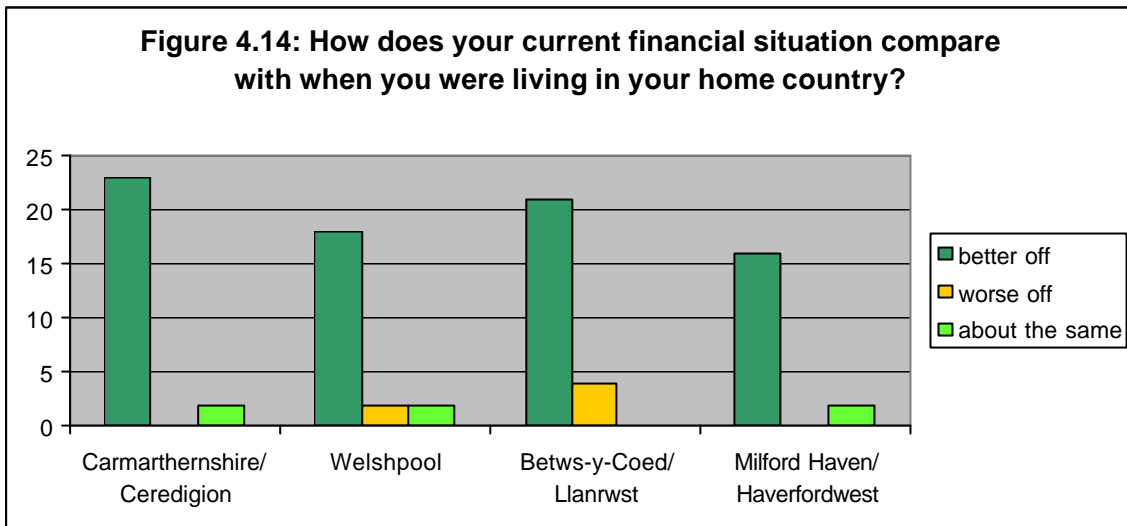
accommodation provided by their employer and have deductions taken from their pay for housing and/or food costs.

Migrant workers fitting the 'guestworker' model are most commonly employed in the manufacturing and construction and land-based industry sectors, usually in elementary occupations but sometimes in more skilled positions. They tend to work long hours, often for limited pay, but guestworkers in more skilled or technical occupations can receive wages that are substantially above average for migrant workers. Many migrant workers in this group live in accommodation provided by their employer, in some cases free of charge.

Migrant workers in the 'settler' group exhibit the greatest diversity of experiences of working and living conditions. Compared with 'gap-year students' and 'guestworkers' they are more likely to have found employment only after arriving in Wales and are less likely to be in a job for which they are trained or qualified. They are more likely, however, to consider that their work hours and pay are equivalent to those of co-workers. Migrant workers in this group tend to live in private rented accommodation, often with a partner or family members.

In spite of the relatively low-pay, long-hours and poor housing conditions reported by many of the migrant workers surveyed, a substantial majority of respondents (87%) said they are financially better off than when they were living in their home country and this is generally even across the study areas, although 16% in Betws-y-Coed and Llanrwst consider themselves to be financially worse off (figure 4.15). Moreover, six in ten of the migrant workers surveyed said that their standard of living is better in Wales than at home, although this differs more across

the case study areas, with 50% in Betws-y-Coed/ Llanrwst saying they are worse off, and 48% in Welshpool saying their quality of life is worse or the same (figure 4.16).



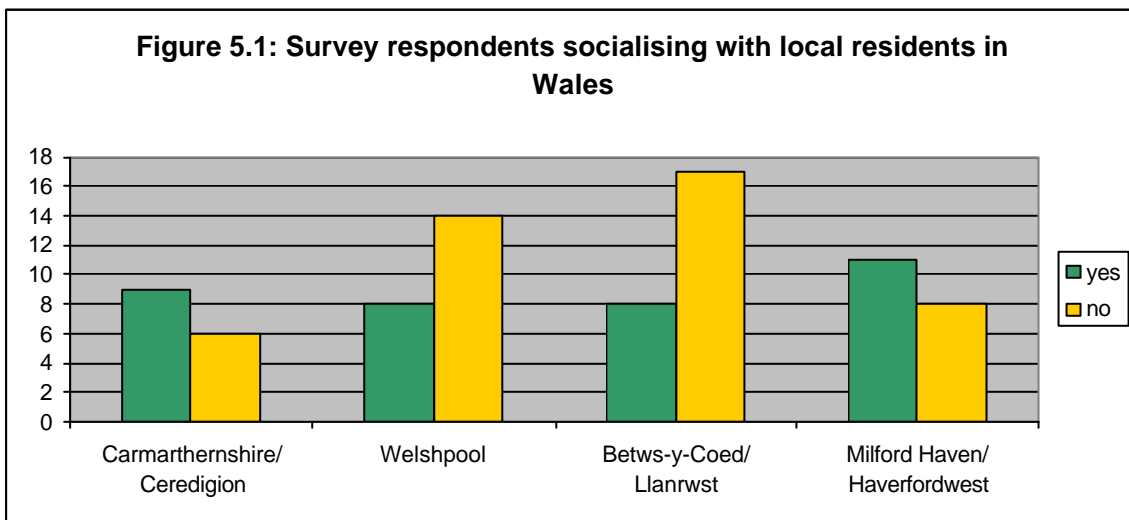
CHAPTER 5: COMMUNITY INTEGRATION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the integration and engagement of migrant workers in rural Wales with local communities. It considers evidence pertaining to the social networks of migrant workers and their social contact with local residents, as well as their views and perceptions of the local community. The chapter also discusses the use of public services by migrant workers, and their experiences of discrimination. The discussion draws primarily on quantitative and qualitative data from the questionnaire survey of migrant workers in the four case study areas, supplemented by evidence from interviews with representatives of key agencies supporting migrant workers.

5.2 Integration with the Local Community

The integration of migrant workers with local communities in rural Wales appears to be restricted, with limited participation in community activities and little regular social contact between migrant workers and local residents. Only one in ten of the migrant workers surveyed participated in organized activities in their local areas, including aqua-aerobics classes, football, swimming, a film club and a gym. A greater proportion indicated that they had social contact with local people on a more informal basis. Almost half of respondents said that they socialise with 'local' people, which in most cases appears to mean drinking in local pubs. Socialising between migrant workers and local residents is more commonplace in the Carmarthenshire/Ceredigion and Milford Haven/Haverfordwest areas than in Welshpool or Betws-y-Coed/Llanrwst (figure 5.1).

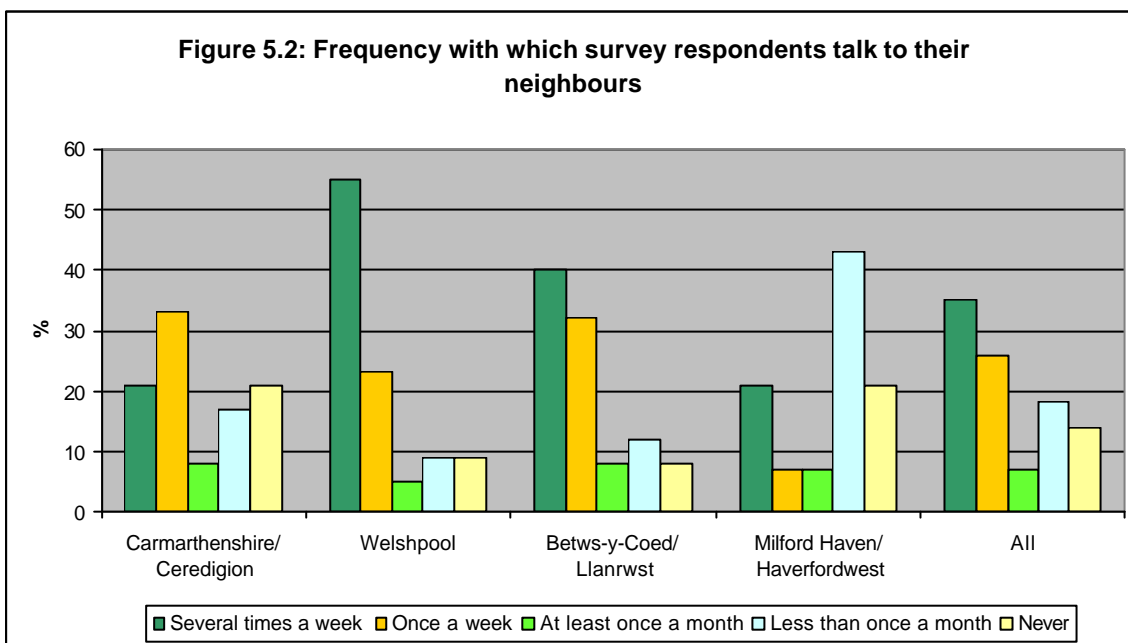


Many migrant workers nonetheless perceive themselves to be at least partially integrated with the local community. When asked whether they agreed with the statement "I know many people in my local

area" 57% of survey respondents said they agreed strongly or tended to agree, whilst only 21% said they disagreed strongly or tended to disagree. It is possible that in replying to this question, respondents are

counting other migrant workers in the local areas as well as longer term residents, particularly as very few respondents indicated that they had many friends among local people. Yet, three out of five respondents reported that they speak to their neighbours at least once a week, with respondents in Betws-y-Coed/Llanrwst

and Welshpool having most frequent contact (figure 5.2). The evidence hence points towards a picture of numerous but superficial contacts between migrant workers and local residents – most migrant workers do know people in the local community, but these contacts generally lack depth and intimacy.



