

# **Recent Immigration to the Chichester District: Scale and Impact**

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## Executive Summary of 24 Findings

1. The source, scale and nature of immigration have changed significantly since May 2004.
2. Most of the new immigrants are from the new EU accession countries of Eastern and Central Europe, principally Poland and Lithuania.
3. Reliable numbers and their seasonal fluctuations are hard to establish, but the number of immigrant year-round residents represent the largest and most rapid change in population the area has ever experienced.
4. A very tentative estimate of the number of newcomers since May 2004 is 2,500, or 2% of the population at the time of the 2001 Census.
5. Although there remain seasonal fluctuations, there is a shift towards more permanent jobs. Some seasonal workers come from outside the EU.
6. There are far fewer irregular or illegal workers (of various nationalities) than five or six years ago because of the ready supply of cheap *legal* workers.
7. The new immigrants fill a labour shortage; they are complementary not replacement workers.
8. The overwhelming majority work in agriculture on the coastal strip.
9. Their presence is crucial to some other low paid service occupations.
10. The employment status and security of some workers is extremely marginal.
11. A considerable percentage, perhaps the majority, has education and skill levels higher than the jobs they are doing here.
12. The overall impact of recent immigration, on the basis of clear evidence, is economically positive for the area and for the UK, though arguments about their presence spiral outwards into national and EU policy.
13. The District will have (and need) an element of its workforce foreign-born well into the foreseeable future.
14. There is clear gap between the rational economic case for the presence of an immigrant workforce and some public and media perception of them as spongers and parasites.
15. Future settlement patterns are very uncertain, but perhaps 50% of *current* migrants will not be here in five years.
16. Even if present individuals do not stay they will be *replaced* either by others from their countries or perhaps by people from the two new EU states.
17. It is very unlikely that workers from Romania and Bulgaria will come to Britain *in addition* to the numbers from Poland.

18. If different and increased local work opportunities outside agriculture present themselves, immigration will increase.
19. There a sizeable population 'commuting' from Bognor into the Chichester District for work.
20. There is a small but steady increase in new migrant children in schools, but on the basis of the predictions above this is likely to remain small.
21. Because the migrants are overwhelmingly young and fit, there is minimal impact upon health provision, though there are very specific and localised health issues.
22. A significant issue for concern is a shortage of affordable housing for low paid workers all along the coastal strip.
23. A second significant area of concern is public hostility towards and considerable public ignorance about the new immigrants.
24. In a limited way the District reflects the growing pattern of ethnicity in Britain – 'superdiversity', where needs and issues are not related to one or two main minority groups, but several. 5% of the population coming from one minority ethnic group is one kind of challenge; five minorities each comprising 1% is another.
25. Public services and public perceptions were not well prepared for the population change the area has experienced in the past few years. If the change is to be managed without conflict there are three key questions:
  - What would an integration strategy look like?
  - Whose responsibility is it?
  - Who should pay for it?

### **Abbreviations, acronyms etc**

A8	The eight former communist countries of Eastern Europe who joined the EU in 2004 (Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Hungary)
A2	The two accession countries in 2007 (Romania and Bulgaria)
EAL	English as an additional language
CDC	Chichester District Council
EMAT	Ethnic Minority Achievement Team
NI	National Insurance
PLASC	Pupil level annual schools census
SAWS	Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme
WRS	Workers Registration Scheme

## **National background**

The increase in immigration into the Chichester district has to be seen in the context of

- increasing migration worldwide
- the population dynamics of the UK
- the development of the British and other neighbouring economies
- and the increasing incorporation of Eastern European countries into the European Union and its economy.

Attitudes towards these four phenomena will play a part in the judgements made about new immigration. To those who oppose the current level of European integration, let alone its extension, the changes brought about by immigration will be an additional unwelcome element. To those who see increased business opportunities in a cheap and accessible labour supply, any social consequences will seem worth the effort to resolve. To those hostile to migration into Europe from Africa and Asia, migration from Europe may seem 'culturally' preferable.

Knowledge of underlying processes affecting these phenomena may also affect attitudes. For example, with a falling birth-rate and increasing longevity, the percentage of Britain's population in the active workforce is decreasing (notwithstanding the raising of the retirement age and a law against age discrimination). This, together with a reasonably healthy economy, means there is a national labour shortage. Short of rethinking social and economic expectations from first principles, the labour force has to come from *somewhere*; it is not an option to pretend otherwise.

To take another example, the free movement of labour, capital and goods is a fundamental principle of the EU. There are business people who believe this is good for the British economy and those who do not; varying levels of knowledge about this complex economic issue will colour responses to immigration.

Some government estimates at the point of EU expansion in May 2004 put the likely numbers of immigrants at 15,000 per year, based partly upon estimates of labour shortages at the time and a reasonable belief that other states, especially Germany, would impose the restrictions which they later did. A year later the government's actuarial department predicted 'a very tentative estimate of around 75,000 net migrants from new EU countries during 2004-05', a figure also now generally recognised to be an underestimate. One set of Home Office records from the Workers Registration Scheme (discussed in detail below) shows 427,000 Eastern Europeans registered between May 2004 and June 2006. Although it is widely acknowledged that it is hard to be certain, estimates put the arrivals up to October 2006 at 600,000<sup>1</sup> Most of these are from Poland, its population of 39 million making up more than half of all the people in the new EU countries.

The net inflow of people into the country was 151,000 in 2003, 223,000 in 2004 and figures released in early November 2006 showed net inward migration to have been 160,000 in the previous 12 months. Most migrants are from the new EU countries. Total inward migration was 565,000, though outward migration was 385,000, and it is not known with any clarity how much of this movement comprised permanent emigration of British citizens and how much was attributable to people moving backwards and forwards between EU countries in particular. It is reliably estimated that 0.4% of Britain's working population in 2005 was from A8 countries.

Britain's population has increased by about 0.3% during the 1990s and has grown by 0.5% since 2000. As a proportion of its population this movement of people may be the biggest inward migration Britain has seen for 300 years, or perhaps ever. The pace is certainly faster than immigration from the Caribbean and the Indian sub-continent which was at its height in the 1950s and 1960s. The 1966 Census put their numbers at just 710,000, eighteen years after the first migrant ship left Jamaica.

It is worth adding that while A8 nationals make up 0.4% of the working population, nationals from other EU states made up 1.7%, and proportionally, this is smaller than in Ireland, where free movement of workers has resulted in a number that is five times higher. Despite formally limiting A8 migrants, Austria has 1.4% and Germany 0.7%. The IPPR comment:

Restrictive policies, therefore, do not automatically curb labour migration flows. Applying restrictive labour policies to people who can move freely within the EU has only delayed east European migration flows, or encouraged them to become irregular migrants, increasing the possibility of potential exploitation and human trafficking. (2006: p 10)

## **Local background and recent history**

Prior to 2004 there were significant numbers of foreign nationals from various countries working in the Chichester District in specific jobs. As long ago as 1992, there were South Africans, Portuguese and some south and south east Asians, mostly employed through agencies. A little later the available labour force in Russia, the Ukraine and Eastern Europe became involved. There were also people from poorer parts of the EU, mainly Portugal; Brazilians who acquired Portuguese (or Italian) passports<sup>2</sup> and workers from many other countries (a group of Chinese asylum seekers in 2001 has been mentioned, as have people from Iraq and Afghanistan).

Since 1996 the non-EU workers have principally been employed under two visa schemes, one for agricultural workers (the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme - SAWS) and one for other food processing work. As the title implies, this was highly seasonal work, and the rationale for the visa scheme was the shortage in the UK of low-skilled workers willing to work in specific low status and physically demanding jobs. One might say 'willing and able', since the kind of work involved tends to attract young and physically fit workers. Some SAWS groups began on a small scale, with one company taking on just sixteen people in 1996. Three years later it was employing 140 and it now employs over three hundred. This seasonal work still exists of course and some large local employers still use the SAWs visas to recruit workers from the Ukraine<sup>3</sup>, on strict six monthly contracts, just as they did from Russia, the Ukraine, Poland and other countries before the EU's enlargement in 2004. It is worth saying that whatever the skill level of the jobs, one should not assume the same of the SAWs workers – a key condition of the visa has always been that they are university students.

There are two factors that have changed this pattern. The first is that gradually the season has lengthened, so there has been some shift towards more year-round jobs rather than seasonal ones. The second is that since 2004 74 million people from the ten EU accession countries have been given the right to come to Britain and (it is often forgotten) every other EU country. Ten countries are usually mentioned, but in practice we are talking about what are known as the A8, former communist countries

of Eastern Europe: Poland; the Czech Republic; Slovakia; Slovenia; Hungary; Latvia; Lithuania; Estonia, and not to any extent Malta and Cyprus. It is only Britain, Sweden and Ireland, however, who have conferred the right to *work*, and this has clearly been recognised by the general public and the media. In a survey of 240 people carried out for this project involving several employers and some language classes, almost the only people who had been here before May 2004 were Portuguese or Brazilian.

It is beyond the scope of this study to discuss the nature of the work done nationwide by A8 migrants – for example up to 12,000 now live in Southampton, comprising 5% of its population. Locally the predominant employment of foreign workers is the same as before EU enlargement, namely agricultural work, with smaller numbers in low paid work in hotels, restaurants, and in social care. This may be gradually changing but predictions are highly speculative. According to one source<sup>4</sup> ten per cent of employees on Britain's building sites are from overseas - making a total labour force of up to 100,000 people.

The effect of this newly accessible huge workforce is to reduce the employment of other nationalities in agriculture, whether legal/illegal, temporary/permanent, asylum seeker or immigrant. Local perceptions have not necessarily kept up with this change, nor with several other changes that will be explored in this report.

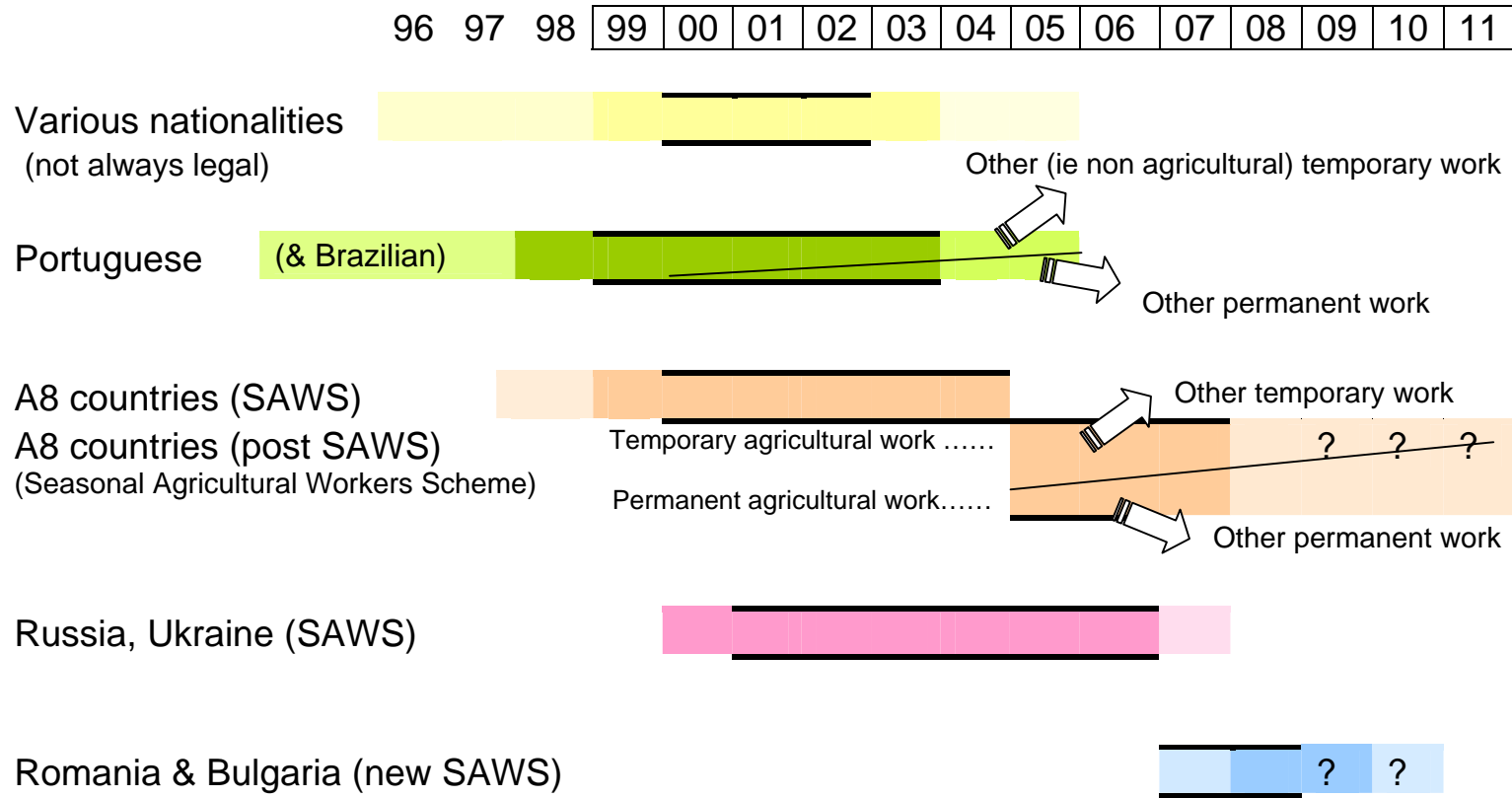
It may be obvious but worth stating nonetheless, that in 2006 the focus of discussion in Chichester needs to be upon migrant *workers*. They are not refugees, they are not illegal immigrants smuggled in underneath lorries, they are not people coming to live on benefits. What has drawn people to the area, originally as seasonal workers and later as at least short term residents, is work: the buoyancy of aspects of the local labour market and the lack of local people available to do the work.

The next page attempts to summarise the complex and changing pattern of inward migration for agricultural work in the past decade and for the next five years. The accession of eight new countries to the EU in 2004 is shown as a pivotal year in which past patterns changed at a stroke, with potential long-term implications.

As will be explored in the rest of the report, much of the diagram describes tendencies rather than precise details. Some of what is summarised about the past is hearsay. Details about the present are in principle more accurate because there are official figures to support them, but as is discussed later, the official figures leave some unanswered questions. As for the future, we cannot know how long recent migrants will stay, nor can they.



**Pattern of different nationalities' migration into Sussex coastal strip for seasonal agricultural work**



**Notes:**

The diagonals in the Portuguese and A8 columns signify transition from temporary to permanent work (indicative, not precise)

Where colours are shown lightening this signifies lower newcomer numbers (indicative, not precise)

?? signifies highly speculative

The diagram does not attempt to predict patterns of settling or returning to home countries. The column for A8 post SAWS migration is dEastern Europeper than the others to signify it is a larger population, but otherwise relative numbers can **not** be read from this diagram

## Local numbers – what do we know?

The **2001 Census** and the **2004 ONS population projections** have very little value for this research, since they clearly do not reflect the situation that emerged post-EU expansion.

Another source of data is the **Workers Registration Scheme<sup>5</sup> (WRS)**. Eastern Europeans from the A8 workers are meant to register with the Home Office's WRS, and the advantage to them in doing so is eligibility to various benefits once they have been registered for 12 months. Their employers in principle face a fine for having unregistered A8 workers and the Home Office argues employers benefit since the WRS provides through its passport checks a more robust proof of the right to work, hence deterring illegal workers. People are supposed to register a change (free) when they change employer. Despite this apparently straightforward case for registration, the Association of Labour Providers argues:

A considerable number of workers and employers are making no attempt to comply with the requirements of the WRS, either in ignorance or because they can see no benefit in so doing. There has been no enforcement activity against such individuals or businesses. Not one business has been prosecuted for failing to comply with the Regulations, and workers who do not seek registration are not committing an offence. There is no prospect of any enforcement action being taken against the worker.

A study from the University of Surrey suggested that 64% had registered and the proportion increased in smaller towns and increased again with people intending to stay more than a few months. Local employers insist that they comply with these rules (often at considerable trouble to themselves, since the straightforwardness claimed by the Home Office has not been their experience).

Taking into account these contrary pressures and views, it seems reasonable therefore to use WRS registrations as an approximate *interim* guide to the numbers of A8 immigrants working in the District, and based on the tendencies found in the Surrey research it is reasonable to argue that around 70% of migrants in the CDC area are WRS registered.

WRS data shows about 1430 migrant workers registered with employers in the Chichester District between the 1st December 2004 and 30th November 2005.

1130 registrations are highly concentrated within the PO18, PO19 and PO20 postcodes (**94 per month**), with only 300 of the total registering outside these codes.

In the succeeding seven months (December 2005 - June 2006) a further 367 registered in these three postcodes. The time period is not the same and the later figures include seasonal workers more likely to register during this period, but this amounts to about **52 per month**. Whatever the weaknesses of the figures detailed below, this gives some indication of the rate of new entrants.

For the whole period under consideration about 60% of migrants were from Poland and 20% from Lithuania, with much smaller percentages from the other A8 states.