One of the few key opportunities for greater integration with local communities is provided by the Catholic church. Half of the migrant workers surveyed are practising Catholics, although this figure is lower in Betws-y-Coed/Llanrwst where the migrant worker population is younger in profile. Of these practising Catholics, three-fifths stated that they have attended Mass whilst living in Wales. Demands from the growing Polish migrant worker population in rural Wales have partly been met by the Catholic church introducing regular services in Polish at churches in the region, usually once a fortnight or once a month. However, many of the practising Catholics surveyed indicated that they also attend Mass in English, thus creating opportunities

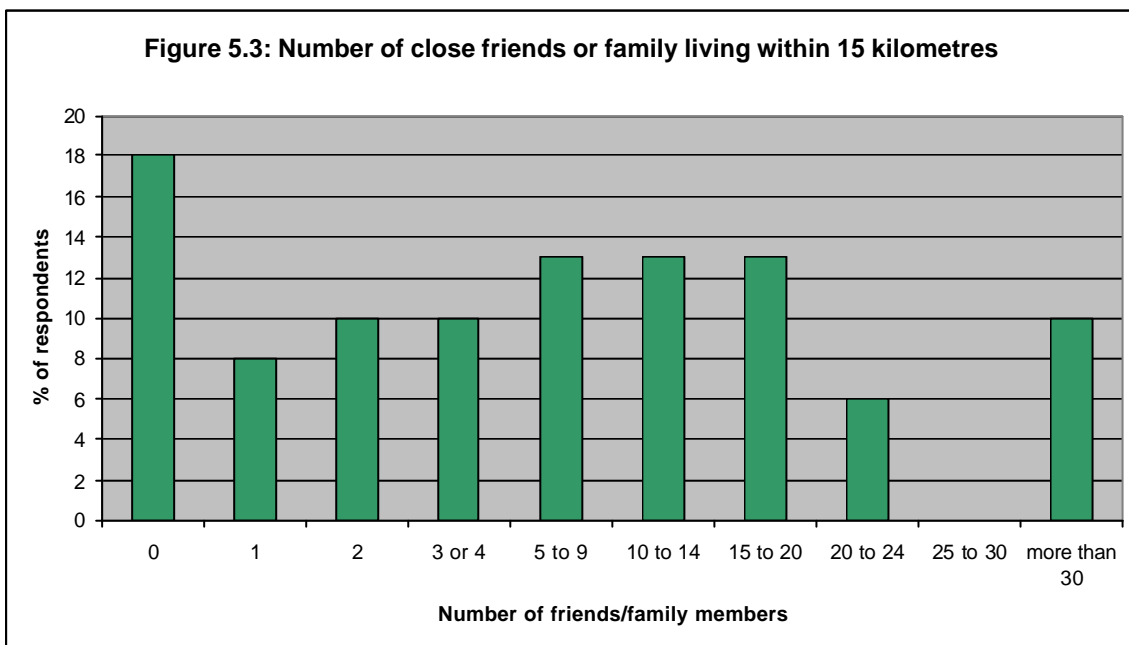
for meeting and interacting with local people. There is some evidence in the survey results that those migrant workers who attend Catholic Mass in Wales tend to have more local friends and feel more positive about the local community.

5.3 Social Networks

With social contacts between migrant workers and local residents generally weakly developed, the social networks of migrant workers in rural Wales tend to be focused on the migrant worker population itself. As discussed in chapter 3, just under half of the migrant workers surveyed had travelled to Wales with a friend, partner or relative, and around a quarter had moved

to the area in which they now live in order to join friends or family. As such, many migrant workers have a social network in Wales that is an extension of friendship and family ties at home. However, there is also a significant minority who have few or no close friends in rural Wales. Around a sixth of the survey respondents said that they had no close friends or family living within 15 kilometres, and a further one in seven said that they had only one or two close friends or relations in the area (figure 5.3). The more settled migrant workers in Welshpool and Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion are more likely to have larger

groups of friends, for example a third of respondents in Welshpool say they have more than 30 close friends and family in the area, and two thirds of Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion respondents say they have at least five, and up to 24, close friends in the area. There is a contrasting picture in Betws-y-Coed where two in five respondents have fewer than three close friends in the area, and in Milford Haven and Haverfordwest where half the respondents say they have no close friends or family in their area.



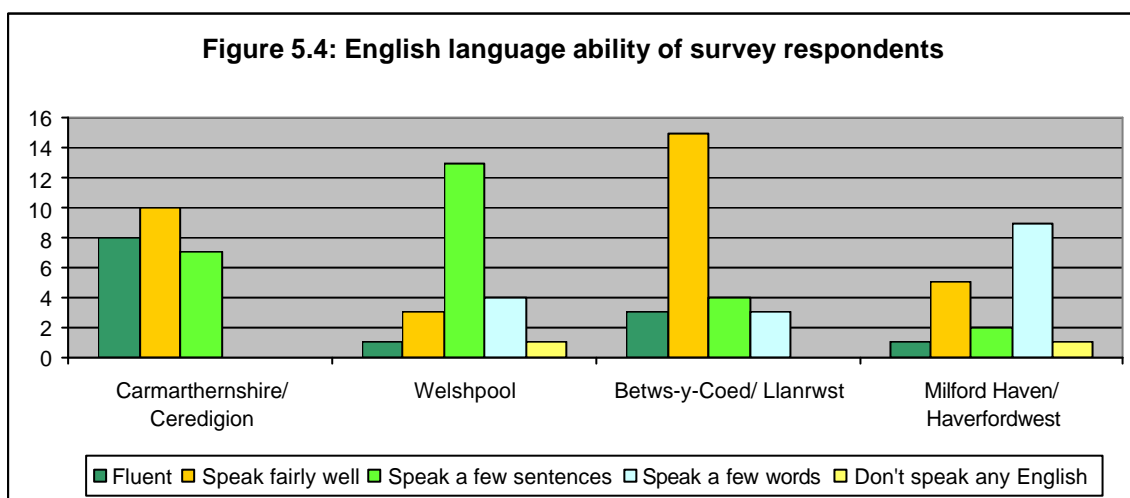
Nearly a third of the respondents answering the question said that all of their friends in Wales were of the same nationality as them, compared to only a sixth who said that people of the same nationality constituted less than half of their friends. In contrast, only two respondents claimed that most of their friends were local people. The sample size is too small to draw definitive comparisons between the case study areas, but the responses suggest that migrant workers in Betws-y-Coed/Llanrwst and Milford Haven/

Haverfordwest are most likely to have friends in the local area only from people of the same nationality; whilst migrant workers in Carmarthenshire/Ceredigion are most likely to have friends among local residents.

Out of the respondents that answered the question, 45% said that they had experienced barriers to forming friendships since coming to the UK. Language was cited as a barrier by three quarters of these, with working hours, money and

racism identified by a small proportion of respondents. The identification of language as a barrier to forming friendships is despite the fact that half the migrant workers surveyed considered themselves to speak English fairly well or fluently. Only one in six said that they could speak only a few words, or had no knowledge of English. Interestingly, there were significant variations in respondents' self-assessment of English language ability between the case study areas. Whilst three-quarters of respondents in

Carmarthenshire/Ceredigion and Betws-y-Coed/Llanrwst said that they spoke English fairly well or fluently; over half of the respondents in Welshpool said that they could speak only a few sentences of English; and half of respondents in the Milford Haven/Haverfordwest area said that they could speak only a few words (figure 5.4).



Three-quarters of the migrant workers surveyed said that they were trying to improve their English whilst living in Wales. Around half had also learned some Welsh, including nearly nine in ten respondents in Carmarthenshire/Ceredigion. In most cases this was simply picking up a few Welsh word, but nearly half of the respondents in Carmarthenshire/Ceredigion said that they now knew basic sentences in Welsh, and three of the respondents in the Carmarthenshire/Ceredigion area claimed to be able to communicate in Welsh 'quite well'.

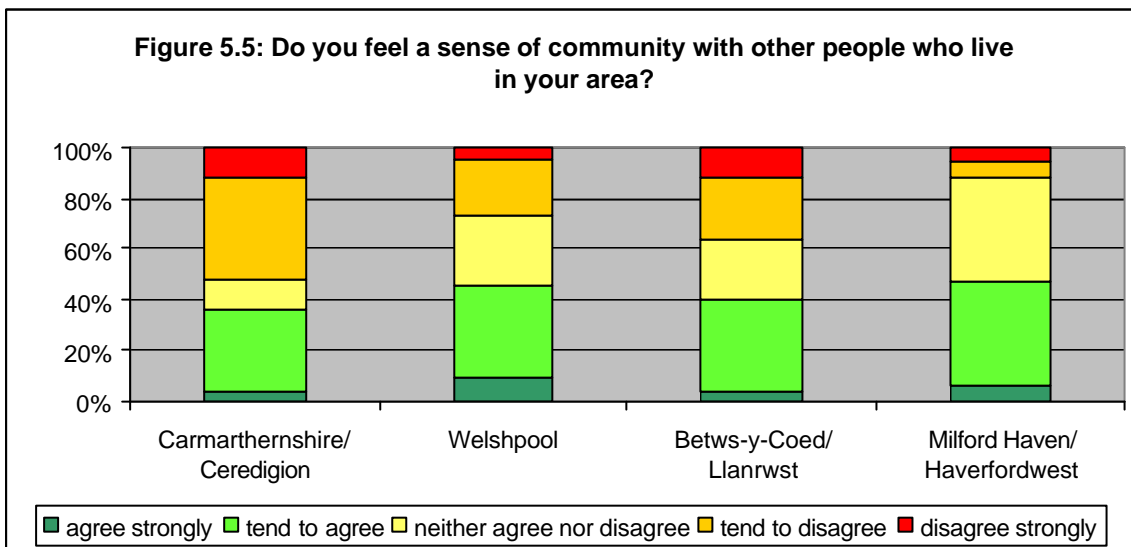
As well as language barriers, many migrant workers are also disadvantaged in the development of more extensive social networks by their housing situation. Nine

out of ten of the migrant workers surveyed were living with people of the same nationality as themselves, except in the Betws-y-Coed and Llanrwst study area where the proportion drops to seven out of ten. Nearly three-quarters of the respondents were *only* living with others of the same nationality, including 57% of respondents in Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion, 77% in Welshpool, 80% in Betws-y-Coed and Llanrwst and 85% in Milford Haven and Haverfordwest. In contrast, only around a tenth of respondents reported that they were sharing accommodation with a British person, although this figure was higher in the Betws-y-Coed/Llanrwst area where it is not uncommon for migrant workers to live-in at the hotels where they work.

5.4 Perceptions of Local Community

The apparently limited social contacts between migrant workers and local people in the case study areas has not, however, generated feelings of isolation or alienation within the migrant worker population. Many of the migrant workers surveyed actually expressed very positive attitudes towards the local community and many considered

themselves to be part of the local community. Four in ten of the migrant workers surveyed agreed with the statement that they felt a strong sense of community with other people in the local area, compared with only three in ten who disagreed. Only in the Carmarthenshire/Ceredigion area did more respondents disagree than agree with the statement (figure 5.5).



The migrant workers surveyed also tended to feel that people in the local area could be trusted, and that they looked out for one another, with over half of respondents agreeing with these statements. Again more positive responses were received from respondents in Betws-y-Coed/Llanrwst, Welshpool and Milford Haven/Haverfordwest than those in Carmarthenshire/Ceredigion (figures 5.6 and 5.7), although it should also be noted that only a minority of respondents in Milford Haven/Haverfordwest answered these questions, possibly suggesting a

lack of knowledge about the local community.

Conversely, only an eighth of the migrant workers surveyed said that they felt isolated living where they did, whilst three-quarters disagreed with this statement. There was, though, some slight variation between the case study areas, with over a fifth of respondents in the Betws-y-Coed/Llanrwst area stating that they felt isolated, possibly reflecting the smaller size of these communities or the tendency of many migrant workers in the area to live on their own in tied accommodation rather than in shared flats or houses (figure 5.8).

Figure 5.6: People in my local area can be trusted

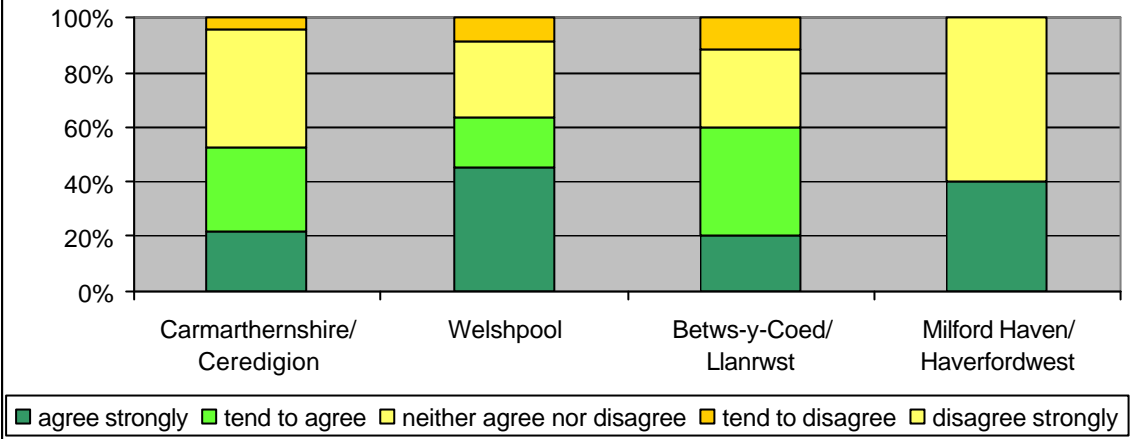


Figure 5.7: People in my local area look out for one another

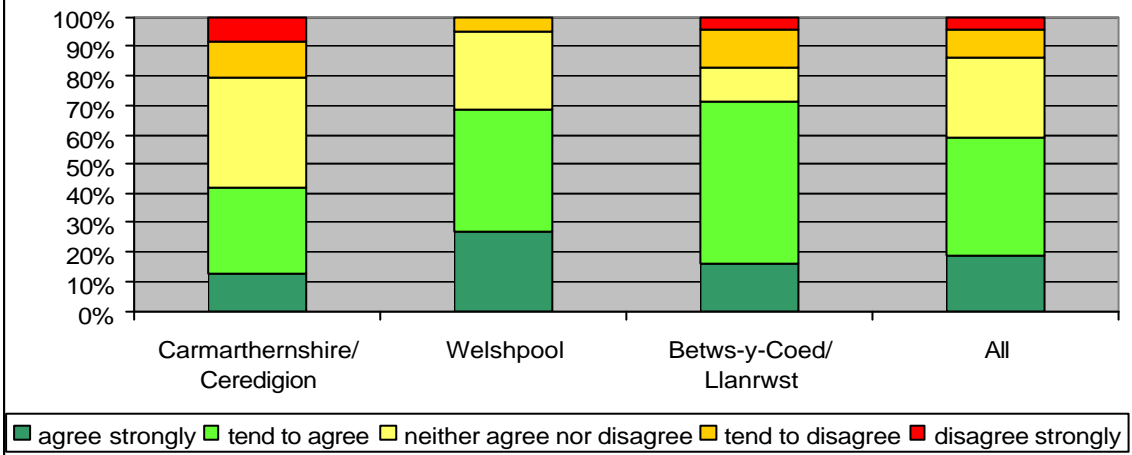
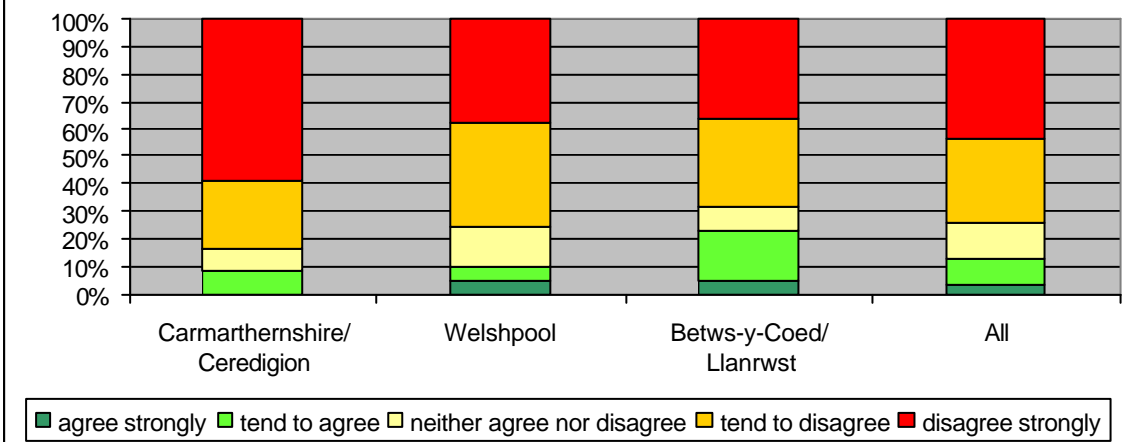
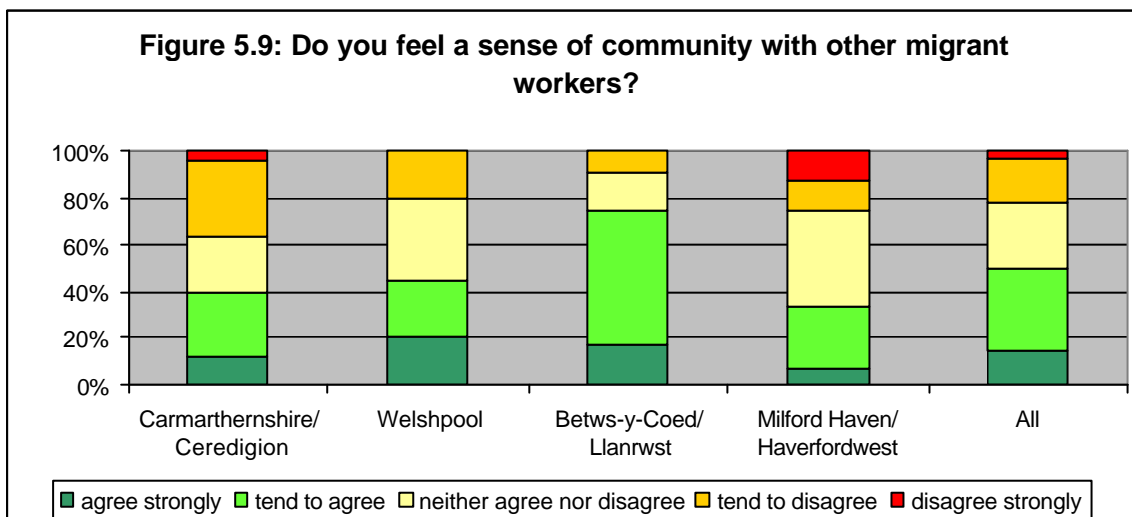