It should be noted, however, that this data has several weaknesses:

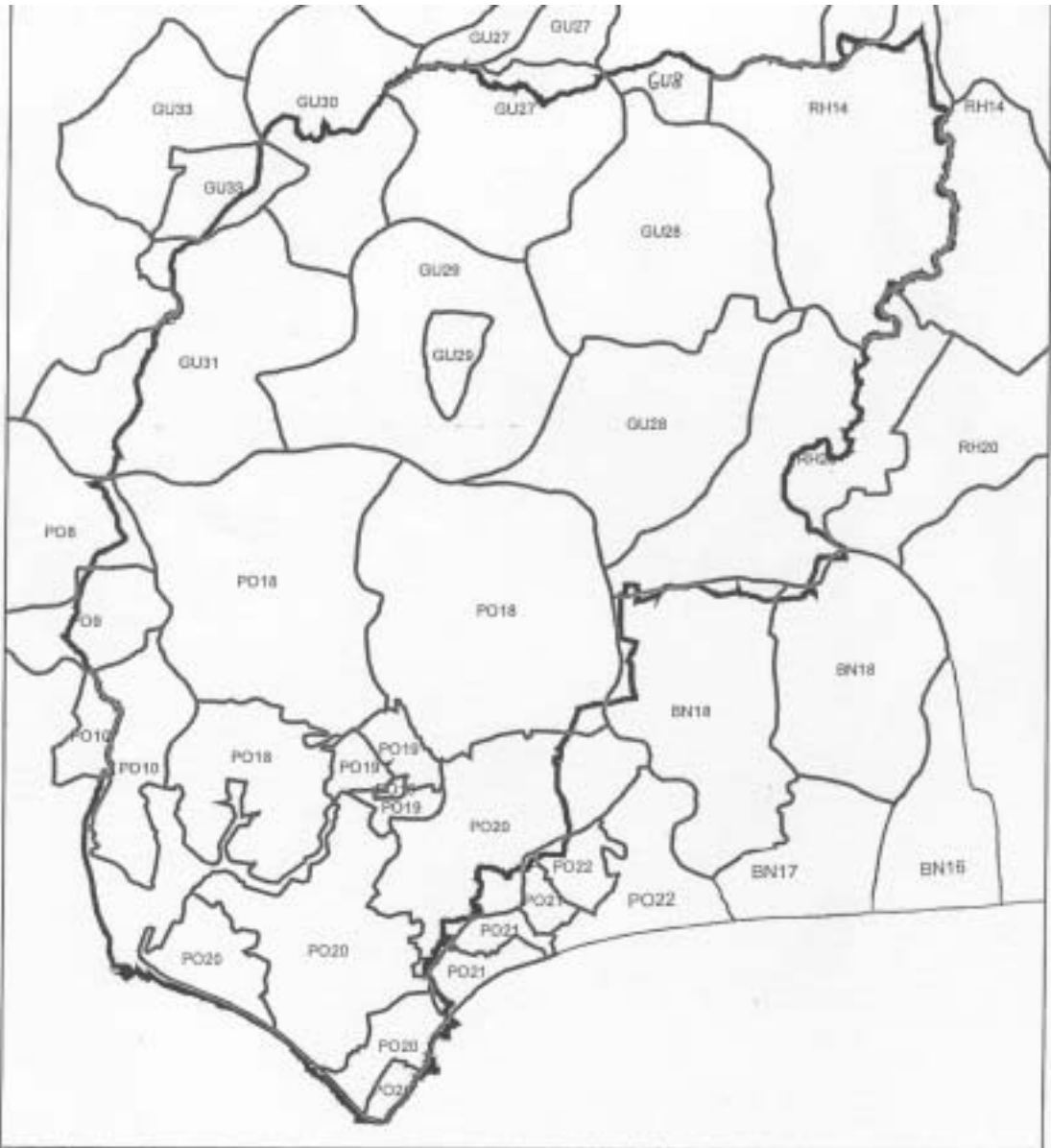
1. Figures are based upon employers' addresses, so do not show workers whose employers' head offices are elsewhere, there may be significant numbers of these, including those technically employed by sub-contractors.
2. By the same token, they show where people work, not where they live, so the WRS does not tell us anything reliable about the *resident* immigrant population.
3. It does not indicate how many leave the jobs where they are initially registered, either for work in other parts of the country or because they return to their home countries. The larger local employers report that their workforces are fairly stable, so the possible shrinkage (or growth) in numbers from the official figures may not be too great. On the other hand, evidence from the Office of National Statistics (2006) shows a cyclical pattern of migration, with 89% of A8 visits in the autumn of 2005 planned for less than three months. This was confirmed by the Polish Embassy. An IPPR study showed that 50% of A8 migrants nationally were on short term contracts.
4. Even when people register, it tracks them for only 12 months. The relevant government website giving advice and information to workers says *'Once you have been working legally in the UK for 12 months without a break you will have full rights of free movement and will no longer need to register. You can then get a residence permit confirming your right to live and work in the UK.'*
5. Temporary seasonal workers do not have to be WRS registered.
6. Self-employed people from A8 countries do not have to be WRS registered.
7. It does not apply *at all* to nationalities other than those from A8 countries, so provides no numerical data about, for instance, Portuguese people who it is known have been working in the area for a decade.

What soon becomes clear from official figures and from contact with the immigrants themselves is that the CDC boundary is for many the boundary between where they live and where they work. *For this reason much of this report has to refer to the Sussex coastal strip rather than the CDC area in isolation.*

A map of postcodes may be useful for reference here. The thicker line on the map shows the boundary of the Chichester District Council. The fact that it does not exactly match postcode areas, especially in the north, does not cause too great a problem in interpreting data since there are relatively very few new immigrants in those areas.

PO20 is the postcode area that is more problematic in this respect, since it spans the Arun and Chichester Districts.

Postcode map of Chichester District and adjoining areas



A third source of data is **National Insurance** registrations. These complement the WRS data because they are available for home postcodes and since they cover all nationalities they enable us to see who else apart from A8 nationals are migrating here. They also include self-employed A8 nationals. However, the key limitations with these figures are

1. As with the WRS, we have no way of knowing how many people subsequently move elsewhere in the country, or even out of the country.
2. Temporary summer workers have to have NI numbers, so this inflates the figures. During the summer some employers' workforces increase by perhaps 30% or 40%, so the temporary migrant workforce grows significantly. Unlike the other workers they mostly live in temporary accommodation on the

farms – mobile homes and caravans – confusing many locals who do not have the information to distinguish these summer workers (who might be Russian or Ukrainian students) from EU nationals here for longer periods and in permanent jobs<sup>3</sup>.

3. They are not available for very far in the past, so they are some measure of new arrivals rather than people who came, say four or more years ago.

Referring to the postcode map, the PO21, PO22, BN16 and BN17 postcodes – Bognor and Littlehampton, have had a higher number of NI registrations and they have grown at a faster rate.

	TAX YEAR 02/03	TAX YEAR 03/04	TAX YEAR 04/05	JUNE 05 JUNE 06
Arun	<b>205</b>	<b>380</b>	<b>1,295</b>	<b>1,700</b>
Chichester	<b>250</b>	<b>445</b>	<b>735</b>	<b>1,354</b>

The main nationalities that appear in NI data are still Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, and Portugal, though some idea of the overall diversity of new immigrant residents can be gained from National Insurance registrations over the whole district between June 2005 and June 2006, shown on the next page.

The different figures derived from NI and WRS registrations are confusing but reasonably consistent and reduce the numerical uncertainty produced by the pattern of living in one area and working in another. For example, in 2005 the NI figures show registrations of around 1100 Poles living in the PO19, 20, 21, 22 postcodes and the WRS figures show around 1300 Poles newly registered as working in the same postcodes. The comparable figures for Lithuanians are 313 and 248. The discrepancies probably arise from overlap with adjacent postcodes and employer's official addresses, and indeed many more workers are shown as working in PO18 rather than living there.

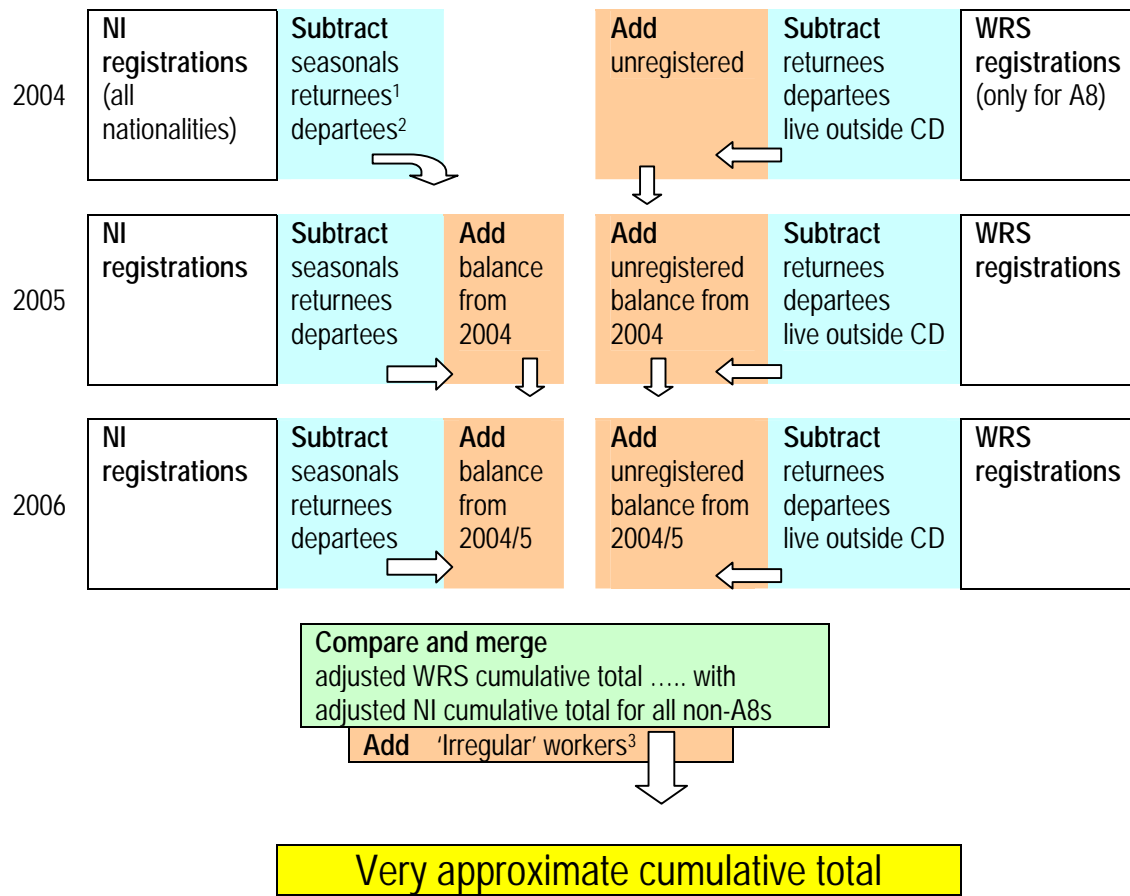
From these two main official sources it would clearly be useful to try to establish the numbers of new immigrants, though however frustrating it may be for those who need to know, this can only be done very tentatively.

We know that:

- the increase has been most significant since 2004
- nationally WRS registrations peaked at 58,800 in the third quarter of 2005 and have stayed at under 50,000 since
- some of the migration is seasonal
- the main nationalities are from the A8 countries
- some of the other largest national groups are European - Portuguese, German, Australian, Spanish
- amongst other ethnic groups the larger ones are African and Indian, though neither is numerically significant compared to the Eastern Europeans
- it is hard reliably to estimate the numbers of irregular workers.

Country	Postcode											
	GU31	GU30	GU29	GU28	GU27	RH20	RH14	PO20	PO19	PO18	PO10	
Albanian									1			1
Argentine			3	8					1			12
Australian	2		1		5	6		5	6	1	2	28
Bangladeshi					2		3	4	7			16
Brazilian								6	2	1		9
Bulgarian						3				1		4
Cambodian									1			1
Canadian			1						1	3	1	5
Chinese					1	1	1		8			11
Czech			1	3	1	11	1	4	10			31
Danish						1	1		1			3
Estonian										1	1	2
Finn/Greek/Dutch/Swiss/Swede/Austrian					1			2	5	2	1	11
French		2	1		1	4	1	3	11	3		26
German	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	5	11	2	1	28
Hungarian			3	1		3	1		5	1		14
India (+ 2 Nepal)			2	1	1	1		5	53	1		64
Iranian									3			3
Irish			1		2	1		2	7			13
Italian		2	1		1			1	4	7		16
Jamaican					2							2
Japanese	1						1	2	11	1		16
Kenya/Uganda									2		1	3
Korean						1			4			5
Latvian			2	4				15	5	1	1	28
Lebanese					2							2
Lithuanian				13		1		61	11	5		91
Malaysian			1			1			2			4
New Zealand				1	2	2		2				7
Pakistani							1		1		1	3
Filipino	1	2	1		2	1	4		15	2	1	29
Polish	11		38	18	14	10	7	408	106	33		645
Portuguese			1			1		14	14	3		33
Romanian		1	1		1			1	1	1		6
Russian		1			1						1	3
Slovak	1		7	5	1	10		2	9	2	1	38
South Africa	1		5	1	11	3		5	9	3	4	42
Spanish		1	3		1	1			37	2		45
Thai			4			1	2	2		2		11
Tunisian									1	1		2
Turk								3	1			4
Ukrainian							1		1			2
American	3					2	3		2			10
Vietnamese									7			7
Ghana/Niger/Nigeria/Cameroon/Liberia					1			1	2	1		5
Zambian								3	2			5
Zimbabwe		1	1		3			2	1			8
	21	12	79	56	57	67	28	558	381	80	16	1354

The theoretical process of arriving at cumulative totals is summarised below:



1. Returnees = to home countries
2. Departees = move to another part of the UK
3. Likely to be very low number

It should be clear from this that accuracy is very hard to achieve, and any figure suggested **could be inaccurate by as much as forty percent.**

On the basis of the process above it is suggested that the numbers of immigrants newly registering as **living** in the Chichester District since May 2004 has been 2,500, or about 2% of the population as measured in the 2001 Census.

This figure does not include at least 250 summer seasonal workers each year.

From other sources about 130 Portuguese could be added, people who over the A8 accession period changed from being migrant workers to settlers.

More focused data was acquired from the Home Office WRS on the coastal strip, since the previous data showed this was where most Eastern European migrants lived and worked. This table therefore only applies to A8 nationals:

	PO18	PO19	PO20	PO21	PO22	BN16	BN17
WRS 2005	459	154	501	1254	118	n/a	n/a
WRS Jan-June 2006	122	46	199	553	25	7	23
Totals							

	581	200	700	1807	243	7+	23+
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This suggests a monthly arrival rate in the significant CDC postcodes of around 90 in 2005 and under 60 in the first six months of 2006. In the Bognor postcodes the comparable rates are 114 and 85.

To focus upon developments and growth in specific populations, a comparison was done between NI registrations for key postcodes between July and October 2005 and the same period in 2006. The nationalities shown are the most common and/or those perceived as relevant to current trends (which is why the two Ukrainians are shown, for instance). It should be noted that the lowish numbers of Portuguese registrations add to the estimated existing population in the Littlehampton area of at least 150.

	Chichester PO19		Selsey PO20		Bognor PO21/22		Littlehampton BN16/17	
	2005	2006	2005	2006	2005	2006	2005	2006
Bangladeshi	2	2	3		2	3	1	
Brazilian			1		2	4	1	2
Czech	3	3			3	8	3	
Filipino	4	6		3	4	1	2	8
Indian	15	24	1	1	1		2	3
Latvian	1	1	4	3	28	16	17	11
Lithuanian	2	4	25	5	35	9	29	23
Polish	27	43	72	59	157	126	32	28
Portuguese		2	2	1	4	1	7	5
Romanian	1	2				1		
Slovak	3	5		2	10	2	5	3
South African		5		1	1	1		1
Spanish	8	15					1	
Ukrainian						1	1	

Total new NI registrations for A8 nationals July-Oct 2005	443
Total new NI registrations for A8 nationals July-Oct 2006	351

These figures may be very significant in that they show a **reduced rate of new arrivals**.

### Chichester's neighbours: local geography and economics

In the previous section the coastal strip was referred to, rather than the Chichester District itself. Chichester escapes some of the consequences of new migration because it is near areas where much cheaper housing is available, principally Bognor. It is also striking that in Bognor town centre there are seven employment agencies, all dealing primarily with Eastern Europeans workers who often work in the Chichester area, whereas there are none in Chichester. The larger agricultural employers recruit directly from overseas, but the Bognor agencies all supply workers to employers in the CD, some in agriculture, some in food production, some in factory



work, and some in the care and hospitality industry. This is one of the most obvious manifestations of a strong and constantly turning over labour market. In a way the situation almost mirrors that within Europe – a cheaper area serving a richer one, with migrant labour moving between the two.

Housing is an obvious area of tension, with an increase in population clearly being felt. Community tension is another. Bognor is colloquially referred to be some as Polska Regis. Two employment agencies told of persistent verbal abuse from passers by because ‘they give jobs to foreigner’, one had its front window kicked in. Several Eastern European people told of verbal abuse and of assaults – sometimes serious assaults – by groups of youths because of their nationality. It is no exaggeration to say that Eastern European languages are constantly audible in the streets and shops.

In one sense this is not a problem for Chichester to solve. But at the moment it gets many of the benefits of the presence of migrant workers – principally a cheap and flexible local labour force much liked by employers and adding to the prosperity of the district – but it avoids some attendant problems. On the other hand, Bognor and presumably Littlehampton have many other residents who work in the CD and their pay levels and spending contribute to their local economies.

## Employment

### The pattern of employment

We know from the WRS data that Eastern European immigrant workers are overwhelmingly in agricultural, horticultural or food processing work. The following table derived from all 2005 registrations gives a snapshot of this and how it is concentrated in the coastal strip.