Figure 5.8: I can feel isolated living where I do



Whilst the evidence above shows that many migrant workers feel a sense of identity with the local communities in which they live, more identify strongly with their co-workers. Half of the migrant workers surveyed agreed that they felt a strong sense of community with the people that they worked with, compared to fewer than a third who disagreed. Stronger still is the sense of identity with other migrant workers, with half agreeing to the statement that they feel a strong sense of community with other migrant workers and fewer than a quarter disagreeing. This corresponds with the observation of one

agency representative that “in most cases it is quite self-reliant communities that migrant workers have”, although there are differences in the responses between the case study areas, with respondents in the Betws-y-Coed/Llanrwst area notably more likely to agree that they feel a sense of community with other migrant workers than those in the other case study areas (figure 5.9).

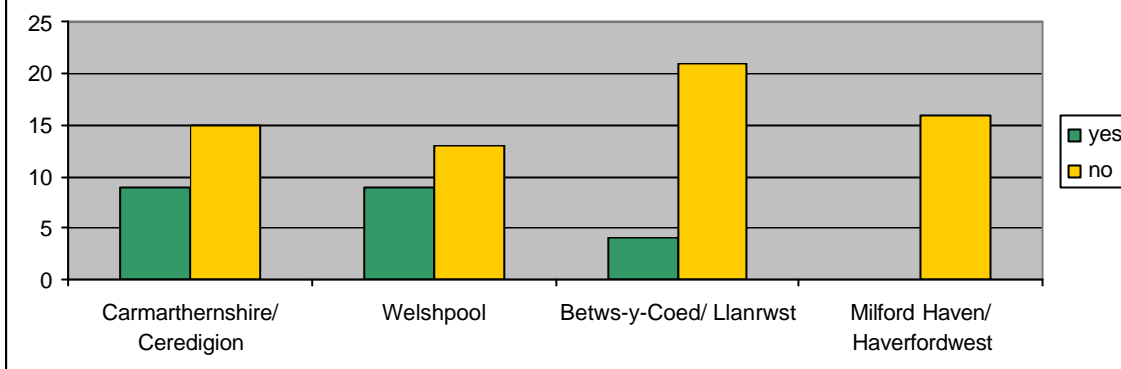


5.5 Discrimination and Crime

One of the potential key points of tension over the growing number of migrant workers from A8 countries in rural Wales is the perception that migrant workers might be both the victims and perpetrators of crime. The evidence from our survey, however, is mixed. A quarter of the migrant workers surveyed reported that they had experienced discrimination since arriving in Wales, which is both an unacceptably high proportion yet also smaller than might have

been feared. Respondents in Carmarthenshire/Ceredigion and Welshpool were most likely to have experienced discrimination, with more than a third of respondents in both areas saying that they had. In contrast, none of the sixteen respondents who answered this question in Milford Haven/Haverfordwest said that they had experienced discrimination, although many had been in Wales for a much shorter period (figure 5.10).

Figure 5.10: Survey respondents experiencing discrimination since arriving in Wales



In most cases, discrimination has taken the form of verbal abuse, although cases of bullying and sexual harassment were also reported by some respondents:

Verbal discrimination at work (F, 18-24, Aberystwyth)

General disapproval from locals, my children are bullied at school (M 35-44, Carmarthen)

Sexual harassment at work (F, 25-34, Aberystwyth)

People are rude and say bad things about foreigners- that we are invaders (F, 25-34, Ceredigion)

Being called offending words (M, 25-34, Welshpool)

My manager literally hates Polish people (m, 35-44, Welshpool)

I often hear comments that Poles are thieves and drunkards (M, 18-24, Welshpool)

Abuse at work (F, 18-24, Betws-y-Coed)

Abuse at work, low pay (M, 18-24, Betws-y-Coed)

One in five respondents said that they knew of other migrant workers who had experienced discrimination. That this figure is lowered than that respondents who said that they had experienced discrimination

themselves suggests that there is limited discussion amongst migrant workers of these experiences, let alone reporting of incidences to the police or other authorities. Nearly half of the respondents who said that they knew of other migrant workers who had experienced discrimination were in the Carmarthenshire/Ceredigion case study area. The types of incidences involved included verbal abuse, bullying and perceived unfair treatment at work:

A friend's child being bullied by locals (M, 25-34, Ceredigion)

Employment discrimination due to being a non-Welsh speaker (M, 25-34, Ceredigion)

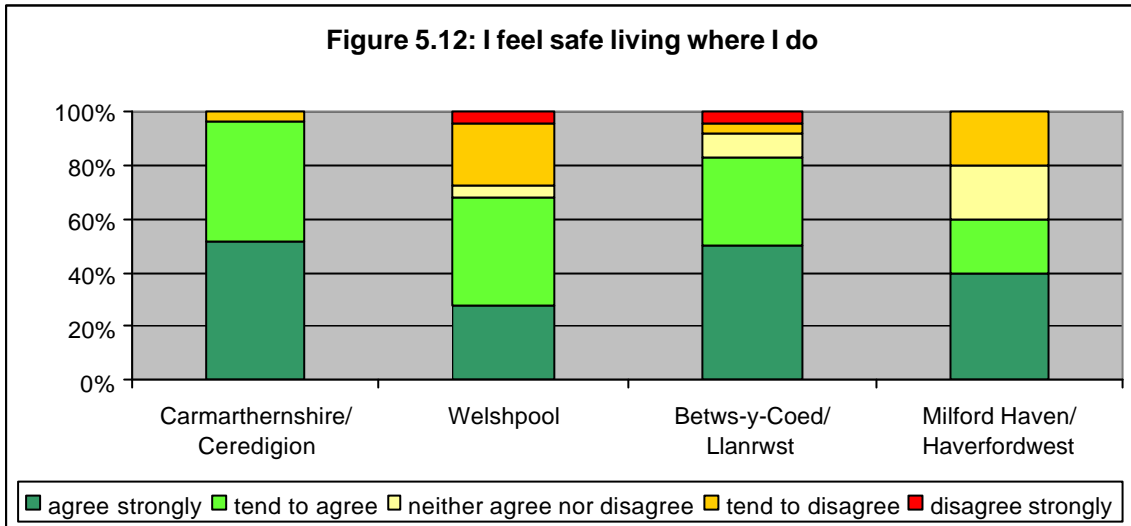
Verbal attack (F, 25-34, Aberystwyth)

People who can't speak English are always given heavier work to do (F, 25-34, Welshpool)

None of the migrant surveyed reported being the victim of a violent assault or serious crime, and in spite of the experiences of discrimination and verbal abuse, eight in ten of the respondents agreed that they felt safe living where they did. Respondents in the Carmarthenshire/Ceredigion and Betws-y-

Coed/Llanrwst areas were particularly likely to feel safe, but over a quarter of respondents in Welshpool disagreed (figure 5.11). Only a minority of participants in the

Milford Haven/Haverfordwest area answered this question.



Two of the agency representatives interviewed referred to serious criminal incidents in which migrant workers had been involved, but interviewees were generally eager to emphasise that such incidents are extremely rare and are not necessarily any more prevalent than amongst the general population. There was some acknowledgement, however, of anti-social behaviour associated with migrant workers particularly in areas where the migrant worker population is dominated by young single men, as described for one community in south west Wales:

“The vast majority of them are young single males or males that haven’t been away from their wives for many a year and they just drink themselves into oblivion and cause upsets... Yes they get drunk all the time. Spar said they were selling thirty bottles of vodka a day there – that’s one shop.”

Police Officer

In this particular case problems of public drunkenness and anti-social behaviour had contributed to tensions with the local community, with Polish workers being banned from all but one public house in the community. However, the concentration of young male migrant workers in a single community is unusual in rural Wales, where generally the migrant worker population is considerably more mixed in both gender and age, as discussed in chapter 2. Yet, there is a danger that as such stories circulate, the reputation gets attached to all migrant workers. Another interviewee noted that there was a public perception that migrant workers were involved in crime, but that this perception was ill-conceived:

“There’s the assumption there that migrant workers will be committing crimes when actually, yes, they will, because so does the rest of the population. But their crimes might be things like drinking vodka because they just think they can

drink vodka in the street. It might be drinking and driving because they are not aware of the fact that we've actually got drink-drive laws, you know. It's very different. Their perceptions of what is actually going to happen to them might be very different, you know."