	PO 18,19, 20	PO 21,22	RH 14,20	GU codes	Notes
Crop harvester	346	62	35	12	Mostly in PO18
Farm hand	131	329	10	11	
Packers	63	222	29	16	Mostly in PO20
Food processing	134	2	30	3	Mostly in PO20
Agricultural machinery	29	25	4	0	
Gardeners	23	9	7	4	
Flower picker	14	20	1	3	
Fruit picker	29	4	2	4	
Factory process worker	173	294	29	21	? 50% food related
Bakery	0	0	8	1	
<b>Totals</b>	<b>942</b>	<b>967</b>	<b>155</b>	<b>75</b>	

The next most common occupations do not even come close in terms of scale. Around half of factory process workers are in factory work that is not food related, and there is other associated work in warehousing and driving which employs about

55 people overall in the four postcode groupings. The next cluster of occupations is in hospitality and catering:

	PO 18,19, 20	PO 21,22	RH 14,20	GU	Notes
Bar staff	4	17	4	2	
Kitchen staff	29	49	17	23	
Hotel maids, porters	12	26	3	13	
Hotel/office reception	2	2	2	3	More often Czech
Waiter/waitress	15	24	1	7	
Leisure industry	3	110	0	0	Almost all PO21 (Butlins)
Entertainers	0	15	0	0	
Totals	<b>65</b>	<b>243</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>48</b>	

Followed by work associated with personal care, some of which (from information provided by agencies) is cleaning in such settings

	PO 18,19, 20	PO 21,22	RH 14,20	GU	Notes
Cleaners/domestics	11	30	5	18	Ave age 35
Care assistants/carers/ nurse auxiliaries	13	37	1	16	
Work with children	4	3	1	3	
Totals	<b>28</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>37</b>	

Work in other spheres is clearly very limited:

	PO 18,19, 20	PO 21,22	RH 14,20	GU
Administration	4	16	3	7
Shop assistants	6	9	9	4
Skilled manual trades	4	10	0	3
Supervisory	3	9	1	2
Building	24	9	6	20
Totals	<b>41</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>36</b>

Nationally, the distribution of WRS registrations across different occupations has remained fairly constant since 2004, driving being the only job seeing a steady increase. There is a small number of individuals working in higher paid and professional jobs such as three social workers, an optician, four teachers, three nurses, civil, computer, electrical and mechanical engineers, an architect (and three architectural technicians), surveyors, personal assistants, and several people in retail/ factory/office/warehouse/bar/catering/HR management.

NI registrations show that the vast majority of new workers in the area are Eastern Europeans, so we can be confident that the range of work shown in the WRS figures account for most of the work done by immigrants. The most obvious exception is the

(relatively) small number of Filipinos, Indians and some Africans working in care homes.

There is a national estimate that 100,000 Eastern Europeans are involved in the building trade. Whether significant numbers are self-employed in such work locally is hard to ascertain, and although local builders questioned were not conscious of any new competition from independent small firms, they were aware of Polish workers supplied by agencies being taken on by some firms. There are rumours of Polish men knocking on doors offering cheap drive paving, employed by Irish builders, but it is not easy to substantiate this. There is a cluster of just seven Polish carpenters WRS registered in a GU postcode in the north of the district.

## Agriculture

Farms and greenhouses on the Sussex coastal strip now supply Britain's major supermarket chains nationwide with a range of salad products in response to growing demand – one company had a turnover of £34 million in 2004 reached 76 million in 2006 and expects to reach 87 million in 2007. The scale of the greenhouses is huge, some easily accommodating several football pitches. The processing side of this business works around the clock, employing workers on seven twelve hour shifts. To help fuel this growth it is clearly to the benefit of local employers to have a cheap workforce available, a workforce that is also flexible in being readily expandable and contractible. Historically, most people who migrate for work are young and this tendency is reinforced here by the physical demands of this kind of work - the vast majority of workers in these firms are not past their early thirties. The overall sex ratio is about even with a slight preponderance of males, though within companies there is some gendered division of labour.

The employers are aware that they are the subject of multiple, generally hostile, perceptions. These include that they exploit the foreign workers, either by paying them (illegally) less than the minimum wage, or paying the minimum wage but that British workers would not tolerate such a pay level, or that they are technically paid the minimum wage but have to work very long hours to really achieve it, or that even if paid apparently well, extortionate deductions are taken for housing and transport to work. While apparently showing sympathy with the workers, these rumours coexist with perceptions that the immigrants are taking British people's jobs, keeping down local wage levels and fundamentally changing the character of the area for the worse while the employers live elsewhere and make a good profit. Additional negative stories about uninsured drivers, drunken behaviour and benefit fraud may also indirectly blame employers.

Wage levels are hard to determine because of variations in hours worked. Piecework is generally seasonal, not all year round, so earnings through the year do not match the £400 gross per week that is possible when harvesting. In the 2005-6 tax year the minimum wage regulations for agricultural workers of more than 19 years old were:

Rate per 5 day week, 39 hours	Rate per day	Rate per hour	Overtime rate per hour
£207.00	£41.40	£5.31	£7.96

National studies suggest that around 75% of A8 nationals are on the minimum wage.

Over the period covered in the diagram on page 7 there has been a shift in recruitment practices in respect of

- The nationalities employed
- The balance between permanent and temporary staff
- The use of agencies
- The standards required of agencies
- The formal co-operation with immigration authorities.

### *Nationalities employed*

The largest numbers employed are now Polish, simply because Poland's population outnumbers all the other Eastern European countries put together. Some companies make a point of only employing specific nationalities, partly because from experience they like them as employees, partly because supervision and communication is easier with monolingual teams, and lastly because some of the work requires a strong team element for efficient harvesting and production.. Because of chance factors and the process of chain migration, some employers have found that a couple of years ago their workforces were mainly from the Baltic states but are now mainly Polish. This information accords with both National Insurance and WRS data. The former gives the distribution of nationalities as follows:

Nationality	% WRS 2005
Czech Republic	3.2%
Estonia	1%
Slovenia	5.5%
Hungary	1.8%
Latvia	10.7%
Lithuania	20.9%
Poland	56.8%

There are small anomalies such as Lithuanian 2006 registrations outnumbering Poles in PO18, but the overall distribution remains pretty much as above. NI registrations show a similar pattern (though note that this data relates to workers' home addresses, not employers' addresses).

Most employers say the Portuguese were more in evidence in the past and they certainly occur less often than previously in new National Insurance registrations. The decline in their numbers may be due to their not being available in the same numbers as Eastern Europeans, or they may have raised aspirations after some years' experience here, and/or they may have been undercut by Eastern Europeans willing to work for less. Because of factors in the Portuguese economy they also tended to be older than current migrant workers, typically in their late 30s.

A range of other nationalities were also in evidence in the past and several authoritative informants (as well as newspaper coverage) suggests numbers of these were illegal immigrants and asylum seekers working illegally ('Chinese, Iraqis, Afghans..... who knows...?'). One of the effects of EU expansion has been to reduce this component of the workforce because it is simply not necessary: as other details in this report suggest, with a ready and constant supply of A8 nationals it is not worth an employer's while to break the law.

Recruitment practices in the larger employers relate to the conditions of work. It is often in both the employers' and workers' interests for staff to work in very effective teams: picking and processing is more efficient and profitable this way, and since the

workers are on piecework rates (especially at harvest time) the more they do the more they earn. Staff may therefore travel to the sending countries (principally Poland) and spend days interviewing and constructing viable harmonious teams. This obviously leads to teams all speaking the same language with little or no need for English at work, though leaders are recruited with good English and most employers seem to employ supervisors from the workers' home countries. Some firms seem to resent having to have a range of documents governing working conditions in the workers' languages (most often Polish, of course), others regard it as an inevitable minor cost.

As mentioned elsewhere, SAWS workers before the enlargement of the EU came from various A8 countries as well as Russia and the Ukraine. Some employers still recruit from these countries because they have established connections, one maintaining since 1996 a relationship with a Ukrainian university from where they recruit their summer SAWS workforce.

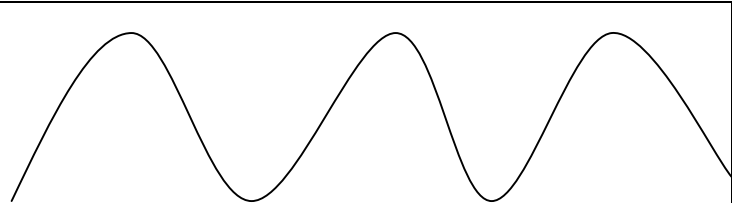
#### *The balance between permanent and temporary staff*

The national data from WRS registrations shows agriculture to be the most seasonal of all the work A8 migrants are engaged in, with 2005 figures varying by quarter from 4,000, to 9,295, to 6,695, to 2,705.

These agricultural and food producing employers vary in the proportion of permanent staff they employ, but it is not true to assume (as it once was) that they are nearly all temporary. One for instance, has 350 workers, 140 of whom are permanent, 100 temporary and recruited locally and 100 are hired on a seasonal basis via the Home Office visa scheme (from the Ukraine). The advantage of the SAWS visa workers is that they are motivated to work as hard as they can to fund their studies back home, and they are ultimate flexible workforce – they come to Britain when they are needed and have to leave when they are not. Of the 140 permanent staff most are Eastern Europeans working through 24/7 shifts in processing and packing bagged salads, which come from Spain when the UK season is over.

Most of the office and administration staff in all the companies interviewed are British, though 'promotion is rapid' for some of the very educated Eastern Europeans workers as their English improves. One employer has 84 permanent staff, of whom 56 are British, 12 Lithuanian, 6 Portuguese, 4 Brazilian, 3 Polish and 2 Latvian. Others have various nationalities in a range of supervisory and administrative positions, with an HR manager speaking of being able to take 'only the best people' and of many of the workers being 'sharp, bright, very carer minded, taking nothing for granted, and highly focused upon increasing their earning capacity'. Another complained of not even being able to get office supervisors from the local British population and stressed the skill levels needed for some of the 'manual' work – precision seed drilling for instance, and good tractor drivers. Yet another said his company had at one time been spending £120,000 per year to recruit British workers, largely without success.

Another employer summarised employment needs and changing patterns in the following diagram:

Employed through agency, part time, seasonal		0-200 per day <sup>1</sup>	low pay ↓ higher pay
Employed directly full time, seasonal		100 winter 120 summer <sup>2</sup>	
Full time permanent		402	

- 1 40% Polish; 40% Lithuanian, 20% Portuguese, Latvian, Estonian  
2 Predicted to be 196 in summer 2007

The change the employer wanted to draw attention to was (apart from the shift in nationalities reported by everyone else) that only four years ago most of the non-permanent workers were hourly paid and now they are not. This reflects the stability and reliability of the business and their wish to develop skill levels and loyalty in the people they employ. Evidence that this is an effective business strategy was given: of a group of workers left to take up work elsewhere, 15 came back within a month. In the workforce as a whole they anticipated an annual retention rate of 60%, whereas it is 92%. Another detail worth noting is that of the 400 full time permanent staff, 35 are immigrants.

Other employers have different patterns, partly dependent upon the nature of the work. One which began to contract in the 1990s because of changes in demand for particular products, has arrested this by developing new niches, for instance in providing herbs for supermarkets. Work in this concern is almost all year-round and fuelled by immigrant workers; British ones, in former years bussed in, 'were not great workers'.

At least one employer of around 250 Eastern European staff employs them all through an agency, therefore technically not employing them at all but taking them on a daily basis. In practice these are permanent full time workers, many having been in this situation for over two years. It is a situation which suits the employer very well, since they have continuity of skill sand experience with no responsibilities towards their workforce (since it is not legally 'theirs') and there are no potential redundancy costs. As one local interviewee said 'Some employers just saw what was on offer with cheap labour and just ran with it.'

Partly in contrast to this, it was striking how many of the employers displayed positive, almost parental feelings about the workers from Eastern Europe. Several individuals from different companies have travelled to the sender countries for recruitment, and

all spoke very positively of the experience and the warmth with which they were treated. Clearly some longstanding friendships have developed.

Presumably because farms have long accommodated workers, and because it would be impossible to recruit workers for unsocial and long hours in a rural area, it has always been necessary to provide accommodation. As workers have become permanent with the season stretching, this is provided less. Speaking of the first group of Ukrainians recruited under the SAWS, one employer wrote

We accommodated them in a couple of farm cottages at \*\*\*\*\*, and were exposed for the very first time to the uniqueness of their culture and their work ethic etc. Directors of our business today were the hands on managers then, picking them up from the station, driving them to the accommodation, providing them with their first meal in the UK (fish and chips from the local takeaway).

Employers may vary on the health checks they demand before employing seasonal and SAWS workers. One at least does have such checks before workers are recruited to SAWS but thought most 'probably don't bother'.

#### *The use of agencies and gangmasters*

From numerous sources the impression is given of exploitative and quite ruthless agency practices in the past. 'Some employers just took the cheap labour and ran with it'. Legal immigration status was not checked, employers frankly admit suspecting this and colluding with it, 'extortionate' deductions were made by agencies for transport and accommodation. This may not have entirely disappeared but seems to have declined as regulation increased and as companies grew and became more important in supplying household names thus needing to avoid negative stories about themselves. The threat of immigration raids (when workers literally ran away across the fields) cannot have been good for production. As the season lengthened with new production practices and a developing market, some employers argue that it was worth their while to have a permanent workforce who could be trained, developed, and become committed to the company. One said 'We have very little requirement for agency labour compared to our position 2 years ago' and another prefers not to use them if possible even in times of high demand at the height of the season, finding them 'poorer quality' than SAWS workers. Another no longer has any need of the Asians they used to recruit in around 2000 from a large agency in Slough. One informant said 'Gangmasters..... well, they rightly have a bad name', another commented 'I never cease to be amazed at how many people are prepared to exploit others...'

The standards required of agencies/gangmasters have also been raised (in practice there is no worthwhile distinction when workers are supplied to and not directly employed by the workplace). By October 2006 all agencies had to be licensed and most of the larger 1000 or so probably were. The licensing authority is in a position to insist that workers have national insurance numbers and seems to have some role in monitoring the standards of farm-supplied accommodation.

#### *The formal co-operation with immigration and other authorities*

Several employers admitted that in the past they were not as scrupulous as they might have been about checking workers' legal status. It may not always have been easy. Immigration officials themselves acknowledge that some false Portuguese passports held by Brazilians were not easy to tell from the real thing, and since some

Latvian nationals quite legitimately also have Russian passports it can be hard for an expert to tell the difference between a Russian claiming to be a Latvian and a 'real' Latvian from the Russian-speaking minority.

Though they would hardly say anything else to a researcher, all stressed that things were now more regularised with active co-operation with the immigration authorities. There is no strong reason to disbelieve this, since as has already been pointed out, there is a new situation of a ready supply of legal workers willing to work at the minimum wage, so there is little incentive to break the law unless it is to pay less than that.... Given the pressure from immigration authorities and some concern about their reputation with the national chains they were supplying, some employers were doing *daily* passport checks on staff. A ready supply of legal A8 workers means they no longer need to be involved in this, and sources in the Gangmasters Authority say they are currently finding no illegal workers *at all*.

All employers said they complied with the Home Office's Workers' Registration Scheme which insists A8 citizens are registered for a year before they are allowed any benefits. While the Home Office regards this as straightforward few employers do:

I asked my team again about the Workers Registration – we confirm that still a paperwork nightmare. It is an absolute requirement for all the East/Central Europeans to register under this scheme within one month of starting a new job. If they do not apply within one month, their employment is considered illegal after that date, and will continue to be illegal until they obtain a registration certificate. We facilitate the process to ensure legality and this means coordinating all the paperwork, registration form, accompanying letter from employer for each application, and passport photos for each, and passport. If the employee leaves us and comes back (which is quite common), as they return the next season, the whole process must be done again. I believe that anything more than a 3 month break requires reregistering to be done.

And as mentioned elsewhere in this report, not all employers bother with it. Employers also inevitably get involved with National Insurance registration, previously carried out at the Chichester JobCentre but now 'rationalised' to Brighton, with a waiting list of weeks for an appointment.

### **Work in care homes**

Although there are foreign-born and trained nurses and other health professionals in the NHS, the British health economy no longer needs qualified nurses, a previous shortage having been addressed by increased training and the reduction of posts. Nurses are no longer on the Home Office's list of preferred occupations for immigration. St Richard's hospital has not recruited abroad for some time.

British qualified nurses, albeit enrolled ones, are much less willing to work in elder care because of career progression, lower skill levels, and the rural location of many of the homes. It is more menial nursing with lower status. Therefore another sphere of employment whose employees are largely of overseas origin is nursing staff in care homes. There are many of these in the Chichester district. One national company with 170 homes, eight of them in West Sussex, calculates that of every 100 nursing staff they interview and appoint, 95 are from overseas, mainly from the Philippines and China.



Chinese and Filipina nurses are seldom if ever recognised initially in Britain, so have to undertake an adaptation programme. In the past, when completed, some went into work in the NHS, but since the reduction in vacancies some stay in care homes or seek work in yet other countries, principally English speaking ones with good conditions: the USA, Australia, and New Zealand.

Aside from nursing staff, several eastern Europeans are employed in various ancillary roles, as shown in the WRS data. Agencies reported that these were often 'bank' staff employed on a daily basis often at very short notice, and that the local market was saturated with workers, thus having no need of any more.

### **Employment agencies**

In agricultural work, a distinction needs to be made between the handful of national agencies licensed by the Home Office to recruit SAWS workers from abroad, and agencies/gangmasters that recruit and place workers within Britain.

The local agencies supplying to agriculture or other work seldom recruit from abroad, they don't need to. All give the impression of a constant *daily* flow of job seekers walking through their doors, thus providing almost all the staff they place. The great majority are from Eastern Europeans, some literally coming straight from the airport. They are frequently chain migrants, the relatives, friends or neighbours in the home country of people already here. Virtually all of the work the agencies deal with is still seasonal and all of it temporary, but they are looking to expand into other non-agricultural work, which is less seasonal (though it may follow a different pattern, for instance production rushes at Christmas). They seldom recruit for jobs needing much English and some employers insist on some for health and safety reasons. The rate of increase in demand may be judged from the fact that one agency only began in 2002, but now employs seven full time staff, manages 16 places where workers are accommodated, and employ between 350 and 500 a week, though this changes daily.

Nationally there are gangmasters/agencies who bring daily workers in buses from who knows where, and transfer them quite long distances around the country for factory work, contract cleaning, and the like. It is difficult to be certain, but it is unlikely that such workers are present in the CDC area to any great extent, it seeming to more of a large urban phenomenon. Currently such gangmasters are not subject to the Gangmasters Licensing Authority, which only regulates agriculture and food processing.

The agencies are part of an economic chain that depends on a flexible labour force. At one end is the consumer who is attracted by special offers and temporary highlighting of particular goods. Next is the supermarket chain which may (if the offer is effective) have an overnight increase in demand for a particular salad arrangement. They order this increase from regular and occasional suppliers who have to meet the demand or lose future business, so in turn they need agency supplied workers in varying numbers on a daily basis. At times the contracted agency (which will charge an hourly rate per worker to cover the minimum wage, transport costs, other overheads and their profit) may not have enough people on their books so they partially sub-contract to another agency. At the end of the line is an immigrant worker who may get a ten hour shift one day and nothing the next. Anonymity is perhaps reinforced by the practice some agencies think is at work, that of substitution of one worker for another, perhaps sharing a job because of sickness, the wrong papers, or mutual support.

A detail that exemplifies the tightness of profit margins is the rule governing entitlement to the national agricultural minimum wage, which is higher than the general minimum wage. A workplace processing food *grown in the UK* has to pay the agricultural wage, but if seasonal or sudden demand fluctuations mean foreign-grown food is being processed, pay can revert to the ordinary minimum wage.

The attitudes of the agencies towards the workers they are placing were not straightforward. Some clearly had some notion that it would be preferable to employ British people, but “Employers say ‘please don’t send us English workers’ so what can we do?” was the sentiment expressed by several. Some seemed to have quite negative feelings towards the immigrants at times, and were inconsistent on whether they were good workers or basically lazy, though it was also said that locals did not want the work. When figures were raised, they seemed unaware of very low unemployment locally and hence what could be a main plank in their own defence against the widespread feeling (of which they could not help but be aware) that they were giving British jobs to foreigners. While almost always saying that Eastern Europeans were good workers (with various preferences for Czechs over Poles, Latvians over Lithuanians, or nostalgia for the Portuguese) it was also sometimes employment agencies who repeated stories of benefit fraud and spoke resentfully (and erroneously) of priority being given to Eastern Europeans in social housing.

All the agencies and several employers have accounts of worker trajectories upwards in the responsibility and pay scale, but it was impossible to form a reliable picture of this.

## Information about the immigrants themselves

### Eastern Europeans

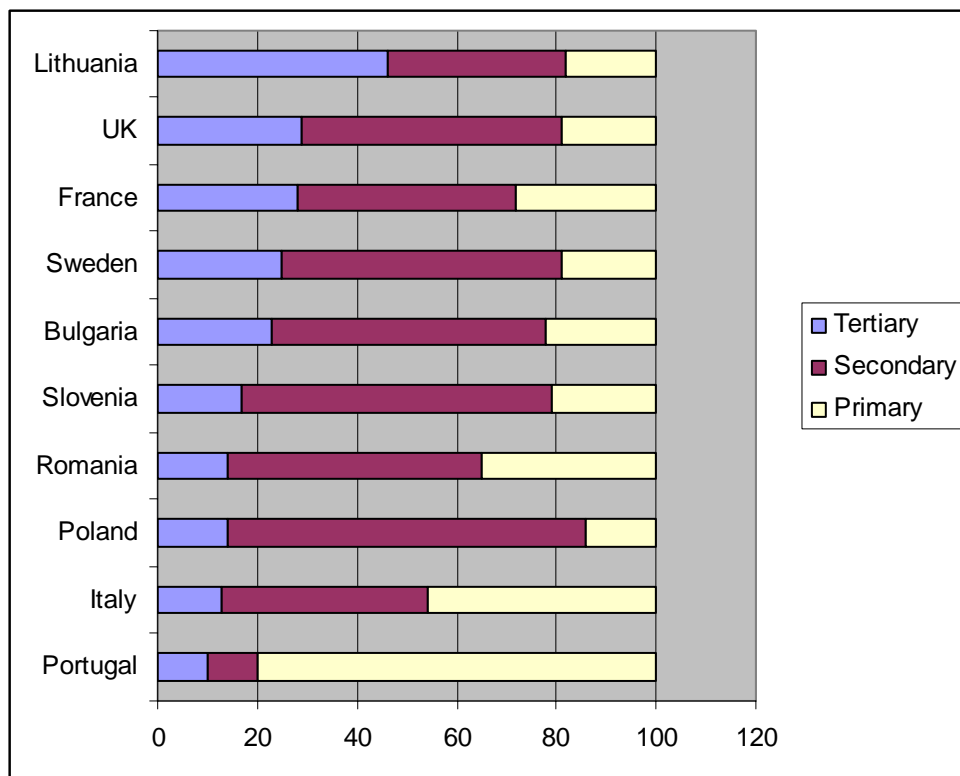
It is clear from the WRS data and information from employers that most of the Eastern European immigrant workforce is in the low wage sector. With literally a handful of exceptions they are employed in manual farm work, food processing and packing, factory process work, bar, kitchen and food serving, cleaning, low paid care of children and elderly adults, and shop work.

We also know that most of the Eastern Europeans in Britain are in the 18-35 age range (only 6% are 45 or older) and this is also true for Chichester. The median age for those who are WRS registered in the area is 25. Nearly 74% of those registered are below 30, compared with about 18% of the local native population at the time of the 2001 census. This is not to ignore the smaller numbers who are older (one agricultural employer’s oldest manual worker is 48). There is slightly higher proportion of men but this is not significant, and the sex ratio seems to be consistent throughout the age range. Nationally only 7% have dependents with them, according to an analysis of WRS applications (not all dependents are children).

Education levels are hard to generalise about. It is certainly wrong to extrapolate from the work immigrants are currently doing to their real potential, because many are working well below their level of qualifications because their English prevents them using their skills and because appropriate work is less available than unskilled manual work. Some employers make a point of recruiting people with education past, or well past, the age of sixteen years knowing full well that they will not be using people’s full capacities, but reasoning that they will be more motivated and

adaptable. . A national study, albeit with a small sample, indicated that Polish workers had more often than not stayed at school beyond the school leaving age, and were slightly more educated than other A8 nationals working here. Another study emanating from the Polish Embassy showed that 22% have FE or HE qualifications. A further study showed that *seasonal* A8 nationals were slightly younger on average and less educated. The local questionnaire sample carried out for this research reveals an average length of education of 14.6; those who left school at 16 numbered only eleven people. As employers sometimes said, 'we have nurses picking lettuces, and graduates driving tractors'.

To counter some images of ill-educated poorer countries the following cross-Europe comparison derived from OECD figures in 2001 may be instructive:



All employers and agencies cited examples of workers they liked and respected for their skills and high motivation. An issue that will emerge later when future prospects are discussed is the social distinctions within the immigrants. Nationality aside, there are differences of social class, education and motivation that may be easily glossed over in an attempt to generalise too much. While they are united in being immigrants and wanting to earn money, some Poles like to read novels in Polish, learn English to the extent of passing exams, look for supervisory or management jobs and/or plan to use their degree in some way. Others work as many hours as they need to eat and drink well, buy a car with kudos, and not plan much beyond next month. Such variations exist in the British population too..... One informed Polish commentator observed that the reputation of Polish workers as being very hard-working was not a reflection of any uniquely Polish work ethic so much as a reaction to having jobs that paid enough to live, and overtime that paid enough to save.

Religion also shapes the life of some migrants more than others. Poland is probably the most actively Roman Catholic country in Europe and some (by no means all) Polish people here are regular church attenders. For complex historical reasons

religion is less evident in the other A8 countries and is not much in evidence among migrants here.

While the majority of the new population is Polish and speak Polish, there are linguistic dynamics and subtleties, summarised below:

	Linguistically related to	Main national linguistic minorities	Other languages sometimes understood	Main 2 <sup>nd</sup> language in schools after demise of Russian
Polish	Czech, Slovakian	Ukrainian, Belorussian, German	German	English
Czech	Slovakian	No large ones	German, Slovakian	English
Estonian	Hungarian	Russian	Russian	English
Hungarian	Finnish Estonian (slightly)	Roma, Slovak		English
Latvian	Lithuanian, Estonian	Russian	Russian	English
Lithuanian	Latvian	Russian, Polish	Russian	English
Slovakian	Czech	Hungarian	Slovakian	English
Slovenian	Serbian, Bulgarian	No large ones		English

Older people from all these countries will have had some education in Russian during Soviet times, but there are relatively few of that generation in Britain. There are also Latvian and Lithuanian citizens who are from those countries' minority populations of ethnic Russians.

A couple of agencies made some gender distinctions and stated preferences, at times supported by employers. For example, it was suggested that Britain was less patriarchal than Poland and women saw here an opportunity to use their talents and do jobs denied to them in Poland. An employer suggested the average age of male workers was higher.

In the questionnaire sample almost all had come directly from their home countries to the area, though a handful had worked elsewhere in the UK, and a smaller number elsewhere in Europe. A very small number had been in Britain well before their countries' accession to the EU<sup>6</sup>.

### Other nationalities

The Portuguese population, as summarised in the chart on page 7, came originally as seasonal migrant workers as much as ten years ago, perhaps a thousand each year. It is widely acknowledged that a significant proportion at the time were not really Portuguese, but Brazilians with documents of dubious legality. When the shift to Eastern European workers took place fewer seasonal workers came from Portugal, and the Brazilians all but stopped coming. A small proportion of the Portuguese workers (a hundred or so) settled in Selsey and many have moved into other work and off the lowest minimum wage band. They were an older population than the current migrants, are mostly in family units and many of the settlers brought children from Portugal or have given birth to children more recently.

Systematic data about other nationalities' ages and possible educational levels is not available, but since the largest single clusters are recruited for nursing work in care homes, we know they have educational experience well past secondary schooling. This is confirmed by some data about children with English as an additional language (EAL) needs in schools along the coastal strip: the fact that the Philippine's language of Tagalog is disproportionately represented compared to other nationalities suggests an older group of adults.

## Housing

### Introduction

In agricultural work, in particular, the workforce can easily be expanded at a much faster rate than appropriate housing. Housing is therefore the most obvious pressure point with a sizeable increase in the immigrant population, not all of whom are working in agriculture. The following section applies mainly but not exclusively to farming workers, and where it exclusively applies to them is it obvious. Of the 240 immigrants in the survey, 12% said they had experienced difficulty with housing.

As far as the Chichester District is concerned the potential problem of housing the increase in immigrants is solved in seven ways:

- Seasonal workers are mostly housed in mobile homes on the farms
- Some farms provide more permanent accommodation in converted cottages, farm buildings etc
- Some agencies that supply workers also provide accommodation, from a converted convent with almost 90 spaces to houses subdivided into bedsits and flats
- Workers find private rented accommodation in Chichester
- Workers find private rented accommodation in the cheapest area in the District – Selsey
- Workers find private rented accommodation outside the District in cheaper towns – Bognor and Littlehampton
- Immigrant families accessing social housing.

### Mobile homes

#### *Negative stories*

There is a degree of public misperception about these, in that some assume they are occupied year-round and hence amount to very sub-standard accommodation (they are not new mobile homes) Stories circulate about very high deductions for rent and power and sub-standard conditions within the caravans, as well as noise disturbance from parties during the summer months.

*Some findings.* In principle the Council's Environmental Health department has responsibility for licensing the provision of mobile homes, and they would also be subject to planning permission, but this responsibility really relates to quite old legislation designed for holiday caravan parks. Mobile homes for housing farm workers sited on agricultural land are exempt from the planning permission needed for year-round occupancy, so while there are general provisions about fire safety that have to be met, inspection is seldom carried out on more than an annual basis and it would seem that the standard of housing is not really subject to inspection.

Without suggesting that there are never incidences of the season being 'stretched', it should be noted that farmers have relatively little need to contravene housing regulations by having workers in mobile homes into the winter since their workforce is smaller outside the summer season. The season is clearly stretched by some owners however, perhaps to ten months, with some mobile homes offering very poor living conditions being occupied in mid-November 2006. These are likely to be invisible to nearby roads, behind other farm buildings, and unlikely to be objected to by vulnerable temporary workers.

At another location viewed during the research there was accommodation for 200 *seasonal* staff, with some facilities for meeting indoors, internet access, and barbecues. Doubtless mobile homes shared by up to five manual workers working 60 hour weeks will not be the most salubrious of environments, but the ones viewed were not rural slums into which hapless and helpless workers are forced. Apart from anything else, it is in the owners' interests to keep the accommodation in good condition for succeeding years. For the last two years one company has charged a weekly £45 each to four sharers in a mobile home, inclusive of light and power, but new rules (the subject of consultation in late 2006) will set a maximum of £29. An employer suggested that this, along with transport costs between sites they have to absorb 'would put growers out of business.' The site manager at this latter location confirmed that complaints were sometimes received about noise, though it has to be said that this facility is not close to many other residences. He insisted that harmonious links had been developed with the residents' association. It is the perception of Environmental Health that neighbours are less tolerant and somehow more fearful about noise from Eastern Europeans, though in terms of complaints it is more often an issue with student housing.

As regards exploitative conditions, it was very striking that this particular employer went to the Ukraine regularly and had a sincere regard for the Ukrainians he was involved with (SAWS workers, all second or third year undergraduates). The continuity over several years with the same agency and university argues against the proposition that workers come unawares to the mobile home accommodation. On the other hand, as the previous case clearly shows, *some owners are prepared to have workers in sub-standard accommodation during the winter and it is likely that neither 'market forces' – in the form of other options for the workers – nor regulation, currently prevent this.*

### **Accommodation in converted cottages, farm buildings etc.**

*Negative stories*

Few negative accounts were heard about these, except for some clearly were not informed enough to distinguish between converted buildings, farm sheds and mobile homes.

*Some findings.* Again some of these were viewed as part of the research process, though not with the skills of a housing inspector (and they are subject to EHO inspection). It is worth reporting, however, that there are converted to building standards and are permanent brick constructions, not farm sheds. On the site viewed there was permanent accommodation for 38 people. Common social areas were also viewed, along with kitchen areas, food storage etc. Because people housed here work in food production there were contracted cleaners for the shared kitchen area, temperature checks on the fridges and freezers containing the residents' food, and numerous food safety notices in workers' home languages. These food safety standards exceeded comparable provision in student accommodation at the university. The rooms themselves were in some

ways comparable, with the proviso that students are likely to spend more time in campus-based study bedrooms than manual workers working 60 hour weeks. The rent is about £50 per week, self catering accommodation with shared facilities at the university cost £70 per week. In future, after legislation enacted in April 2006, such accommodation will require Council licensing (see below).

### Agency-run hostel accommodation

*Negative stories*

.....are common, some probably out of date. One employer frankly admitted his dependence in the past upon 'ruthless' agencies (now apparently out of business) who supplied and housed workers locally in poor conditions. Some people confuse the largest agency-run hostel, an old convent, with the homeless hostel on the same stretch of road. This hostel was viewed during the research. Its official maximum capacity is 89, and currently houses 40, but rumours abound about extortionate rents deducted from wages, drunken fights, as well as 'hot-bedding' with night shifts, homeless friends sharing single rooms, and even lines of mattresses in its huge loft space. Set back from the road, it is potentially mysterious as well as presumably known to accommodate immigrant workers who come and go to work and to the supermarket in the agent's minibuses. It is an easy target for rumours, ill-informed, malicious, or both.

*Some findings.* The old convent's status at the time of the research was as a 'house of multiple occupation', though the agency that runs it was pursuing HMO licensing under new rules. This would entail different space allowances per person (especially in rooms designated doubles) if the building's third floor was to be used at all and a new legal maximum occupancy of 65. The individual rooms on this floor (not the loft!) have been used for summer workers but the whole floor is unheated and currently securely padlocked. Though built to high Victorian constructional standards the old convent is beginning to look run down and there are constant maintenance jobs. The rooms are not luxurious (but bigger than in private flats), the furniture is old (the chapel is full of even more down-market rejects), washing facilities are shared and there are very basic kitchenettes. There is a TV room and a room with gym exercise equipment (and a large room with piles of property left by departing residents, some of which is later claimed). Shared areas are cleaned by contractors, occupants clean their own rooms. Hot breakfasts (5.30am-9.00am) and evening meals are provided seven days a week, partly for the convenience of the predominantly male workers on their long shifts, and partly a necessity, since the cost of installation and oversight of adequate self-catering facilities would be prohibitive. The weekly rent in late 2006 was £47.50, with an additional charge of £21 for the week's meals. Occupants can be accommodated for up to two weeks on the basis of one day's work, though may be asked to leave at once for serious rule-breaking.

It is clearly not an easy facility to manage. Maintenance, fire safety, prohibiting smoking, monitoring and limiting nonpaying 'guests', electrical risks, disputes that will arise amongst any group of people sharing accommodation, drunkenness, arguments within or about relationships – all of these are handled in the end by the managing agents. Given the charges cited above it is clearly not a money-making enterprise, but it provides the instant accommodation needed if the agency is to meet the demands of employers. Workless and homeless workers walk into the agency daily, straight from the airport, and some are accommodated at this hostel – if newly arrived in Britain they will have no references or money for a deposit. Some Portuguese workers have lived there (with some breaks back in

Portugal) for almost three years, though the majority are now Polish and stay a much shorter time, either finding their own accommodation or moving into one of the agency's 15 houses. As part of the jigsaw of provision it is hard to see Europe how it could be replaced, at least for the moment. There is no sign of expansion of this kind of provision in Chichester, current applications for HMO licensing being almost all student accommodation.