Community Safety Partnership
representative

Indeed, only a quarter of the migrant workers surveyed said that they had been made aware of local laws when they had arrived in the country. Police forces in Wales are conscious of the need to educate migrant workers and have started to implement communication initiatives:

"We are also obviously providing guidance because anyone coming to a new country with different laws needs to understand these laws and that may be driving offences, or that may be other offences and then it is up to us to police and make sure people know and understand what the driving laws are in the UK such as insurance and tax."

Police representative

These initiatives may however be compromised by mistrust among migrant workers of the police based on the reputation of the police in their home countries, and some interviews stressed the responsibility of employers in assisting with this process of inducting newly arrived migrant workers.

5.6 Use of Local Services

A further widespread concern about increasing migrant worker numbers relates to the potential impact on public services. There are a number of key aspects to this

concern. Firstly there is a concern that a sudden influx of migrant workers into an area can place excessive demand on local services such as schools and health centres, particularly in smaller communities where facilities may have been scaled back. A report by Carmarthenshire County Council (2007) noted that new pupils from Central and Eastern Europe were being admitted to schools in the county each week. The majority of these were in Llanelli, although St Mary's Roman Catholic Primary School in Carmarthen was highlighted as having 50% of its roll constituted by pupils with English as an Additional Language. Overall, however, only around an eighth of the migrant workers survey for this study said that they had children with them in Wales.

Secondly, there is a particular concern with the language demands of providing public services to migrant workers. This relates not only to education, with several Local Education Authorities including Carmarthenshire reporting severe pressure on funding for support for pupils with English as an Additional Language (Carmarthenshire County Council, 2007; WLGA, 2007), but also the provision of healthcare, policing and communications from local authorities. A shortage of specialist translators has been reported in areas such as Conwy (WLGA, 2007).

Thirdly, there are concerns that the employment and housing conditions of migrant workers mean that they often face an increased risk of accidents and ill-health, and thus place particular demands on the health service:

"If you've got a gangmaster that's buying up two-up/two-down terraces, three bedrooms, three people each room, swapping them over morning shift to night shift, you've got all the problems, all the

issues for health coming from that overcrowding... You'll have, in some areas, children in that environment, poor heating, confined excessive smoking, all these sorts of issues"

Health Sector representative

The situation described in this statement, however, is very much an exception in the migrant worker experience in rural Wales, as noted in chapter 4 and the majority of the migrant workers surveyed for this study had not had any need to use health services in Wales, and only one in ten had needed to contact the emergency services.

Fourthly, there are concerns that migrant workers have difficulty accessing public services, and that only a minority are registered for health services. A report for the Welsh Consumer Council, for instance, found that 40% of migrant workers questioned across Wales said that they did not know who to ask about public services (WCC, 2007). Only half of the migrant workers surveyed for the present study had registered with a GP, and only 4% had registered with a dentist – although the latter figure reflects broader issues of access to dental services in rural Wales. A clear majority of respondents in the Betws-y-Coed/Llanrwst, Milford Haven/Haverfordwest and Welshpool areas were not registered with a GP, although three-quarters of respondents in Carmarthenshire/ Ceredigion were. The problem of low migrant worker registrations with GPs is recognised as stemming from a cultural difference:

"Poland has particular characteristics because it doesn't have General Practice operating. People from Poland do not know to apply for a General Practitioner registration."

Health Sector representative

It is also perceived in the health sector that gangmasters and employers in some areas actively discourage workers from registering for health services:

"We've also identified quite a few areas where people are discouraged from registering with a GP. In some cases, allegedly, gangmasters may prefer people not to know that they are entitled to and for them to think that they actually shouldn't make themselves available to the establishment in case they get sent back."

Health Sector representative

Yet, in spite of these concerns, only 6% of the migrant workers surveyed said that they had experienced any problems accessing health services in Wales, and most suggestions for improvements to health services made by respondents concerned language provision.

Access to services by migrant workers in rural Wales can also be restricted by a dependency on public transport, with only a quarter of migrant workers surveyed owning a car in Wales. Car ownership was highest for respondents in Carmarthenshire/Ceredigion and lowest in for respondents in Betws-y-Coed/Llanrwst, fewer than one in ten of whom had a car. This has implications for the ability of migrant workers to travel to and access facilities not available in the community which live, including advice and support services for Central and Eastern European migrants and specialist shops. Most respondents reported that they primarily used local supermarkets for shopping. For the predominantly young migrant workers in Betws-y-Coed the combination of a lack of private transport and the limited facilities in the community contributed to a negative experience of living in rural Wales, with several identifying

boredom and a lack of entertainment as aspects they disliked about living in rural Wales:

Boredom (M, 18-24, Betws-y-Coed)

Too quiet (M, 18-24, Betws-y-Coed)

Bus transport is horrible, no shops, no life (F, 18-24, Betws-y-Coed)

Lack of entertainment of various kind (F, 18-24, Betws-y-Coed)

Boredom, no club, night clubs, discos to go out (M, 25-34, Betws-y-Coed)

5.7 Summary

The patterns of interactions and relationships between migrant workers from the A8 countries and local communities in rural Wales are complex. Overall, the picture is one of numerous yet weak ties between migrant workers and local communities in most parts of rural Wales. Many of the migrant workers surveyed said that they knew people in the local area, spoke fairly frequently with their neighbours, and socialised with local people. Yet few counted local people as close friends, few participated in local organized activities, and most lived only with people of the same nationality and relied on social networks comprised largely of people of the same nationality. The limited quality of interactions between migrant workers and local people is not unique to rural Wales and has been observed in other parts of Britain (Spencer et al., 2007). However, in contrast to the situation described by Spencer et al. for London and other urban centres, where

migrant workers built networks of other non-British residents of various nationalities, the dominance of the Polish community in the migrant worker population of rural Wales and the absence of an established international population means that the experiences of migrant workers in rural Wales are to a significant degree monocultural. Moreover, there is a small but significant minority of migrant workers identified by our survey who are very isolated, with no close friends or family in the locality and who do not socialise at all with local people.

In spite of the limited social contacts between migrant workers and local people, most migrant workers in rural Wales have fairly positive views of the local community. Many consider themselves to be part of a community with local people, co-workers and other migrant workers; most think that local people look out for each other and can be trusted; and most feel safe living where they do. Very few feel isolated. Nearly nine in ten of the migrant workers surveyed said that they had been made to feel welcome living in Wales.

The majority of migrant workers surveyed had not experienced any discrimination since coming to Wales, although the figure of one in four who had is still unacceptably high. With a few well publicised exceptions, there appears to be little evidence of serious tension or conflict between local residents and migrant workers in rural Wales, and the perception of trouble associated with migrant workers appears to be greatly exaggerated. Where migrant workers have been caught in illegal activity this often reflects an ignorance of local laws, highlighting a need for better education. Moreover, there is some suggestion that where tensions between migrant workers and local people have been observed in some smaller, more rural, communities, this has reflected

broader suspicion of 'outsiders' and is not necessarily related to migrant workers' nationality:

"You've also got to understand that people were negative here around people coming in from Manchester or Liverpool, so to come through from Poland or anywhere farther away from Manchester or Liverpool is also a big thing."

Agency representative

At the same time, the strength of community feeling in rural villages and small towns has been identified as a positive factor in enabling them to welcome and integrate migrant workers smoothly.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Introduction

The evidence discussed in this report presents a more nuanced and detailed picture of the lives and experiences of migrant workers from A8 countries in rural Wales than has previously been available. An accurate figure for the number of A8 migrant workers currently in rural Wales is difficult to establish, but based on an analysis of available data from the Worker Registration Scheme and National Insurance registrations we estimate that over 10,000 migrant workers from the A8 countries have come to rural Wales since May 2004 and that around two-thirds are likely to still to be resident, although a significant proportion of these are in the more urban district of Llanelli. Whilst this figure is numerically relatively low compared with parts of urban Wales and with some rural areas of England, it nonetheless represents a significant migration into rural Wales over a fairly short period of time. The impact of this migration has been further compounded by the concentration of the migrant worker population into a number of communities in rural Wales, especially where these communities are relatively small in size, such as Betws-y-Coed and Llanybydder.

Nearly eight in every ten migrant workers from A8 states in rural Wales are Polish, which is a higher degree of national homogeneity than is the case for Wales as a whole, or across the UK. Just over half of migrant workers in the region are men, but women constitute a majority of migrants under the age of 25. Three quarters are aged between 18 and 35, and whilst a significant minority have a partner with them in Wales, nearly half describe themselves as single and most do not

have children, either in Wales or in their home country.

The predominant motivation for migrating to rural Wales are economic, but a significant minority are now moving in order to join friends or family, and over half of the migrant workers surveyed said that they had encouraged friends or family members to come to Wales. As such, whilst in most cases the selection of rural Wales as a destination was determined by employment already secured (with most migrants having little prior knowledge of Wales), an increasing number are now making a positive decision to move to the region on the basis of personal recommendation.

Most migrant workers, however, consider their residence in rural Wales to be relatively short-term. Only a fifth intend to stay indefinitely or for more than five years, whilst a third anticipate staying for a year or less, although none of the migrant workers surveyed had returned home specifically to look for work. Most migrant workers retain strong ties to the home country – the majority had returned home to visit, in some cases several times, and nearly half were sending money home.