### **Private rented accommodation in Chichester**

In practice this is used very little because of Chichester property values. There is a small number of premises occupied by Eastern Europeans which have evidently been the subject of complaints. These perhaps attract disproportionate attention from neighbours reportedly 'more fearful' of immigrant workers than (for instance) students, who might cause just as much noise disturbance, irritation and car parking nuisance.

### **Private rented accommodation in Selsey**

*Negative stories*

Because of the lack of references no agencies will let to a newly arrived foreigner, but one agency immediately declared its unwillingness to let to the 25-30 year old Polish men who came through their door. 'We can tell just by looking at them that they're Polish', they said, though also routinely ask their nationality before stating they had nowhere suitable. The rationale was that 'they leave a place 'like a pig sty', they were 'rough' and they 'drank too much vodka'. They were positive about Portuguese people, who were more often couples or families though they felt 'they come for the benefits and special services for children'.

*Some findings.* Despite the presence of Portuguese people there for some years, private lettings of flats and bedsits does not seem to be extensive. It was suggested that this may be due to the nature of the housing stock – being mainly family houses. Some entire houses are certainly let out (subject to the barrier of references) but there does not seem to be a significant presence of Eastern Europeans living in the town - which is after all considerably smaller than Chichester or the two towns in Arun considered next.

### **Private rented accommodation in Bognor Regis (and Littlehampton)**

*Negative stories*

The presence of Eastern Europeans in Bognor is much more marked and obvious, along with a range of 'stories'. One agent was very explicit about being unwilling to let to Eastern Europeans at first, turning them away whether they had places available or not, but this was rationalised on an 'England for the English' basis rather than being specifically directed at Eastern Europeans.

After a while market forces compelled this agency to take Eastern Europeans as tenants and they now acknowledge that they are good, often better tenants than local people. They had contradictory views of the new immigrants, however: 'they are lovely people, but some cheat'. As good tenants, some were allegedly grossly exploited by previous (often employer) landlords both in terms of prices charged and also very poor quality accommodation; they thought of them as hard workers, indeed to the extent of being exploited by employers (some local large ones were named in relation to very long hours, low pay and bad conditions amongst the caravans). Letting agents (and others) also recounted stories of unjustified claims for housing benefit, multi-occupation beyond the terms of



leases, several families sharing small flats and the consequent avoidance of council tax, as well as the familiar tales of single workers 'hot bedding'.

*Some findings.* All the agencies say that private landlords have caught on very quickly to the new market and that there is a thriving trade in private lettings – 50% now going to Eastern Europeans, including some outside the 20-35 age range usually referred to. Some private landlords have even been known to approach strangers offering accommodation, presumably taking the risk of doing without references from new arrivals. In this respect the local private housing market has adjusted very quickly.

It was acknowledged by some agents that they could not guarantee that over-occupation wasn't happening, with friends using each other's floors. Though one agent at least had the impression that there were fewer new homeless arrivals than previously, it seems inevitable that, at least on a temporary basis, some rented accommodation is crowded beyond its supposed capacity. For varying periods therefore, and on a scale which it is impossible to estimate, there is some council tax evasion. Clearly immigration has grown much faster than social housing is able to and it is doubtful that the private market has kept pace.

## Social housing

### Negative stories

Staff at both Chichester and Arun District councils are ruefully aware of the misperception amongst some of the general public that migrants are in some way given priority for social housing – indeed they are challenged with this myth 'almost daily'. Disappointed applicants voice the idea that 'of course if I was an immigrant I'd go straight to the top of the queue' and others voice it too. A senior member of staff in an employment agency *insisted* there was a government directive to prioritise immigrants and that he had been told this by a council official. Where immigrants are in private accommodation, it is often wrongly assumed that they are drawing housing benefit. Very strong sentiments were expressed by officials from housing authorities elsewhere in the country about housing being the most serious issue around which hostility to immigrants focused. A CRE survey in 2006 found that 20% of white British people thought they were discriminated against in housing, in favour of immigrant minorities; no such level of discrimination was perceived in any other aspect of life.

*Some findings.* The supposed government directive referred to above is of course entirely fictional and Home Office figures show just 110 local authority lettings to A8 nationals nationwide (0.04%). Anyone, immigrant or not, has to be residing in a district already to be even *considered* for social housing, let alone granted it. Eastern Europeans are not eligible for housing benefit until after the 12 month WRS registration period. Once they can be considered for housing, by virtue of residence in the area, Eastern Europeans are subject to the same criteria as locals: need, children, family connection to the area, key employment. Extreme need, for instance a family who have become homeless through unemployment, is a potential 'fast track' to social housing, just as it would be for a British-born family. Between 2004 and 2006 in the country as a whole, 453 nationals from A8 countries were housed by a local authority because of homelessness, 0.2% of the decisions made in a typical two year period. Whether such families ought to be eligible, or whether they ought to be permanently at the end of a (very long) housing queue is a moral question not within the brief of this report, though their claim to be treated as eligible for housing might be viewed in the light of the economic arguments for their presence and EU law about social benefits applicable throughout the EU.

Since the expansion of the EU Arun District Council has not housed *any* A8 nationals (though it housed one family from further east in Europe in 2005). In common with many agencies, Chichester District Council does not keep ethnic data by nationality, so there is no accurate way of determining the immigrant presence on the housing list. Three items of information are available. First, perhaps one or two Portuguese families have been housed. Second, out of 2,643 households on the waiting list 40 are categorised as European rather than British, but these may or may not be amongst the 1200 or so judged as being in immediate need. Third, Chichester has housed no homeless A8 nationals.

It has not been possible to establish how many recent migrants are claiming housing benefit in Arun because the data is not monitored by ethnicity or separated by country of birth, at least any such information would have to be retrieved by a search of every individual file. In Chichester the same problem exists with the recorded data. Discussions reveal informal knowledge that a number of Portuguese have in the past claimed housing benefit but this has tailed off in 2006 with no new applications received. There has probably been one eastern European claim, out of a total of 319.

### **Homelessness**

There is an eighth pattern of housing which is no solution at all, and illustrated in some cases by migrant workers camping for most of the summer in a hidden area not far from the Chichester by-pass. They may or may not be known about in any official way, but one voluntary agency knows of their presence because they supplied them most days with fresh water.

Then there are crises faced by some individuals. The day centres in St Cyriac's (Chichester) and St Martin's (Bognor) see few migrants, almost certainly because they are at work (and they are rather different population from the majority of clients who have addiction problems). On the other hand, Eastern Europeans have increasingly been arriving at St Joseph's night refuge for homeless people, which has 10 male beds and two female, available for a maximum stay of six consecutive nights at a time. Others are aware of the acute shortage of accommodation: the CDC office in Selsey periodically directs homeless Eastern Europeans people towards appropriate sources of support; an employment agency spoke of a newly arrived family of four who lived in a car for a month before the father found work and was able to pay rent and other employment agencies were aware of St Joseph's refuge, suggesting they knew of workers who potentially had need of it.

The starkest evidence that there is an acute need for housing was provided by the organisation that runs these refuges, which undertook an informal survey in late October/early November 2006 and found numerous Eastern Europeans sleeping rough on the beach at Bognor. That people would be doing this in November (albeit an unseasonably mild November) demonstrates the mismatch between the availability of work and the availability of housing. This is a local expression of a national problem: in London 15% of homelessness clients are A8 nationals.

### Schools

Nationally less than 6% of new immigrants from the A8 countries have children with them at the point of WRS registration. A key reason for this is that most do not have children yet – they are mainly in their twenties – and other research shows that of those who have, 60% do not intend to bring them here because they are not intending to settle long-term. Given present information, therefore, it is highly improbable that the school age population is going to contain as many migrants as the adult population, though there is undoubtedly a steady increase in school age children joining parents already here. While the demands on educational professionals made by increasing numbers of children with EAL needs should not be underestimated, the impact is felt in a few schools and is not going to grow to crisis proportions.

As has been explained already, the former Portuguese migrant workers tended to be slightly older than the present Eastern European migrants, and a small proportion of the original seasonal workers have settled with families and children. There is some anecdotal impression of underachievement amongst these children (and a research thesis on West Sussex dating from 2004 suggesting the same). This may partly reflect the educational level of the parents. One of the roles of Portuguese speaking community workers in the county has been to facilitate liaison on, for instance, parents' evenings.

Currently data on children's first languages are not collected nationally through PLASC returns, though this will begin in 2007, affording a better and more reliable picture of the pattern of new arrivals. However, West Sussex County Council's EMAT team is able to supply tentative figures of speakers of other languages, though the co-operation of schools' admissions officers and from schools' requests for help in supporting the children.

From this we can see there is a noticeable and steady growth of non English speakers in West Sussex schools, especially schools which have not experienced immigrant children in the past. In 2006 there was 21% increase in referrals to the ethnic minority achievement team, who are responsible for language support. Not all these referrals involved Eastern European children, but they were the largest new group. A second relatively new group to the county is the children of overseas staff recruitment into nursing homes, either Malayalam speaking children from Kerala in Southern India (Horsham and Haywards Heath) or Tagalog speaking children from the Philippines (Horsham, Littlehampton/Bognor, Worthing).

The rate of increase in children with EAL in schools near Chichester but not in the district itself is very marked – consistent with other findings in this report about an increase in immigrant numbers in Arun.

Between September 2005 and September 2006 only four new EAL pupils were recorded joining Chichester schools, two speaking Tagalog and one Thai (in primary schools) and a Turkish speaker in a secondary school. Numbers were not much higher in other parts of the Chichester District: two arrivals in Selsey (one Polish, one Portuguese), a Polish child in Midhurst and in Petworth, and one Thai speaker in Westergate. In the same period, however, this was the pattern immediately to the east:

Area	Language spoken	Phase		Total
		Pri	Sec	
Angmering	Polish	2		2
Bognor Regis	Bulgarian	2		2
	Latvian	3		3
	Lithuanian	3	4	7
	Malayalam	2		2
	Maltese	2		2
	Polish	24	6	30
	Portuguese	1		1
	Russian	2		2
	Serbian	1		1
	Slovakian	1		1
	Tagalog	3		3
	Turkish	1		1
Littlehampton	Latvian	6	1	7
	Lithuanian	10	6	16
	Polish	11	9	20
	Portuguese	17	2	19
	Russian	2	1	3
	Tagalog	6		6
Rustington	Lithuanian	1		1
Steyping	Polish	2		2
		<b>103</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>132</b>

Slightly further east, in Worthing, the pattern of new arrivals is different, with nine from different parts of the Indian sub-continent (speaking Bangla, Urdu, Malayalam and Tamil), four Turkish pupils, at least six Africans (speaking Yoruba, Zulu and Shona) and maybe five more speaking French. Aside from this group of 20 or so, and one Thai speaker and a Cantonese speaker, the other main groups are similar to the Littlehampton/Bognor area, but in considerably smaller numbers:

Language spoken	Phase		Total
	Pri	Sec	
Latvian		1	1
Lithuanian	6		6
Polish	5		5
Portuguese	2	1	3
Russian	1	1	2
Tagalog	5	3	8
	<b>19</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>25</b>

Crawley, traditionally regarded as the place in West Sussex where one might expect diversity, has had only 24 new arrivals in the same period, only one of whom is from Eastern Europe, with six from Portugal.

These numbers are growing. The most diverse primary school in Bognor had only six Eastern European children in July 2005, and the largest and more diverse of the two secondary schools had six speakers of Eastern European languages in 2004, twelve in 2005, and slightly more in 2006.

### Further and higher education

At the further education college in Chichester there is some evidence of growth in numbers, though this is obscured by the national ethnic monitoring categories used by the college which would only show Eastern Europeans as 'white other' (if they chose a category for themselves) or 'not stated' if they did not. Approximate though this measure is, it shows:

	Self-declared 'white other'	Total student numbers	Percentage of total
2003/04	1,196	15,997	7.57%
2004/05	1,624	17,219	9.43%
2005/06	1,578	16,288	9.68%

Of his already educated workforce an employer said they were 'desperate' to improve their English.

The university has also seen an increase in foreign students in two ways. At its Bognor campus it runs free English lessons under the auspices of the Workers' Educational Association, something for which there was no 'market at all in the recent past'. There are now two classes (at different levels) running four nights a week for most of the year, with students in the Autumn of 2006 numbering about 100. One employer complained that his British staff were having to learn Polish (at the company's expense).

The university has had an increase in Eastern European students enrolling as undergraduates. The rules have changed several times about entitlement, but a continuing principle is that they are entitled to be treated as 'home students' just like the citizens of other EU countries (the university has had Danish students on this basis in the past). Apart from the value of a UK degree, in English, one of the attractions of doing this is the eligibility for tuition fee support (and after three years' residence full loan support) in the form of loans repayable from later earnings.

## Health

In theory immigration can have an impact upon health provision when and if immigrants:

1. are from age groups with particular health demands
2. come from countries where particular diseases, or strains of them, are endemic and immunisation/disease prevention regimes less effective
3. are involved in specific behaviours with health risks
4. live in poorer quality and more crowded housing
5. have different assumptions about health and healthy lifestyles
6. because of past or current poverty have poor nutrition, with consequent impact upon health
7. have difficulty accessing services because of language barriers

8. are working themselves within the health care system filling gaps that cannot be filled by the native population.

Little reliable information is available from official figures. The reasons given for this were: ethnic categories were too broad (the usual conflation of 'white other'); because GP practices and Accident and Emergency 'are not good' at collecting ethnicity data (for different reasons); but also because probably there really is a minimal appearance as yet in hospital episode statistics due to the youth and general good health of the immigrant population.

Thus, although there are some specific impacts, this report argues that overall there is nothing to suggest a significant negative impact on local health provision.

## Age

As been demonstrated authoritatively already, the age of over 80% of recent immigrants is less than 35. This is the section of the population with the least demand upon any health system because they have survived illnesses of childhood and are the healthiest period of their adult lives. This is the single key factor which means the impact of recent immigration upon health care is minimal. A partial exception to this is Portuguese families, who have been settling in the area for a number of years, and are appearing increasingly in birth statistics.

## Endemic diseases

At present the immigrant population is too new to have any measures of comparable health patterns, so to an extent one has to look at trends within the sender societies. The problem with extrapolating too much from these is that it assumes migrants are representative of the population as a whole, and they may not be – most obviously in relation to age.

TB, thought now to be a disease of poorer countries, has reappeared in Britain recently, especially in London. Rates per 100,000 are higher in Eastern Europe:

Latvia	Lithuania	Estonia	Poland	Hungary	Slovakia	Slovenia	Czech
68	63	46	29	26	19	15	11

Though again they are high in some of the old EU:

Portugal	Spain	Belgium	UK	France	Ireland	Holland	Italy
42	25	13	12	12	11	8	7

However, recent medical concern has focused upon new strains that are multi-drug resistant, some of which are prevalent in the Baltic states in particular. Studies in Latvia showed that 18% of its drug-resistant cases are the most extreme variant, which the World Health Organisation (WHO) describes as 'virtually untreatable.' WHO also report that there are so far no extreme-variant cases in Western Europe, but the possibility of an increase in infection rates in Britain, Ireland or Sweden cannot be discounted since these are the three countries where people from the Baltic states can freely migrate for work. There are perhaps 100 Lithuanians and Latvians living in the CDC area, or coming to and from it as seasonal workers, with perhaps four times as many in Arun. Given the uncertain quality of their housing and its occupational density the possibility of TB infection should be taken seriously. The danger, incidentally, is not to the general public but to others living in close proximity to an infected person.

## Specific behaviours with health risks

At first glance there is no unusual burden being placed upon health services because of greater propensities to smoking related disease amongst the immigrants. In these tables the prevalence of smoking amongst over 15 year olds in the A8 countries is again compared with some of the old EU (for the last years in which data is available):

Poland	Lithuania	Estonia	Latvia	Hungary	Slovakia	Slovenia	Czech
32%	32%	29%	29%	31%	29%	24%	24%

Holland	Spain	Ireland	Belgium	France	UK	Italy	Portugal
34%	34%	31%	28%	27%	26%	24%	21%

However, if one compares male/female rates of smoking there is much more of a gap than in western Europe (in Britain it is 27% / 25%). The table below shows male smoking rates:

Lithuania	Latvia	Estonia	Slovakia	Poland	Hungary	Czech	Slovenia
52%	49%	45%	44%	40%	38%	31%	28%

As with other health issues one cannot assume that the migrant population is the same as those who don't migrate, and with regard to smoking it is an international trend for smoking to be increasingly common amongst younger women, so the figures above may exaggerate the preponderance of smoking among males. All the same, there is likely to be a significantly higher incidence than amongst British people of the same age, although the effect of higher cigarette prices (or the extent to which this is evaded by personal imports) is unknown.

As for alcohol, many informants have said with a wry smile 'the Poles like a drink' but there is no evidence this is anything more than a superficial generalisation based upon the public behaviour of some young men. With the usual caveats about how far overall national figures reflect the specific characteristics of migrant workers, the WHO lists alcohol consumption across Europe as follows (calculated as litres of pure alcohol per person per year):

Czech	Slovakia	Lithuania	Hungary	Estonia	Latvia	Poland	Slovenia
16.2	12.4	12.3	11.9	9.9	9.3	8.7	6.6

Ireland	France	Portugal	Spain	UK	Belgium	Holland	Italy
14.5	13.5	12.5	12.3	10.4	10.1	9.7	9.1

Without more concrete evidence from either the health or police services there is a danger of the stereotype of drunken Poles becoming part of a negative local folklore. As stated later, police figures for drink driving offences show Lithuanians in particular to be over-represented, though there is an impression that this is declining with increased familiarity with British law.