The majority of migrant workers are employed in relatively low-grade occupations, particular factory and production process operatives and elementary occupations. Agricultural employment is far less significant for migrant workers than in other rural regions of the UK, but there are significant numbers employed in hospitality and catering, manufacturing, and administration and business services. Around half of the migrant workers surveyed were not in the occupation that they had trained or qualified for, although this varies between different parts of Wales and different industries. Many migrant

workers are working long hours and are in general relatively low paid, with two-thirds earning the National Minimum Wage, but there are exceptions. Most do not however feel that they are treated differently to their co-workers in terms of either pay or working hours. Most migrant workers surveyed had secured a job in Wales before leaving their home country, with many using an agency, and almost all of these who did not found employment within a few days or weeks of arriving in Wales.

Around a third of the migrant workers surveyed have obtained their accommodation through their employer, with in some cases accommodation being provided 'free-of-charge' or rent being deducted directly from pay packets. All the migrant workers surveyed are renting housing, and few said that they had experienced difficulty finding accommodation. Two out of five, however, considered their housing in Wales to be of a poorer quality than their previous housing in their home country.

Moreover, a substantial number of the migrant workers surveyed are only living with people of the same nationality, which has implications for the integration of migrant workers into local communities. The engagement of migrant workers with local communities in rural Wales is best described as characterised by numerous but weak relationships. Many of the migrant workers surveyed said that they knew people in the local area, spoke fairly frequently with their neighbours, and socialised with local people. Yet few counted local people as close friends and few participated in local organized activities, the one notable exception being attendance at Catholic Mass, which almost a third of the migrant workers surveyed said they kept.

Migrant workers nevertheless tend to have a very positive view of the local community, with many stating that they feel part of the local community. Most think that local people look out for each other and can be trusted; and most feel safe living where they do. Very few feel isolated. Nearly nine in ten of the migrant workers surveyed said that they had been made to feel welcome living in Wales, although one in four said that they had experienced discrimination, most commonly verbal abuse.

6.2 Reflections on living in rural Wales

In reflecting on the merits of their decision to move to rural Wales, migrant workers are hence required to weigh up the positive and negative aspects of their experience. In identifying things that they liked about living in rural Wales, survey many respondents pointed to the security of employment and higher standard of living that was afforded (see appendix 1 for the full set of comments):

I have a job and can afford what I need; the standard of life is making me happy (M, 35-44, Carmarthen)

My job is nothing special but wages are good enough to pay for car and let us be independent (F, 25-34, Aberystwyth)

There is a job if you want to work (M, 25-34, Aberystwyth)

Many opportunities of easy changes of living and working place (M, 25-34, Haverfordwest)

People have money and that allows them to lead stress-free life. No problems with finding work. (F, 18-25, Betws-y-Coed)

Interestingly, though, many respondents also pointed to the friendliness of local people and the welcome that they had received from local communities:

People are friendly and keep smile on the face. Standard of life is better. (M, 25-34, Lampeter)

Lots of work available, friendly people (M, 25-34, Aberystwyth)

People here are friendly and always try to help (F, 18-24, Milford Haven)

Good and friendly relation to Polish people (M, 18-24, Betws-y-Coed)

Good relation with Polish people, good attitude (F, 18-24, Betws-y-Coed)

I like the fact that older people go to pubs and enjoy themselves (M, 18-24, Betws-y-Coed)

Tolerance, lack of rush in everybody's life (F, 18-24, Betws-y-Coed)

A further group identified aspects associated with the rural setting, including the natural environment, peace and tranquillity and the slower pace of life. In these respects they replicated the kind of statements about rural life that previous research has reported to be expressed by domestic in-migrants to rural communities (Cloke et al., 1997; Halfacree, 1995):

Local people are nice, I like the architecture and natural environment in Wales (M, 45-54, Welshpool)

Nice and beautiful place, peace and quiet, friendly people (M, 25-34, Aberystwyth)

Peace and countryside (M, 25-34, Welshpool)

Life in Wales seems to be more peaceful and less stressful (F, 25-34, Welshpool)

I like the peaceful lifestyle; beautiful surroundings around Betws, Welsh hills (F, 25-34, Betws-y-Coed)

Nice people, nice surroundings, good quality of life (M, 18-24, Betws-y-Coed)

Contrary to popular perceptions, only one respondent referred to state benefits, noting that the UK government helped the family with their children.

Although most survey respondents expressed positive views about living in rural Wales, a small minority of fewer than one in ten respondents stated that there was "nothing" that they liked about living in rural Wales. Moreover, many of the respondents who identified positive aspects of life in rural Wales also identified negative aspects. In some cases these reflected homesickness, missing Polish bread for example. A number also referred to the weather, complaining it was cold and wet, whilst others identified the high cost of accommodation. Only a small minority identified intolerance and suspicion from local people as an aspect they did not like, and these were mostly in the Carmarthenshire/ Ceredigion study area:

CCTV everywhere!!! People do not have Polish hospitality and are not open to it either; all the time being suspicious (M, 25-34, Ceredigion)

We are not wanted here as a nation; people do not accept us and make us feel like strangers (M, 35-44, Carmarthen)

Not enough information for local people about Polish culture and custom (F, 25-34, Carmarthen)

More commonly, the negative aspects identified by survey respondents related to cultural differences. In particular, a number of respondents stated that they disliked the perceived lack of discipline of Welsh culture and problems associated with alcohol consumption and anti-social behaviour:

Drunk nation (F, 25-34, Aberystwyth)

People drink too much alcohol (M, 25-34, Aberystwyth)

Friday and Saturday nights sometimes can be very noisy, locals and some of the migrants even pick up fights (fear of Polish people). It can be dangerous to be out on the streets. (M, 45-54, Welshpool)

I find British people boorish sometimes- personal culture, hygiene, behaviour at the table (M, 18-24, Welshpool)

The way local people think and behave, customs, people's mentality (M, 25-34, Haverfordwest)

Young people are very rude and vulgar (F, 18-24, Milford Haven)

Lack of discipline (M, 25-34, Milford Haven)

Young people seem to be not having anything to do, hanging out on the streets (M, 25-34, Betws-y-Coed)

All free time spent in pubs by many people- no family life (F, 18-25, Betws-y-Coed)

Several respondents, however, associated these same problems of excessive drinking and anti-social behaviour with the Polish community, and cited the behaviour of some of their fellow migrant workers as aspects that they disliked about living in rural Wales:

Too many Poles (M, 18-24, Welshpool)

A rather large number of Poles who left Poland because of problems they had with law (F, 25-34, Welshpool)

Some people of Polish origin, because sometimes after drinking alcohol they fight and create chaos (F, 18-24, Welshpool)

Most migrant workers have a pragmatic view of their position in rural Wales. They recognize that they occupy jobs which are low paid and often hard work, and usually of a lower grade than occupations that they have trained for in their home country. When asked what people from their country contribute to life in rural Wales, many stated that they were cheap labour, although a number expressed this as a positive contribution of a conscientious work ethic:

Hard working people, we not fussy about job choices, we are open to other people and have very good manners, and we cook nice food (M, 25-34, Lampeter)

Quality of work we do, Polish culture and cooking (M, 25-34, Aberystwyth)

We work hard, we have nice cooking, culture and custom (M, 35-44, Carmarthen)

We get economy going because job we take locals don't want to do at all. (F, 25-34, Aberystwyth)

Hard working people, make economy better (M, 25-34, Aberystwyth)

Economic development of Wales; Poles work for less money than locals which saves up money for companies to invest and develop. Polish food and cooking (F, 25-34, Welshpool)

We are good and cheap working source, we promote Polish customs and culture (M, 25-34, Haverfordwest)

We provide good quality working sources and specialists (M, 45-54, Milford Haven)

Work force to fill up jobs that locals are too lazy to do. (F, 25-34, Betws-y-Coed)

We are treated as cheap labour. We do jobs that locals would not do for this amount of money. (M, 25-34, Betws-y-Coed)

Cheap labour (F, 18-24, Betws-y-Coed)

Economic- perform jobs not wanted by locals (M, 18-24, Betws-y-Coed)

The perception that migrant workers are occupying jobs not wanted by local people and the view that their cheap labour assists the local economy were to some extent reinforced by interviewees in support and sectoral organizations, some of whom expressed concern about a potential future labour shortage resulting from new restrictions imposed on migrant workers from outside the EU combined with an anticipation that the flow of A8 country migrants will slow. Overall, the Home Office has calculated that migrant workers in the UK contribute 10% more in revenue than they receive in benefits (WLGA, 2007).