Sexual health The most dramatic of the health issues occasionally presented as a threat in the media, is of course HIV/AIDS. There are countries in Europe which try to test new immigrants for HIV and it has been raised as a possibility for Britain by some politicians (and countered by others). Apart from Estonia, the countries of Eastern Europe present less of a threat in this regard than some in Western Europe. The figures below are for 2005 and represent the adult prevalence:

Estonia	Latvia	Lithuania	Hungary	Czech	Poland	Slovakia	Slovenia
1.3%	0.8%	0.2%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	<0.1%	<0.1%

Spain	Italy	Portugal	France	Belgium	UK	Ireland	Holland
0.6%	0.5%	0.4%	0.4%	0.3%	0.2%	0.2%	0.2%

The migrant population is young, often single, and hence likely to be sexually active, perhaps with negative attitudes towards condom use. Printed materials about sexual health in a variety of relevant languages have been circulated at the major agricultural employers, and condoms made accessible where accommodation is provided. It is known that HIV rates are rising nationally, but Chichester's rates are not unusual.

Work related health problems are predictable – 'lettuce rash' has been mentioned fairly often, treatable with creams and as an allergic reaction not passed on to others. It causes some workers to lose pay or even lose their jobs. The other problem is back pain from long hours of stooping and bending. One informant suggested there is a high and regular usage of proprietary pain killers amongst the agricultural workers.

### **Poorer quality and more crowded housing**

Details about housing are given earlier. It is clear that the average quality of housing occupied by immigrants locally is worse than that of the majority population, some of it very poor and some of it overcrowded to an extent that is hard to quantify. In the past it was allegedly the practice of some employers who provided accommodation to organise it on the basis of 'hot bedding' as people come on and off shifts, with consequent potential spreading of skin infections. Informally there is no way of telling how much this may happen in private rented accommodation. Another possible effect of poorer and more crowded housing is a greater incidence of passive smoking.

### **Different assumptions about health and healthy lifestyles**

Diet is one of the indices of this in some immigrant populations to Britain, for instance the consumption of sugar and putting sugar in children's food. Anecdotal evidence exists of this in the Portuguese population, with a consequent greater occurrence of tooth decay. It is not known if this really is a pattern or whether it has been systematically investigated.

There are also as yet anecdotal accounts of higher levels of premature births amongst Portuguese women, which may be related to lifestyle or the factor below.

### **Past or current poverty, poor nutrition**

Data presented in an earlier section leaves no doubt that migrants are coming from poorer societies where they may sometimes have had too little to eat, let alone enough of the right kind of food. What impact this had had, or continues to have, on the immigrant worker population is not known, though a study carried out by Bangor University early in 2006 at one of the Chichester District's large local farms involved a detailed questionnaire including some questions about workers' health. Its results will be in the public domain at the end of 2007<sup>7</sup>.



As regards poor nutrition, it is arguable whether the eating habits of the migrant workers, often young and catering for themselves for the first time, are any worse than comparable groups in the UK population, most obviously students.

### **Difficulty accessing services because of language barriers**

On the one hand young active people in their 20s and early 30s may need health care less, but when they do need it, not least in relation to health issues that may concern them especially, it is important that they can access it. Evidence about this is patchy. The questionnaires given to migrants showed only half are even registered with a doctor, and this was not correlated with how long they had been here. Just under one third had visited a doctor, mostly once or twice. Sixteen (out of 240) had visited a doctor more than six times. 8% had been to hospital once and 5% more than once, with 4% saying they had difficulty accessing health care.

With hindsight, it would have been useful to have asked about dental care too. There is now a Polish dentist in a Bognor practice to whom many Poles have gone for appointments only to learn of a two year waiting list for NHS dentistry (apart from emergencies). Anecdotal evidence suggests dentistry is cheap and of a high standard in Poland, so perhaps people return there for treatment.

The cheap and apparently obvious remedy for language difficulties in a health care setting is to bring a friend or family member but this is generally recognised as a partial and indeed possibly hazardous solution. There may be issues of embarrassment or taboos, or of confidentiality, or of an inability to translate specific medical terms accurately. Interpreting provision for small numbers is always difficult and the common solution throughout the UK is to use the telephone *Language Line* service, which can provide interpreting of *any* language (and supposedly dialect). It is expensive however, and for this reason not all health providers use it. A detailed study undertaken in Arun showed that between 2002 and 2005 just one practice used *Language Line* three times as much as all the others, largely or entirely for the high numbers of Portuguese they have as patients. There are practices in the area that have higher numbers of Polish and Lithuanian patients than Portuguese, so it is an open question why *Language Line* was not used more.

### **Immigrants working within health care system**

This is evident in three areas:

The first is in *NHS medical posts and professions allied to medicine*. There is significant contribution made here, though accurate data was not available. It has also all but stopped in that the NHS is no longer recruiting abroad for PAM staff because of an increased training output in the UK and (to some extent) a recent reduction in posts.

The second contribution to health care is in *care homes*. These have not been researched to any great extent in this report, though it is known that most depend upon nurses trained in English abroad but whose qualifications are not fully recognised in the UK until a period of experience and language tests. These nursing staff seem to be a permanent part of the care system for British older people.

The third presence of immigrant workers in health care is as *domestics, cleaners and care assistants*. These are more often Eastern Europeans than the group above, since they have less English fluency. There are perhaps 200 such workers in the area.

## Contact with the Police

The police are necessarily aware of the presence of new immigrants for a variety of reasons:

- Vehicle registration, insurance etc
- Immigrant involvement in crime
- Potential crime links with Eastern Europeans
- Immigration law infringements
- Immigrants being the target of crime, especially hate crime

As with other aspects of the rise in new immigration, the situation is not static – so ages, nationalities and issues have changed over the last few years. However, none of the above issues are identified by the police as major problems. It is also worth noting that the public's relationship with and expectations of the police in many other countries is different from in the UK, and this is certainly the case in the countries of Eastern Europe where most new immigrants come from. As a result the police are more likely to be feared or mistrusted rather than confided in. The strategies evolved by the police have been to appoint a constable with special responsibility for ethnic minorities (and other minorities too) and to be proactive in going to speak with groups of workers at their workplaces and at Polish, Latvian and Lithuanian community meetings about various issues. The vast majority of respondents to the local questionnaire had had no contact with the police; of the very small number who had, most found them friendly and helpful, with a couple of negative comments.

### Vehicle issues

A very visible aspect of new immigration is the number of foreign registered cars. Owning and running a car constitutes a major expense when one is living on a low wage and detecting British people's evasion of the legal requirements of tax and insurance is part of the regular work of the police, as is controlling speeding and drink driving. It is hardly surprising that low paid workers from overseas might similarly seek to evade payment and may indeed feign ignorance of the law in doing so. At the same time it would be surprising if there was not some genuine ignorance of the law involving taxing and insuring UK cars and the re-registration of foreign registered ones. Either way, the police are involved in spot checks, in minor road traffic incidents when someone turns out not to have the right papers, and difficulties are compounded with temporary addresses and varying English fluency. Given the likelihood of some irresolvable paperwork, some discretion about leniency is inevitably employed.

The police have become aware of non-compliance with vehicle law chiefly through incidents of drink driving, in which until recently Eastern Europeans have been very disproportionately represented (55 out of the 623 disqualified drivers in the combined Chichester/Arun/Adur area in October 2006 -- almost 9%). A targeted campaign was carried out about this in June 2006 with leaflets in the relevant languages, since there were reasonable grounds to believe that some non-compliance was due to ignorance of the law about alcohol limits and about car ownership (for instance in most A8 countries the vehicle is insured rather than the person). It is too early to say, but a senior police officer had the impression that occurrences of this kind of crime were decreasing.

At the group meetings referred to above including road traffic law is covered. Because of contact with the police some employers providing accommodation insist

on seeing full documentation on vehicles before allowing residents to park them on their property. At least one is considering this for workplace parking.

### **Immigrant involvement in crime**

There is no significant pattern of immigrant criminal activity, despite some perceptions to the contrary (for instance rumours about pick-pocketing or shoplifting). There is a widespread view of Poles as 'liking their drink' but no particular incidence of alcohol-related crime or fighting and certainly nothing above what one might expect from a young group of people. The exception has been mentioned above, namely than drink driving offences, which actually more often involved Lithuanians. A middle class Polish man expressed nervousness about meeting drunken young Poles in the street! Indeed alcohol is more likely to be consumed in homes rather than pubs. Some Eastern Europeans have been warned about public drinking in the central area of Chichester, but they were apparently doing so in ignorance of it being a no-drink zone and readily conformed to the law. In Selsey there have been incidents of naïve new arrivals buying drinks for under age young people in off-licences, but they have apparently soon caught on to the risks of a large fine in doing so.

Informants varied in their views about whether criminal record checks could or should be done on A8 nationals entering Britain, though in practice this would be an immense and difficult task.

### **Potential organised crime links with Eastern Europeans**

There is no specific evidence in the area of criminal links to organised crime, despite some rumours about it. In November 2006 the *Sun* warned of an increase in such activity when Romania and Bulgaria join the EU so increased suspicion can probably be expected. A police officer suggested some involvement in Eastern European sex trafficking, though the alleged evidence – adverts in local papers – revealed fewer Eastern Europeans sex workers than South East Asian ones and several adverts seeking to recruit women into the work, which does not suggest a ready supply from Eastern Europe. A more senior officer was of the view that there is no evidential basis whatever of suspecting such activities in the area.

### **Immigration law infringements**

These have arisen more often in the past, some daily labour supplied by gangmasters having had doubtful legal status and the police became involved in raids by the immigration service. This has not occurred for at least eighteen months,' probably longer.'

### **Immigrants being the target of crime, especially hate crime**

Several employers and employment agencies were aware that some young people were overtly hostile towards and looked for trouble with the newcomers. They recounted stories of assaults, giving them greater credibility since they had nothing to gain from the stories (and indeed some were themselves hostile towards the immigrants). According to these informants, one man was assaulted by youths from a passing car, requiring 35 stitches in head wounds. Another told of a Portuguese worker who heard in a pub 'If you find a Pole attack and kill him'. A third agency gave a graphic and sympathetic account of a 'mild and gentle' Polish man that was beaten up by a group of teenagers. The voluntary body that had contact with people

sleeping rough on the beaches described them as very fearful of 'reprisals' or attacks by locals.

This is a problem that many immigrants are aware of or have experienced themselves, with the questionnaires showing that open hostility and sometimes assaults have been the personal experience of 21% of respondents. Several informants tell of young local people (most often teenagers but some mention older people too) abusing or physically attacking them for 'being Polish' (even if they are not), and this sometimes happens to young women on their own or to mixed groups. 'Young people attack us', 'abuse in the street', 'car damaged', 'nearly beaten up by drunken young guys', 'some people are aggressive towards us', 'a friend has been beaten up because he's Polish', 'they say we are taking their jobs', 'lots of incidents', 'we don't dare to go to some pubs or clubs'. At work they are not in contact with the public from whom they are also relatively insulated if they live in farm accommodation. Almost all of these things happen in Bognor (none were reported from Selsey). Most often they are against individuals, but there have been some violent incidents between groups of locals and Eastern Europeans.

Several informants told of the strategy adopted by those hostile towards them of getting their potential victim to speak, so they would know if they were an immigrant. The man attacked from a passing car was targeted this way, as was a girl seriously assaulted in a club's toilets by two British girls and a young man beaten up by three young women.

Not all these incidents are reported to the police, partly because (despite the best efforts of the police) many immigrants retain wary attitudes learned in their countries of origin, partly because they fear the police may regard them negatively anyway because of the bad behaviour of some Eastern Europeans. Another reason is lack of English fluency. In common with other victims of racist violence, they may also fear reprisals and doubt the police's ability to do much anyway. Police in Selsey report no specific issues with migrant workers, and none of the level of hostility displayed in Bognor by the local population and this may truly reflect the situation. In Bognor the specialist constable for minority issues was aware of hostile graffiti being scratched into Polish registered cars, and was aware enough of possible risks to warn people in his 'induction' sessions of not attracting attention by being in too large a non-English language group especially all-male groups. This was of little comfort to one lone young woman who was openly harassed by a group of youths in the park, having been asked the usual 'identifier' question. There was no correlation in the questionnaire responses between age and sex in relation to who experienced hostility.

Even when reports of racist incidents reach the police, statistics are hard to process because, as in other fields, new Eastern Europeans immigrants tend to be lumped together as 'white other'. In 2006 Chichester there have been virtually no recorded racist incidents that could possibly have involved Eastern Europeans, though there have been incidents involving other ethnic groups now usually outnumbered by the new immigrants. In Arun, however, where most of the new immigrants live, the picture is different:

### RACIST INCIDENTS RECORDED IN FIRST THREE QUARTERS OF 2006

	Place	Total incidents	Number involving 'white other'	Number where ethnicity 'not stated'
Jan-Mar	Chichester	9	1	2
	Arun	23	1	16
	Crawley	17	0	7
Apr-June	Chichester	9	0	1
	Arun	28	7	7
	Crawley	27	2	6
July-Sept	Chichester	5	0	2
	Arun	39	12	9
	Crawley	33	2	4

Crawley is included in this table since it is the area of the county with the highest proportion of visible ethnic minorities as opposed to the less visible Eastern Europeans more common on the coastal strip. It can be seen clearly that Arun has a higher total number of incidents than Crawley, a higher number involving the 'white other' category, and a higher number where ethnicity is unstated. It is a reasonable conclusion that at least some of this pattern is explained by the kinds of harassment of Eastern Europeans already referred to. Despite what was said earlier about Eastern Europeans' attitudes towards the police, the most common source of this data is police reports. If the figures do indeed reflect the experience of Eastern Europeans it indicates there are considerably more unreported incidents and the questionnaire results give further weight to this.

### Local attitudes and reactions

Those most in contact with the immigrants are the most positive and employers in particular were extremely complimentary about the reliability and motivation of the immigrants they employ. 'We couldn't get the stuff picked in the old days' was a general sentiment, and many unfavourable comparisons were made with the British workers who were occasionally employed.

But judgements can be varied and contradictory. One agency that exists solely by placing Eastern Europeans in work said they would not touch many of the Polish men that came through their door because they looked 'too rough', though another said this was misleading and bore little relevance to how well they worked. An employer of hundreds of immigrants was nevertheless worried about future numbers in schools. Others expressed resentment that 'they know all the benefit rules, they know about the minimum wage and where the CAB office is' (as if, presumably, they should *not* know these things). These are presumably different from those immigrants who do not bother with WRS registration, without which they would not be eligible for benefits.... While approving of them as tenants, a letting agency at the same time 'sensed trouble coming', perceiving them as a nuisance and a problem and something Britain didn't need (though seemingly conceding that at least they were not taking anyone's jobs).

There is clearly an awareness in the local population that significant numbers of Eastern Europeans have come to the area in recent years, most obviously since 2004 and the expansion of the EU. Though the numbers were smaller, the same

level of resentment does not seem to have been experienced by the Portuguese, though it would not be true to say they experienced none in the past.

Awareness of the new immigrant presence ranges from mildly resentful references to hearing Eastern European languages spoken in the street or in shops, to ideas that 'they are taking our jobs', to an account of Polish men taunting local youths in a local road during the summer, 'while standing about drinking vodka', to circulating stories about benefit fraud and of suspiciously large amounts of visible cash, to alleged pressure upon hospital and school resources. Various informants asserted with certainty such things as six out ten patients at a Portsmouth hospital were 'foreigners', thus hugely increasing waiting times; that people offering supermarket car washing were all illegal Russian workers, that 'many' Poles learned about benefits for children available on the production of a passport and thus used some passports fraudulently to claim benefits.

The level of verbally or physically expressed hostility was described in the previous section on immigrants as the targets of crime. Several agencies knew of assaults on Eastern Europeans and negative reactions they had experienced from locals, supporting the information above from the immigrants themselves, and as has been noted already some agencies also regularly receive threats and abuse from local people. The handful of shops specifically meeting the needs of Eastern Europeans also provide an obvious target.

Since by any official measure the immigrants are clearly not taking British jobs, it may seem surprising that such resentment seems to be generated simply by their presence. One insight offered into the scale of the resentment, and who it comes from, was offered by someone with knowledge of seasonal employment and its relationship to benefit fraud. In the past, benefit fraud investigators regularly caught people registered as unemployed or sick doing seasonal work and *this is no longer the case*. It may be that cash-in-hand work like domestic cleaning is also being taken over by immigrant workers prepared to do it at a lower rate. This does not involve large numbers of people, but it may involve enough to generate the sharp end of the resentment that has been described. For some unskilled and irregularly employed British people, in former times involved in illegal working, immigrant workers really have 'taken their jobs' and made some of the jobs legal.

In contrast to local experience, the CRONEM study found

Polish migrants are very happy with their reception by the British public. 90% of surveyed say that they have been received 'well' or 'very well' with only 10% stating that they have been received 'badly' or 'very badly'. Those in the latter two categories were more likely to be older and male.

Another study from the Oxford Centre on Migration, Policy and Society found that migrants generally regretted their slight contact with British people, finding us polite but seemingly unwilling to make friends. This is presumably compounded by the almost inevitable working and living together in national groups. It is also worth saying that some respondents to the local questionnaire expressed very positive feelings about their treatment here.

## The case for and against current immigration: national

### Economics

Almost 2% of the current *working* population has come to the country since May 2004. The economic arguments for the permissive immigration policy pursued by Ireland, Sweden and Britain are strongly advocated by the CBI, which unambiguously believes it has been good for the economy, filling jobs that would have been vacant as well as helping boost the economy. A study by the National Institute of Economic and Social Research (October 2006) argues that migrant workers have added 1% to Britain's wealth since EU enlargement in 2004. The Home Office suggested they made a contribution of £240 million in just the first eight months after accession.

A study by the IPPR about the further enlargement of the EU argues:

In the run-up to accession the press was often negative but it has since recognised that unrestricted access to the labour market by A8 countries has benefited the UK by providing essential services in hard-to-fill sectors. Scaremongering over the 'Polish plumber' in early 2004 has now given way to stories welcoming those coming from A8 countries to practise their trade, especially given the 30,000 skill-shortage vacancies in the skilled trade sector estimated by the Learning and Skills Council. (2006: p12)

The Bank of England has suggested that the new wave of migration has been one factor preventing the rapid rise in oil prices from increasing inflation, hence keeping interest rates at a low level. The accountants Ernst and Young suggested that borrowing costs would otherwise be half a percentage point higher. It does not seem to occur to many that immigrants keep mortgage rates down.

One of the common economic arguments against the immigrant presence is that they 'take' more from Britain than they 'give' in return. This is worth quantifying. 'Taking' includes access to social benefits, health care and education; 'giving' involves direct contributions in terms of spending and taxation and any savings to the British economy resulting from their presence.

A worker on the national agricultural minimum wage working a 39 hour week will earn a gross weekly pay of £207, £175 net. In a year such a person will pay £629 in National Insurance and £1000 in income tax. If they work a 60 hour week, overtime rates will bring the weekly gross pay to £374, £287 net, with an annual NI payment of £1,584 and £2,910 in income tax (Assuming Tax Code 503L, Figures based on Inland Revenue Guidelines for week 1 of tax year 2006-07.) They will also contribute in VAT payments through their spending, though this will be less than for British workers because of money sent to support relatives in home countries.

Taking all migrants, *not* just those from A8 countries, they comprise 9.6% of the working population. However, they contribute 10% of government revenue and are responsible for only 9.1% of expenditure. The IPPR observes:

That the situation is reversed for the UK born population further dispels the myth that migration is a drain on the public purse.

There is a less obvious saving to the British economy, and a cost borne by their home countries.

By the time a British person joins the workforce aged 19 years, DfES figures show that about £50,000 has been spent upon their education. If one adds to this other costs like health care, housing provision and child benefits paid to parents, we can say that it costs perhaps £70,000 to produce a 'home-grown' worker. In this respect A8 immigrant workers are 'free' and each represents a saving of at least £70,000 to the British state. 82% are between 18 and 34 years of age, so they make as little demand on the health service as British people in their 20s and 30s – the cheapest section of the population for health care.

The future of the new immigrant workforce is impossible to predict, but for the moment their NI and tax contributions are subsidising the majority, non-immigrant population (including their pensions), and indeed this is typically the case with immigrant workforces. It will be many years before they start drawing pensions and becoming more expensive in terms of health care, if indeed they stay that long.

As a later section illustrates, they may well not stay long. The main economic motive behind EU enlargement is not to provide cheap labour for the better-off countries but to develop Europe as a strong trading block in its own right. It seems to be now accepted without discussion that the inclusion and eventual catch-up of then poorer Greece (1981) and Portugal and Spain (1985) strengthened the EU, and of course provided an expanded market for British goods. The assumption is that as the eastern European economies improve through EU membership, remittances sent by current migrants and the enhanced knowledge and skills of returnees will create greater employment prospects and reduce the incentives for migration. The same arguments are employed in favour of the accession of Bulgaria and Romania in January 2007<sup>8</sup>.

There are, of course, costs. Children with EAL needs will initially be more expensive to reach than English-speaking children. Students in further and higher education are not paying the full costs of their courses. Libraries (not mentioned elsewhere in this report) are facing new kinds of requests. Child Benefit is payable to those immigrants who are supporting children. But these have been examined above and set against their taxation and NI income as well as the savings to the economy represented by every immigrant worker. Despite a full front page headline proclaiming '55,000 migrants claiming benefits' the *Daily Express* of 22 November 2006 did acknowledge (on page five) that only 524 Eastern Europeans in the whole country were receiving housing benefit, out of a total the *Express* insisted was around 700,000.

While there is on the whole strong support from business for a relaxed approach to immigration, the consensus being that it maintains a flexible workforce, fills specific gaps, and prevents wage inflation, this could be seen as synonymous with keeping wages down. The CBI argues there is no evidence that the immigrants have a depressing effect upon wage levels, but it is hard to see how they could know this (and they would say this, wouldn't they?) Employers will feel no pressure to raise wage levels with an apparently inexhaustible supply of people willing to work at the minimum wage, so some local people will see immigrants as depressing wage levels. So cheap immigrant workers will not be seen as positive by everyone and young British workers with low educational achievements and low skill levels will see the newcomers as competition.



Even though unemployment is at its lowest since 1975 it is growing very slightly *alongside* an increase in jobs – the Labour MP Frank Field speculates that the new jobs are being soaked up by newcomers and not the low skilled British unemployed. A 2006 report from the National Institute of Social and Economic Research (NIESR) said the benefits of immigration had not been shared equally, and had probably contributed to a rise in unemployment among unskilled young people, possibly having pushed up overall unemployment by 0.3 percentage points - or roughly a third of the overall increase over the same period.

The NIESR director commented early in 2006

Migration is not something that leaves everyone better off ... It is matter of judgement for the Government as to how concerned it wants to be about the indigenous population that probably loses out.

## **Culture**

Much of the tone of this section, and indeed of the entire report, is that some perceptions of new immigrants and their effects are ill-informed myths and prejudices. One of the main organisations countering this view is Migration Watch and their views can be found on [www.migrationwatch.co.uk](http://www.migrationwatch.co.uk).

Some of their argument is economic, arguing that the strain put upon housing and public services by new immigrants outweighs any economic benefits. These arguments have been addressed in this report. Other arguments they employ might be summarised by notes about one of their advisory council (a Kurdish Iranian immigrant) who ‘...believes strongly that if societies are to remain functional, they must stay culturally and emotionally cohesive. Large-scale immigration is likely to disrupt that and lead to political upheaval.’ At a local level these cultural and political issues are discussed in the next section.

## **The case for and against current immigration: local**

### **The population**

The 2006-2016 Community Strategy for Chichester District argues that if present trends continue, the District will be facing in ten years time:

- An increasingly ageing population and associated increase in demands on health and social care services.
- Fewer young people and declining numbers in the workforce.
- Housing demand outstripping supply and homes becoming increasingly unaffordable to the majority of people in the District.
- Rural communities becoming unsustainable due to loss of younger people, and increases in retired residents and second homers.

The strategy and its vision for the future have several elements derived from extensive local consultation, including the provision of affordable housing and a prosperous local economy. Added to these after the consultation – because it pervades everything – is the hope of having ‘a more sustainable population with a balance of people through all the age ranges.’ It is worth seeing the recent immigration of predominantly young people in the light of this strategy.

## **The economic case**

In the 20-35 age group the local 'native' workforce is about 10,000 (out of a total workforce of around 51,000). The unemployment rate in Chichester and the surrounding area is 1.3%. In numerical terms this means about 650 people, though an authoritative source stated that only about 250 of these are out of work for more than six months. This is in contrast to the estimated 2,000-3,000 immigrant workers who are accused by some of 'taking our jobs'.

Given that the Chichester District is predominantly rural it is not surprising that 8% of its workforce is engaged in horticulture, agriculture, or food production. Local agriculture in particular has identified a national niche and has developed it, becoming a major supplier of the cheap salads and vegetables sold in supermarkets all over Britain. The sector comprises a key part of the local economy and is integrated into the corporate improvement plan, one aspect of which is to raise average wage levels, which have been historically low, despite the apparent wealth of the area in terms of house prices.

All the evidence suggests that most of the immigrant workers are not earning more than the minimum wage, but they are a crucial element in the development of local businesses whose British workers are rather better paid than the immigrants. Put another way, these businesses would be unsustainable without the immigrant workers, and their British owners, managers and office staff – which make up between ten and twenty percent of total employees, would not have jobs. This aside, the more general arguments about the gain to the country of having young, fit adaptable workers whose upbringing has been paid for by another country, apply also to the locality. As set out elsewhere in this report, the local public costs in terms of service provision in, say health or education are far outweighed by the immigrants' input to the economy, and this will be the case for many years to come.

## **Housing**

The strategic plan rightly recognises affordable housing as an issue and if one were to isolate this element alone there would be a strong case *against* increased immigration. For the moment the shortage of places for immigrants to live is contained, rather than solved, and more often than not outside Chichester. On the whole they are not eligible for social housing, but there is clearly a percentage of migrants who are homeless. If low paid migrant families decide to settle, then social housing is likely to become real point of conflict rather than the mythologized situation we have at present, since lowest cost social housing is the pressure point for families. In other parts of the country councillors find this issues above all else fuels an extreme right wing vote and one warned 'Housing is the front line: unless supply is dealt with no chance of getting rid of growing racism'. The same councillor also warned 'Homeless people don't vote, those in social housing vote less often than others.

## **Culture**

By its very nature this is difficult to quantify, but there is some perception that the culture of the area is changing because of immigration. Whether this is seen as a point for or against depends upon other values, but it is worth challenging over-simplistic statements about alleged cultural change.

What exactly is perceived as culturally different about the new immigrants?  
Employers say they work hard; there is little evidence of unwelcome habits like

significantly greater use of alcohol; incidents of social disorder seem to be instigated against them rather than by them; if they are religious at all they are Christian; around 20% have higher or further education. To an extent they have different food tastes, they use pubs and clubs less than the native population, and of course they speak a different language. The housing they live in is of poorer quality, but this is not a matter of cultural preference.

Feelings of cultural 'strangeness' are more likely to be rationalisations of ill-informed resentment about work and welfare (for which some national newspapers bear considerable responsibility) and the suspicion caused by social distance and simple unfamiliarity on a personal level.

## Future trends

*'Migrants can move faster than ministers'*  
*Home Office Minister, BBC Radio 4 Today, 24 Oct*

### **Demand for labour**

The rate of immigration witnessed in the past few years cannot possibly continue at this level. Even if one took the hostile view that large numbers of Eastern Europeans are entering to claim benefits without working, something for which there is no significant evidence, housing is still a finite resource.

What all the evidence shows is that the Eastern Europeans are filling a labour shortage. In the CDC area there is evidence that the bulk of this employment is regulated and legal, but even if it were illegal working its increase will not continue indefinitely. If different work opportunities outside agriculture do not present themselves, then agriculture and food production seem set to continue as a major local source of employment and current workers may stay. It is hard physical work and not high up British pay scales, but it pays dramatically better than many much more skilled jobs in the A8 countries, so will continue to attract and keep workers. It is, however, becoming more efficient, one company expecting to move from a productivity rate of £94,000 per employee per year in 2006 to £176,000 per employee in 2007, so the *rate of increase* in employee numbers will not continue. Evidence presented earlier shows a levelling off of new arrivals.

### **Labour supply and motivations for staying**

So much for demand. As regards supply, the government's actuarial department comments

... it seems reasonable to assume that net flows will not continue for long at present levels. Reasons for this include that the stock of those wishing to migrate may deplete quickly....

A study commissioned by the BBC in 2006 from the University of Surrey's Centre for Research on Nationalism, Ethnicity and Multiculturalism (CRONEM) found that of 505 Polish workers interviewed

- 22% were purely seasonal migrants
- 15% were intending to be long term settlers and
- 30% were 'undecided'.

These findings are supported by the statistics from the WRS, where the form enquires 'How long do you think you will stay on the UK?'; 43% said less than three months and 48% either left the question unanswered or replied 'I don't know.' Clearly a relatively high proportion of recent migrants are adopting a 'wait and see' approach to the duration of their stay - 'intentional unpredictability' the report called it.

When asked their reason(s) for migrating here the Polish workers referred to above said:

- 58.4% Financial/lack of jobs in Poland
- 41.4% More options/easier to live
- 31.3% Personal or professional development
- 17.8% Getting away from political and economic situation in Poland
- 13.9% Better future for children

#### *Political factors*

It is a common pattern for immigrants to stay longer than they originally intended, and sometimes for them to make the transition for migrant worker to settler. One reason the immigrants of the 1950s and 1960s did not return home was (paradoxically) the advent of immigration control in 1962 which ended the possibility of free movement backwards and forwards. This probably led to more family unification in this country.

Unless Britain withdraws from the EU there is no possibility of restricting immigration from EU countries as a whole. Despite one recent poll<sup>9</sup> suggesting that 75% of the population is in favour of 'tougher immigration laws', immigration control for Eastern Europeans can thus be ruled out, and in any case given the numbers now here, legally 'closing the door' would be impossible to police

A detail that will continue to motivate some males to migrate is the presence of national service in Poland and some other A8 countries for under-26 year old men. Some interviewees stated this as reason that might keep them here.

#### *Economic factors*

Without any legislative pressures on people to either settle or leave the determining factors will be economic and personal. As seasonal work began to be transferred to eastern Europeans the Portuguese migrants mostly stopped coming, with less than 10% settling. The cheapness of air fares as well as the proximity of Eastern Europe also makes working here less of a major disconnection from home and roots than it was for previous immigrants. On the minimum wage and overtime a Polish worker doing 60 hour weeks can fly home on little more than a day's earnings. In 1960 it would have cost a comparable Pakistani worker four months' wages to fly home. Employers' impressions of the patterns of movements in the past two or three years are that about 20% stay and that some go backwards and forwards. A survey from the Polish Embassy showed that 80% made frequent visits home, some up to 5 times a year; and 70% had made some economic investment in property in Poland.

No-one really knows whether the 'stock of those wishing to migrate' will deplete quickly or not, but the population of Eastern Europe provides a stock of 76 million people. There are still parts of these countries where someone with a job may not have enough to eat. The following table is based upon 2005 data, and aspects of it will change, but it is worth noting that Poland, with the largest population, has the lowest GDP per person and the highest rate of unemployment. Amongst young people it is even higher, reckoned to be 25% in 2006. In 2004 Poland's minimum wage was £126 a month.

Country	Population (millions)	Per capita GDP	Unemployment
UK	60	£16,000	4.7%
Czech Republic	10	£10,500	8.9%
Estonia	1.4	£9,300	7.9%
Hungary	10	£8,600	7.2%
Latvia	2.2	£7,300	7.5%
Lithuania	3.6	£7,300	4.8%
Poland	39	£7,000	18.2%
Slovakia	5.5	£8,600	11.7%
Slovenia	2	£11,400	10.1%

Put another way, average earnings in all but Slovenia, the Czech Republic and Hungary are less than 50% of the EU average.

One obvious and imminent question is whether there will be a similar rise in immigration from Bulgaria and Romania once they are admitted into the EU in January 2007, a topic of some media concern while this report was being written. Bulgaria has a population of almost 8 million, Romania 23 million (and a minimum wage in 2004 of £46 a month).

Rules announced in October 2006 state that Romanians and Bulgarians will only be allowed to work in Britain in specific occupations, principally agriculture and food processing. Some argue a large influx is unlikely unless the work is here and there are not other workers available, and there is plenty of evidence of the continuing availability of Polish workers. While it has been suggested that employers may use Romanians to undercut the wages of Poles, the existence of a minimum wage means that larger employers who need to keep on the right side of the law are unlikely to be involved in this. (On the other hand, there will be no incentive at all to pay more than the minimum wage.) A confusing element that might emerge is that some employers are planning to start looking for their *seasonal* workers in Romania and Bulgaria, though they have no need of full time workers from there. In the next couple of years this may lead to an increase in those countries' nationals in the area as temporary workers.

The new 'A2' nationals may not choose to come to Britain. There are not currently large numbers of those countries' nationals in Britain (despite their alleged domination of credit card fraud), while there are 175,000 Romanians in Italy, 95,000 in Spain and over 70,000 in Germany. The German numbers are explained by its proximity and their presence in Italy and Spain (arguably) because Romanian is a southern European country speaking a Romance language, so those two countries are a more amenable place to migrate to. Clearly there is something that currently attracts them, despite visa regulations, which does not attract them to Britain. The IPPR study already referred to quotes a recent poll in which 40% indicated a migration preference of Italy and Germany (20 per cent each) followed by Spain, France and Austria. Bulgarians' favoured countries include Greece, Spain, Italy, Germany and the Netherlands, where they already have networks. Only three per cent of Romanians mention the UK as their preferred migration destination. At the same time, the IPPR argues giving A2 country nationals the right to enter but not to work is a recipe for generating irregular workers, just as some other EU countries are currently experiencing with A8 citizens.

Additionally, Romanian and Bulgarian citizens will be allowed to work as self-employed, which some have suggested is a 'loophole'. It is hard to know if the fear being expressed here on a national scale is of more tradesmen (like the 'Polish

plumbers') or (perhaps) hourly paid workers in all kinds of fields, all registered as self-employed. It has to be said that no real evidence of this latter tendency has been found in this study in relation to A8 citizens.

In the 1950s and 1960s most of the post-colonial migrants from the Caribbean, India and Pakistan intended to return home. One reason for staying was (for some) better prospects than 'back home'. The existence of improving prospects here will inevitably apply to some of the new migrants, especially those who move from routine manual work to more skilled work that uses the qualifications many have. Many indications are that while Eastern Europeans could be sub-divided into groups according to education and motivation, many are intent upon social/economic as well as geographic mobility. In other words, the more educated and ambitious of the current agricultural workers – the majority according to some accounts – will not stay in their present work. One employer specifically referred to qualified nurses and teachers doing routine manual work. In some cases they will have earned enough money to fulfil other entrepreneurial aims in their home countries, others, as their English improves will attempt other jobs here if they can get them. The CRONEM study of Polish workers found those planning long term settlement were more likely to be in their 20s.