As reflected in some of the above quotes, many migrant workers in rural Wales however consider that their contribution is not solely economic, but also cultural. As well as introducing new foods and cuisine, they also perceive the presence of Central and Eastern European migrant workers in rural Wales has helped to promote international awareness and understanding:

Change way of thinking in British nation- make people realise that they are not the only ones in the world. (M, 25-34, Aberystwyth)

Different culture. Slovak bread (M, 25-34, Welshpool)

We exchange information about living in our countries (UK, Wales, Poland, Slovakia) (F, 18-24, Betws-y-Coed)

Big number of Poles encouraged Polish food in supermarkets, Polish beer in pubs, and I have also heard about road signs written in English and Polish at place of big population (F, 25-34, Betws-y-Coed)

A small number of respondents, however, considered that migrant workers had had a negative impact, contributing to local unemployment and anti-social behaviour:

Increase unemployment of natives, bad impressions (M, 25-34, Welshpool)

Alcohol sale increased in Wales (F, 25-34, Welshpool)

From the other hand rough behaviour, lack of respect- which makes locals judge all Polish according to the same measure (F, 18-24, Betws-y-Coed)

6.3 Different Migrant Experiences

As the discussion above suggests, there is no single standard migrant worker experience and migrant workers from A8 countries in rural Wales cannot be treated as a single homogeneous group. Whilst each migrant will have different motivations, needs and experiences of living in rural Wales, three broad categories of migrant worker can be identified, as proposed in chapter 3:

'Gap-year students': Young people taking short-term employment in the UK before, during or immediately after studying in their own country. Most intend to return to their home country within a year. These migrants are particularly employed in elementary occupations in industries such as hospitality and catering in areas such as Conwy, Gwynedd and parts of Ceredigion and Pembrokeshire, particularly localities such as Betws-y-Coed and Tenby. Their reasons for coming to Wales generally include a combination of motivations including earning money, learning English and adventure. The nature of their

employment means that migrant workers in this group tend to be paid the National Minimum Wage and often work long hours, and may be vulnerable to exploitation. Many live in accommodation tied to their employment, usually with deductions taken from their wages. Most migrant workers in this group are able to speak English fairly well but not fluently and have often come to Wales with the intention of improving their language skills.

'Guestworkers': Workers who have migrated to the UK primarily to earn money and whose choice of area of residence is primarily determined by available employment. Many have lived in more than one place in the UK, moving to follow employment opportunities. They generally intend to return to their home country, but may expect to stay in the UK for up to several years. They are less committed, however, to staying in the present locality; many live in accommodation provided by employers and have relatively little contact with the local community, although in some workplaces they might socialise with British co-workers. 'Guestworkers' tend to be men, of differing ages, and many have left partners and family in their home country. Although many 'guestworkers' are employed in low-paid positions, some with higher-level technical skills are able to earn fairly substantial salaries. Many are sending remittances home. Migrant workers in this group tend to be employed in production or machine operative positions or in elementary occupations in the manufacturing, food processing, construction and agricultural sectors, and are concentrated in rural Wales in localities where these industries are significant, including within the study areas Milford Haven, Haverfordwest and Llanybydder as well as to a lesser extent Welshpool. Many migrant workers in this group have limited English language ability, being able to speak only a few words or a few

sentences, and a small minority do not speak any English.

'Settlers': Migrants intending to stay in Britain long-term, usually in their current area of residence. Although economic reasons may be part of the motivation for migration, joining friends and family is also important, and many have encouraged other friends and family members to move to Wales. Many members of the group knew people in Wales prior to moving, and joining friends and family is an important factor in the choice of place of residence in Wales, alongside employment opportunities and residential preferences. Migrants in this group are employed in a range of occupations and industries, but many have not been successful in finding employment in professions and vocations for which they had trained or qualified. Migrants in this group tend to live in privately rented accommodation, and whilst most consider the standard of their housing to be comparable or better to that in their home country, some have experienced difficulties finding appropriate housing. Members of this group have the best English-language skills of the three groups, with many considering themselves to be fluent.

The differing social backgrounds, intentions and employment conditions of these three groups means that their contact with local communities and their perceptions and experiences of living in rural Wales also vary. Migrants in the 'settler' group are predictably the most positive about their local communities and life in rural Wales, and tend to be more integrated with local communities, although few still report being involved in organized local groups and activities. However, 'settlers' are also more likely to report having experienced discrimination, reflecting their longer period of residence and their greater contact with local people,

and many do not feel that they have developed a sense of community with other people in the local area.

Migrant workers who fit the 'gap-year student' category, in contrast, tend to have fairly limited social contact with local residents, reflecting both the nature of their employment and housing circumstances and their shorter period of residence. Members of this group are divided, however, in terms of their perceptions of living in rural Wales. Many have positive views of their local community, the local environment and the way of life; but there is a significant minority within this group who feel isolated, have not developed social networks and friendships, and are disaffected and unhappy. In these cases the challenges of being away from home at a young age can be compounded by the rural situation and small size of the communities in which they live, with several migrants fitting this category in Betws-y-Coed complaining of boredom and a lack of entertainment.

Migrants in the 'guestworker' group are also divided in terms of their perceptions of living in rural Wales. As many 'guestworkers' are more transitory in their movements, and may be housed in company accommodation, they also tend to have developed fairly limited contacts with local people, although they may socialise with British co-workers in some instances, and can also develop a strong sense of community with other migrant workers. There is danger in some communities with significant 'guestworker' populations this situation can inflame tensions with local residents, with migrant workers accused of violent and anti-social behaviour. Many migrant workers in the 'guestworker' group have positive views of their experience living in Wales, particularly of the financial rewards and the freedom that this affords. However, there is again a

significant minority within the group who can be described as unsettled and unhappy, especially individuals who are separated from their family.

As the different types of migrant worker described above are attracted to different sectors of employment, and as these vary geographically across Wales, there are geographical variations in the situation and experience of migrant workers in different parts of rural Wales. For example, in the localities studied for this research there is a notable difference between the Betws-y-Coed/Llanrwst and Milford Haven/Haverfordwest areas, where the presence of many migrant workers tends to be transitory and directly linked to employment; and the Carmarthenshire/Ceredigion and Welshpool areas, where migrant workers tend to be more settled. There are also variations within these pairings. In Betws-y-Coed/Llanrwst most migrant workers are young, single and employed in low-paid elementary occupations. In Milford Haven and Haverfordwest the typical migrant worker is older, male and in a slightly higher-grade job with better pay and better conditions. In Ceredigion and Carmarthenshire, the population of migrant workers is more diverse in terms of its background and employment than in the other study areas, with a closer balance of men and women, and is generally educated to a higher level. In Welshpool, migrant workers are more likely to have technical or vocational qualifications, and are employed in more industrial occupations, often with poorer conditions.

Recognising these geographical differences is important in developing appropriate responses to the needs of the migrant worker population and its engagement with the local community in different parts of rural Wales.

6.4 Supporting Migrant Workers

In our previous scoping study, we reported that there were significant variations in the degree of engagement by local authorities and agencies in rural Wales with migrant worker issues (WRO, 2006). In the intervening two years considerably more attention has been paid to the question of migrant workers by a broader range of organizations. Carmarthenshire County Council, for instance, set up a 'Task and Finish' group which reported in 2007 with a long list of recommendations for improving the authority's engagement with the significant migrant worker population in the county (Carmarthenshire County Council, 2007). Other agencies and organizations, including police forces, community safety partnerships, local health boards, trades unions and the Citizen Advice Bureau have all been actively engaged in developing strategies and implementing initiatives for reaching out to migrant workers. Our survey however shows that there is only limited evidence of migrant workers using services and facilities that have been provided to date. Only one in seven of the migrant workers surveyed said that they had sought advice from any organizations since living in Wales, including the CAB and the Inland Revenue, whilst only one in twenty said that they had specifically sought advice on housing, despite a far higher proportion reporting that they had experienced problems with housing.

From the evidence presented in this report, five areas can be identified as focal points for support for migrant workers in rural Wales, building on existing initiatives and models of best practice.

Firstly, there is a need to improve the information provided to migrant workers arriving in Wales. Only 41% of the migrant workers surveyed said that they had received information about living and working in Wales on arrival, whilst 74%

said that they would have found such information useful. Only 27% said that they had been made aware of local laws. The Migrant Worker Welcome Pack produced by the Welsh Assembly Government is a major contribution to improving the information provided to new arrivals, but logistical challenges exist in ensuring its dissemination to migrant workers, especially those working in smaller workplaces in smaller rural communities.

Secondly, language has repeatedly been identified as an obstacle to migrant workers integrating with local communities, accessing public services and finding out information about their employment and housing rights. Although language classes have been provided, often with the assistance of employers, many local authorities have reported that English as an Additional Language services have become increasingly strained with a shortage of teachers and inadequate funding. Greater support is required and opportunities need to be made accessible to migrant workers in all parts of rural Wales. Opportunities for learning Welsh also need to be provided to migrant workers to assist community cohesion in significantly Welsh-speaking areas.

Thirdly, whilst the employment and housing conditions of migrant workers in rural Wales on the whole appear to be reasonable, there is evidence of isolated cases of exploitation and legal rights need to be adequately enforced. Advocacy projects are required to educate migrant workers about their rights and to assist them in representing their interests, following, for example, the work of the Siawns Teg initiative in Powys.

Fourthly, at present the main contribution of migrant workers to the economy of rural Wales is as a source of cheap labour. As the majority of migrant workers from A8

countries have either university degrees or vocational qualifications, their concentration in low-grade process operative and elementary occupations is arguably an inefficient use of the labour resource that they represent. Thought needs to be given to ways of more effectively harnessing the professional and technical skills and entrepreneurial potential of migrant workers, especially those intending to stay in rural Wales long term, as well as to reaping the benefits of new ties to countries in Central and Eastern Europe for tourism and exports, as part of economic development strategies for rural Wales.

Fifthly, attention needs to be paid to supporting the integration of migrant workers with local communities and enhancing community cohesion. This needs to be sensitive to the particular circumstances and challenges of specific localities and to the migrant workers resident in them. Developing community integration and cohesion may, for example, require educational initiatives both for migrant workers and for local residents, as well as the promotion of opportunities for migrants and local residents to meet and interact. The Catholic church may have a role in supporting this in some communities, as may major employers of migrant labour.

These challenges and priorities are not necessarily unique to rural Wales, but the rural context of the region with migrant workers dispersed between small communities, and the heterogeneous nature of the migrant worker population in the region and its uneven geography, require particular attention and the development of appropriately tailored and targeted initiatives.

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APPENDIX 1: MIGRANT WORKERS' PERCEPTIONS OF LIVING IN RURAL WALES

What do you like about living in rural Wales?

People are friendly and keep smile on the face. Standard of life is better. (M, 25-34, Lampeter)

Lots of work available, friendly people (M, 25-34, Aberystwyth)

I have a job and can afford what I need; the standard of life is making me happy (M, 35-44, Carmarthen)

People are always friendly and I have a job, that is important to me (F, 25-34, Carmarthen)

My job is nothing special but wages are good enough to pay for car and let us be independent (F, 25-34, Aberystwyth)

There is a job if you want to work (M, 25-34, Aberystwyth)

People are more tolerant. Money is better than in Slovenia (F, 25-34, Borth)

Friendly people, lots of help from people that we meet. UK government help family with children (M, 25-34, Aberystwyth)

Nice and beautiful place, peace and quiet, friendly people (M, 25-34, Aberystwyth)

Local people are nice, I like the architecture and natural environment in Wales (M, 45-54, Welshpool)

Nothing (M, 25-34, Welshpool)

Peace and countryside (M, 25-34, Welshpool)

Life here seems to be much easier (M, 18-24, Welshpool)

Life in Wales seems to be more peaceful and less stressful (F, 25-34, Welshpool)

I like the lifestyle (F, 18-24, Welshpool)

Quiet and peacefulness; and British people (F, 45-54, Welshpool)

Many opportunities of easy changes of living and working place (M, 25-34, Haverfordwest)

People here are friendly and always try to help (F, 18-24, Milford Haven)

Lack of stress (M, 45-54, Milford Haven)

Nothing!!! (M, 45-54, Milford Haven)

Lack of stress, nothing to worry about, fun time Friday and Saturday (M, 35-44, Milford Haven)

Peacefulness and easy lifestyle (M, 25-34, Betws-y-Coed)

People have money and that allows them to lead stressless life. No problems with finding work. (F, 18-25, Betws-y-Coed)

I like the peaceful lifestyle; beautiful surroundings around Betws, Welsh hills (F, 25-34, Betws-y-Coed)

Nothing (M, 25-34, Llanrwst)

Stresslessness (M, 25-34, Llanrwst)

Nothing (M, 25-34, Llanrwst)

Money (M, 18-24, Llanrwst)

Nothing (M, 25-34, Betws-y-Coed)

Good and friendly relation to Polish people (M, 18-24, Betws-y-Coed)

Good relation with Polish people, good attitude (F, 18-24, Betws-y-Coed)

Nothing (M, 18-24, Betws-y-Coed)

Lots of free time (F, 18-24, Betws-y-Coed)

I like the fact that older people go to pubs and enjoy themselves (M, 18-24, Betws-y-Coed)

Nice people, nice surroundings, good quality of life (M, 18-24, Betws-y-Coed)

Nice nature, it's a quiet place and I can save a lot of money here (F, 18-24, Betws-y-Coed)

Tolerance, lack of rush in everybody's life (F, 18-24, Betws-y-Coed)

Tolerance (M, 25-34, Betws-y-Coed)

What do you dislike about living in rural Wales?

CCTV everywhere!!! People do not have Polish hospitality and are not open to it

either; all the time being suspicious (M, 25-34, Ceredigion)

Superficiality, women look bad and do not respect themselves (F, 25-34, Aberystwyth)

Personal culture, British people (M, 25-34, Aberystwyth)

We are not wanted here as a nation; people do not accept us and make us feel like strangers (M, 35-44, Carmarthen)

Not enough information for local people about Polish culture and custom (F, 25-34, Carmarthen)

Drunk nation (F, 25-34, Aberystwyth)

Cost of accommodation and living are very high (M, 25-34, Aberystwyth)

Weather. Bread is not good quality. (F, 25-34, Borth)

Very high rent and cost of accommodation. Weather is bad (M, 25-34, Aberystwyth)

People drink too much alcohol (M, 25-34, Aberystwyth)

Friday and Saturday nights sometimes can be very noisy, locals and some of the migrants even pick up fights (fear of Polish people). It can be dangerous to be out on the streets. (M, 45-54, Welshpool)

Everything (M, 25-34, Welshpool)

People's mentality (M, 25-34, Welshpool)

Too many Poles (M, 18-24, Welshpool)

A rather large number of Poles who left Poland because of problems they had with law (F, 25-34, Welshpool)

Some people of Polish origin, because sometimes after drinking alcohol they fight and create chaos (F, 18-24, Welshpool)

I find British people boorish sometimes- personal culture, hygiene, behaviour at the table (M, 18-24, Welshpool)

The way local people think and behave, customs, people's mentality (M, 25-34, Haverfordwest)

Young people are very rude and vulgar (F, 18-24, Milford Haven)

Everybody is so comfortable (there is no set rules) (M, 45-54, Milford Haven)

Lack of discipline (M, 25-34, Milford Haven)

Young people seem to be not having anything to do, hanging out on the streets (M, 25-34, Betws-y-Coed)

All free time spent in pubs by many people- no family life (F, 18-25, Betws-y-Coed)

That people are so polite that often they don't show their real feelings because that would be considered rude (F, 25-34, Betws-y-Coed)

Cold and rain (M, 25-34, Llanrwst)

Cold, and constant rain (M, 25-34, Llanrwst)

Living from day to day (M, 25-34, Llanrwst)

People's mentality (M, 25-34, Betws-y-Coed)

Everything (M, 18-24, Betws-y-Coed)

Boredom (M, 18-24, Betws-y-Coed)

Too much alcohol drinking, lack of personal culture- especially in relation to foreigners (F, 18-24, Betws-y-Coed)

Too quiet (M, 18-24, Betws-y-Coed)

Do not like not smoking in pubs, or the weather (M, 18-24, Betws-y-Coed)

Bus transport is horrible, no shops, no life (F, 18-24, Betws-y-Coed)

Lack of entertainment of various kind (F, 18-24, Betws-y-Coed)

Boredom, no club, night clubs, discos to go out (M, 25-34, Betws-y-Coed)

What would you say are the main contributions that people from your country make to life here in Wales?

Hard working people, we not fussy about job choices, we are open to other people and have very good manners, and we cook nice food (M, 25-34, Lampeter)

Quality of work we do, Polish culture and cooking (M, 25-34, Aberystwyth)

We work hard, we have nice cooking, culture and custom (M, 35-44, Carmarthen)

Behaviour and personal appearance. We get economy going because job we take locals don't want to do at all. (F, 25-34, Aberystwyth)

Hard working people, make economy better, change way of thinking in British nation- make people realise that they are not the only ones in the world. (M, 25-34, Aberystwyth)

Variety of our customs and culture. We support economy by doing jobs that British people do not want (M, 25-34, Aberystwyth)

Different culture. Slovak bread (M, 25-34, Welshpool)

Economic development of Wales; Poles work for less money than locals which saves up money for companies to invest and develop. Polish food and cooking (F, 25-34, Welshpool)

Increase unemployment of natives, bad impressions (M, 25-34, Welshpool)

Alcohol sale increased in Wales (F, 25-34, Welshpool)

We are good and cheap working source, we promote Polish customs and culture (M, 25-34, Haverfordwest)

Our culture, cleaning habits (English speakers are very dirty) (M, 45-54, Milford Haven)

We provide good quality working sources and specialists (M, 45-54, Milford Haven)

We exchange information about living in our countries (UK, Wales, Poland, Slovakia) (F, 18-24, Betws-y-Coed)

Work force to fill up jobs that locals are too lazy to do. Big number of Poles encouraged Polish food in supermarkets, Polish beer in pubs, and I have also heard about road signs written in English and Polish at place of big population (F, 25-34, Betws-y-Coed)

We are treated as cheap labour. We do jobs that locals would not do for this amount of money. Polish women are the most beautiful (something to be proud of) (M, 25-34, Betws-y-Coed)

Experience and hardworking habits. From the other hand rough behaviour, lack of respect- which makes locals judge all Polish according to the same measure (F, 18-24, Betws-y-Coed)

New lifestyle, behaviours. Teach locals honesty and hard work (F, 18-24, Betws-y-Coed)

Cheap labour force (F, 18-24, Betws-y-Coed)

Cheaper labour (M, 25-34, Betws-y-Coed)

Cheap labour (F, 18-24, Betws-y-Coed)

Economic- perform jobs not wanted by locals (M, 18-24, Betws-y-Coed)