Local impacts in this latter case will vary. If there are more skilled local jobs clearly some migrants will pursue them, if they are available elsewhere in Britain they are likely to move for them. Some employers note this tendency already.

Other 1950s migrants stayed for the opposite reason: they had expected to be able to save more, so hopes of returning with significant savings were postponed, and postponed again. As regards disappointed hopes about savings, some interviewees state that they had not appreciated the correspondence between higher living costs as well as higher pay. Insofar as they want to return to their home countries with some capital, this will keep them here longer. Others are planning to work here long term to pay for their children's education back home and will stay until it is complete. The CRONEM study of Poles found that it tended to be older people who were orientated towards accumulating capital to invest back home, seeing their stay here as seldom more than five years.

Some may take up opportunities elsewhere. The government's actuarial department also observed that A8 nationals

...will have increasing choice of destinations as other EU countries gradually fully open their labour markets to A8 citizens.

The pattern of other countries' restrictions is uncertain and subject to change. For instance, Denmark and the Netherlands initially took the same position as Britain, Sweden and Ireland then changed their minds; everywhere else imposed restrictions for two years in the first instance and most seem set to continue these. As things stand, all transitional arrangements should come to an end in 2011 and some will end before then – in France by 2009, and in April 2006, four other member states (Finland, Greece, Portugal and Spain) announced that they were lifting the restrictions that they had imposed two years earlier.

It is certainly true that as other 'old' EU countries open their borders then wider opportunities could appear elsewhere, but it is highly speculative. If other EU economies are healthy and short of workers then they will be attractive; the appeal of re-migration to people already here will be determined by that but probably mitigated for some if they become fluent in English.

The experience of the Portuguese may be some guide, since they were similarly a migrant worker group from a poorer part of the EU who could come and go freely. Employers and agencies say there is little new migration from Portugal, and that some people, having accumulated savings here, have returned to Portugal. On the other hand, many of the Portuguese population in Littlehampton and Selsey have children with them, and this suggests more permanent settlement.

It is worth considering what national data we have, historic patterns, and possible future trends in the light of local information derived from the questionnaire completed by 240 local migrant workers asked where they thought they would be living in 3, 5 and 10 years' time:

	3 years	5 years	10 years
Don't know	29%	30%	29%
Britain	40%	27%	15%
Home country	19%	29%	41%
Elsewhere in EU	9%	9%	9%
Elsewhere in world	3%	5%	6%

*Here for the benefits?*

Will people come to Britain just for welfare benefits? It is assumed in some popular mythology that this is the main motive but it barely merits serious consideration. While universal WRS registration would make social planning (and research) easier, we know that around 20% of A8 migrants do not register, and since this prevents them claiming benefits even after they have been here for over a year, it seems hardly consistent with a 'scrounger' mentality. The 2006 Home Office review of post-accession migration reports that between May 2004 and June 2006 there were only 193 valid claims for Income Support and 564 claims for Jobseeker's Allowance. Two percent of those WRS registered were eligible for tax credits.

As regards child benefit, one of the issues over which local resentment was expressed, in fact any EU nationals working in this country and able to prove they are contributing to the maintenance of children in their home countries, are entitled to child benefit. The justification of this would doubtless escape many who perceive the new migrants as anything but a threat and a drain on resources, and would presumably provide fuel to those who think Britain should not be in the EU. The arrangement is part of the Treaty of Rome, and its justification is to do with mobility of labour and a common system of shared entitlements across EU states. The Benefits Agency Fraud Reporting Line confirmed that they did receive complaints about migrants allegedly making fraudulent claims. The issue was described as 'a bit of a grey area' and usually referred to the Immigration Service, though it is not grey at all, but completely legitimate. To claim child benefit a passport and birth certificate need to be produced, and while it may be difficult to check for forgeries, children's names corresponding to parents' names plus a record of supporting money already being paid, provides a measure of proof. The Home Office study shows that 27,280 applications were approved up to the end of June 2006; child benefit is £17.45 for the eldest child and £11.70 for subsequent children.

It would be naïve to suggest that no Eastern Europeans will adopt a lifestyle of working only as much as they have to while claiming as many benefits as possible.

On the other hand, such a choice is inconsistent with the goals expressed by almost all the workers reached through interviews and questionnaires, and is starkly different from the view expressed by every employer and employment agency about the motivation and reliability of Eastern Europeans workers. The point of coming to Britain is to improve their lives, and this cannot be done effectively by relying upon benefits.

The myths about benefit claimants often seem to be uninformed by some simple arithmetic. A normal working week on the agricultural minimum wage would yield £175 net, which for a couple with one working adult and a child, depending on their rent, would probably make them eligible for housing benefit. Working the overtime which Eastern Europeans are reputedly always keen to get would take the household income to £287, and almost certainly reduce their entitlement to housing benefit, and if both adults worked the combined net income could be anything between £350 and £574. For people whose motive for leaving their country, family and friends is to improve their lives a weekly gap of £224 may be too significant to ignore.

Nevertheless, there is undoubtedly a threshold, the poverty trap, about which people of any background have to decide. If one's earnings are low enough to claim housing benefit and a reduction in council tax then one forfeits benefit as earnings increase, in fact initially gaining only 15 pence for every extra pound earned.

#### *Personal factors*

Thus another change factor is age and family building. Most of the migrant workers are currently young and either childless or do not have children with them, though there are increasing numbers of children in Bognor and Littlehampton. Some workers will stay in the area and will bring from their home countries children they already have; some will have children here. Some adopt a strategic pattern of getting settled then perhaps reuniting their family. CRONEM found that a relatively high percentage (28%) did not answer the question but of those who did, just under 60% said that they do not intend to do bring their families over. 30% of respondents did intend to bring their families over; this is surprising, since not all of them intended to settle here. The size of any future increase is very hard to judge, dependent as it is upon continuing local employment opportunities, as well as housing. One agency, while confirming that workers in their 20s were the most common, also had some older people on their books, the oldest being about 50.

In interviews migrants could be split into three groups: those who missed family and friends and were certain they would return ('I'm here for the money only, the job is terrible, we will buy a flat in Poland'); those who felt these ties less strongly but remained uncertain about future plans; and finally those who were determined to stay and settle, if at all possible. Some of these had found English partners.

It may be worth adding that for those immigrants who become settlers, at the end of their working lives they may decide to retire to their original countries. This is very hard to predict, and depends on economic and social conditions in home countries in 30 or 40 years time, and the cost of housing, but it is an observable pattern, for instance, amongst Caribbean immigrants who came to Britain in the 1950s. The long term economic implication of this is that while their pensions will (presumably) be payable in whichever country they are living, the other costs of their old age (health, social housing) will not be borne by Britain.



### **Conclusion on future trends**

To recap on the opening of this section, the *rate* of recent immigration will not continue at the same level because of those currently here *some* will stay and settle.

Clearly the immigrants are filling a labour shortage that is unlikely to go away as long as agriculture and food production continue as a major local source of employment.

Even if present individuals do not stay *they will be replaced* either by other A8 nationals or perhaps workers from A2 countries.

If different and increased work opportunities outside agriculture present themselves, then immigration will increase.

Chichester District is therefore going to have an element of its workforce foreign-born indefinitely; how many of the people involved become settlers and to what extent the area continues to depend on cyclical migrants who do not settle, remains to be seen.

## Recommendations

The last of the findings in the Executive Summary on page 4 stated that if the changes related to new immigration were to be managed without conflict there are three key questions:

- 1 What would an integration strategy look like?
- 2 Whose responsibility is it?
- 3 Who should pay for it?

The following recommendations try to address these three questions.

### High priority

1. Nationally, no public preparation was carried out for recent new immigration and it should have been. Given the scale of misinformation, ignorance and hostility about recent immigration it needs to be publicly and explicitly recognised that immigrant workers make a disproportionate contribution to the local and national economy and that therefore any costs that may be incurred for targeted services have been met either by the immigrants themselves or by the countries that educated them.

### High priority

2. A public education campaign about the issue should be mounted, with the clear endorsement of local public figures. This would be best undertaken jointly with other relevant agencies, since it is recognised that this is beyond the scope of a District Council acting alone. 'Bigotry shrivels in the light' – Trevor Phillips (Chair designate of new Commission for Equality and Human Rights).

### High priority

3. The shortage of affordable and appropriate housing for the new immigrant population needs urgently to be addressed with all the means at the Council's disposal. This will need to be accompanied by clear public information in the light of how easy such provision is misunderstood and misrepresented.

### High priority

4. All possible measures should be employed to ensure housing standards and occupancy levels are acceptable, whoever the provider. This is to work against locals' negative perceptions, to protect the rights of migrants, and to address potential health concerns.
5. It is recognised that the budgets of councils, health providers, housing providers and schools are not sufficiently adjusted to take the impact of new immigration into account. All possible influence and pressure should be brought to bear upon central government to recognise these changing circumstances.
6. Secondary schools should be actively encouraged to engage with their pupils about the myths and misunderstandings about new immigration. A contribution towards this is to be found in Appendix G.

7. There is likely to be a constant pattern of new arrivals in the foreseeable future, and hence the recurring need for written orientation and explanatory information for them needs to be resourced. (Other studies show this is relatively easy to do effectively).
8. Language Line should be used by all local public service providers and this should be actively promoted by the District Council in all its partnership arrangements.
9. The provision of English language classes in the area should be co-ordinated rather than left to chance, and the classes should be free to users.
10. Ethnic monitoring forms in use by public bodies – in anticipation of likely national changes – should ask for people's first language and nationality.
11. There is a strong case for co-ordinating outreach and information work with Arun District Council, since health, education and police provision already cross these borders and in practice there is one local housing economy.
12. The unknown extent of mobility within Britain and back and forth to home countries is a real challenge. Data from National Insurance and the SAWS should be compiled and analysed at six monthly intervals, together with WRS data (though this may be of declining significance). Co-operation with large employers would help this data gathering.
13. Staff training for various levels of staff should be established, ideally with other agencies and providers; it should include coverage of racist incidents, numerical data, developing trends, country and language information, and economic impact.
14. Support should be given to activities to promote inter-communal mixing and social contact; the most obvious common ground might be sought in family days and sport.

## APPENDIX A: FOOTNOTES

- 1 Suggested by a spokesperson from the Institute of Public Policy Research (IPPR), BBC 24 Oct 2006).
- 2 In fact fewer of these Brazilians may have been illegal than is commonly thought in the area. During much of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the economic gap between Portugal and Brazil was not as great as it is now, and people continued to migrate from Europe to Latin America. As a result there are residents of Brazil who carry Portuguese passports, as do some of their Brazilian-born children. Nevertheless, certainly numbers were irregular workers, and the general consensus is that they are much less common in 2006.
- 3 A confusing detail not resolved at the time of completing this report relates to university students recruited from Russia and the Ukraine under the Seasonal Workers Registration Scheme. These workers have to return when their seasonal visa expires, and they usually do, since their point in coming is to earn enough to pay for their studies. What remains a puzzle is why they do not appear on the National Insurance registration data. The Home Office department that administers the scheme says there were 328 such workers in 2005 and 221 in 2006.
- 4 [http://www.workpermit.com/news/2006\\_08\\_30/uk/business\\_sEastern\\_Europeks\\_unlimited\\_migration.htm](http://www.workpermit.com/news/2006_08_30/uk/business_sEastern_Europeks_unlimited_migration.htm). The BBC's Face the Facts (28 July 2006) suggested that Polish workers are like the Irish in the past – the 'lump', with many employed by many sub-contractors, with no regular contract or NI registration.
- 5 UK - Workers Registration Scheme for new EU members 14 April 2004  

From 1 May there will be free of movement to all EU member countries for people from the accession countries. Most EU countries have placed certain restrictions on their labour markets to nationals of the new EU member states. The UK is, however, putting in place a package of measures to enable people to work legally, help fill the half a million job vacancies in the UK labour market, boost productivity and the UK's overall economic growth.

The regulations will be initially be in place for five years, with a review planned after two years. The House of Commons and Lords will debate the regulations later this month.

The Home Secretary stated that the UK welcomes skilled immigrants but not benefit tourists, which is why the Government is putting in place a package of measures to prevent people who are not working from accessing benefits.

From 1 May anyone from the eight accession countries of Central and Eastern Europe will have to register with the Home Office when they take up a job and begin working. A certificate will be issued to them confirming that they can work legally. The certificate will no longer be valid if they lose their job within the first 12 months, and they will need to renew their registration when they find another job. While they are working here legally these nationals are entitled to workers' benefits in line with existing EU nationals but when they are not working they will have to support themselves without access to benefits or public housing. After 12 months in continuous legal employment they can work here without restriction and access working benefits if necessary.

Nationals of the eight EU member states who are in the UK but are unable to find a job will not have access to the following: Income Support, income-based Job Seeker's allowance, State Pension Credit, social housing, Housing Benefit, or Council Tax Benefit. Access to child tax credit and child benefit will also be restricted.

Restrictions can not be placed on self-employed as well as family members of some accession state nationals, who already have the rights to work in the UK. This is an EU- wide regulation. Self-employed individuals will not be eligible for

work-seeking benefits and must be able to establish and maintain themselves in business.

Once you have been working legally in the UK for 12 months without a break you will have full rights of free movement and will no longer need to register on the Worker Registration scheme. You can then get a residence permit confirming your right to live and work in the UK. If you have already registered on the Worker Registration Scheme, and have been working in the UK for 12 months, you may now wish to apply for a residence permit.

[http://www.workingintheuk.gov.uk/working\\_in\\_the\\_uk/en/homepage/schemes\\_and\\_programmes/worker\\_registration.html](http://www.workingintheuk.gov.uk/working_in_the_uk/en/homepage/schemes_and_programmes/worker_registration.html)

- 6 A study from the University of Surrey's Centre on Nationalism, Ethnicity and Migration (CRONEM) comments ABOUT a study of theirs:  
*....because migration from Poland took place well before 1 of May 2004, we included people who arrived to the UK after 1 of May 2003. This is because we wanted also to determine the extent to which Polish migrants register on the Workers Registration Scheme – and according to the rules of registration on the Scheme people who worked more than 12 months prior to the EU enlargement do not have to register. Our choice of the year before enlargement comes from the fact that many Poles, anticipating the influx of other Poles, migrated before the 1 of May. In 2002, for example, 210,000 Polish citizens came to the UK (International Passenger Survey) and in 2003 that number jumped by almost 80% - to 360,000 (these data include visitors as well as migrants but are indicative).*
- 7 This was part of an unrelated study of rural economies and land use in several places in Britain and mainland Europe. The contact person is Dr Barry Hounsome.
- 8 In their report *EU Enlargement: Bulgaria and Romania – migration implications for the UK* (2006) the IPPR argues:  
*The inclusion of Bulgaria and Romania into the EU presents potential benefits for both acceding and existing member states:*
  - *Through Bulgaria and Romania's adoption of EU policies on protection of the environment, and addressing issues of organised crime, drugs and irregular immigration, enlargement will spread peace, stability and prosperity to an additional 30 million people in eastern Europe.*
  - *Increased membership will lend the EU greater prominence in world affairs.*
  - *Subsequent migration flows will promote enriched cultural diversity in both acceding and existing member states.*
  - *For existing member states, access to an additional labour and foreign investment market will fuel economic growth. For Bulgaria and Romania, increased foreign investment has, even before accession, promoted economic growth and efficiency and it is predicted that this will continue at a rate of five to six per cent (compared to one to two per cent within the EU) (European Commission 2005b).*
  - *Bulgarians and Romanians can access the labour markets of other countries to improve their own economies, either through the sending of remittances, or through the increased productivity rates, business skills or technical abilities of returning migrants.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, economic growth in new member states might dampen potential for emigration and incentivise current migrants to return.*
- 9 Ipsos Mori Poll for the Sunday Times (Ipsos Mori, 2006)

## APPENDIX B: SOURCES OF INFORMATION

The research was undertaken during a six month period ending in December 2006.

**Statistical information** was obtained from

the National Insurance Central Statistical Unit  
the Home Office Workers Registration Scheme  
the Home Office Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme  
West Sussex Education's Ethnic Minority Achievement Service  
Sussex Racist Incidents Team  
CIA country profiles  
World Health Organisation  
OECD

**Interviews** were carried out in both Chichester and Arun with

Community workers (4)  
Private housing providers/letting agents (6)  
Other housing providers (3)  
Council staff involved with social housing and housing standards (7)  
Housing officials from other parts of UK (2)  
MEP/MP (2)  
Employment agencies (7)  
Employers (7)  
Staff involved in health care (8)  
Staff involved in education provision (8)  
Police (4)  
Officials of various regulatory agencies (5)  
Immigrants (51)  
Other researchers in the UK (6) in Poland (1) in Czech Republic (1)  
Immigration officials (3)  
Polish Embassy (1)  
Others in official capacities (2)

239 **Questionnaires** were completed in English, Polish, Lithuanian and Portuguese

### **Other key sources**

Centre for Research on Nationalism, Ethnicity and Multiculturalism, University of Surrey (CRONEM)

Centre on Migration Policy and Society, University of Oxford (COMPAS)

Institute of Public Policy Research (IPPR) especially (2006) *EU Enlargement: Bulgaria and Romania – migration implications for the UK. An IPPR FactFile*

Accession Monitoring Report, May 2004 – June 2006 (A joint report by the Home Office, Department for Work and Pensions, HM Revenue & Customs and Department for Communities and Local Government)

Arun Council for Voluntary Service (Miranda Cormell) (2005) *Ethnic Diversity in Arun*

EuroHIV. HIV/AIDS Surveillance in Europe. Mid-year Report 2005. Saint-Maurice: Institut de veille sanitaire, 2006. No. 72.