Changing Status, Changing Lives?
Methods, participants and lessons learnt

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Table of Contents

1 Introduction

This paper outlines the methods and describes the participants in a major research project: *Changing Status, Changing Lives? The socioeconomic impact of EU Enlargement on low-wage migrant labour in the UK*. The lead researchers in this project are Bridget Anderson, Martin Ruhs and Sarah Spencer (all at the Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS), University of Oxford) and Ben Rogaly (Sussex Centre for Migration Research, University of Sussex).

The research for *Changing status, changing lives?* was motivated by the accession of ten new countries to the European Union (EU) on 1st May 2004. The ten accession states include the "A8" countries – Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia – plus Cyprus and Malta. Among the member states of the pre-enlarged EU (EU15) only Sweden, Ireland and the UK granted A8 nationals free access to the labour market immediately upon EU Enlargement.

EU Enlargement enabled A8 workers to migrate and take up employment in the UK without restrictions (as long as they registered in the "Worker Registration Scheme"). It also meant that overnight A8 nationals who were already working in the UK before 1st May 2004 experienced a "change of status", acquiring most of the rights of an EU national. This includes the right to live and work in the UK without restrictions, to remain permanently in the UK, and to be joined by dependants. For A8 nationals residing in the UK illegally, 1st May 2004 was, in effect, an amnesty. For those residing in the UK legally but with restrictions on the work that they were permitted to do, acquiring EU rights has given them the freedom to change their employer and sector of employment.

Changing status, changing lives? aims to study the consequences of granting most of the economic and social rights of an EU national to A8 nationals ***who were already working in the UK before 1st May 2004*** – with "legal" or "illegal" status. The research for this project will result in a number of academic and other papers. Initial findings on employment issues are given in the first project report **Fair Enough? Central and East European Migrants in Low Wage Employment in the UK**. (May 2006). A separate working paper discussing "semi-compliance in the migrant labour market" (also released in May 2006) may be of particular interest to researchers studying irregular migration. A third paper analysing the lives of migrants outside of the workplace will be published in Autumn 2006. All papers arising from the *Changing status, changing lives?* project, together with the research instruments used, will be made available at the project website: www.compas.ox.ac.uk/changingstatus

This paper describes the research methods of and participants in the *Changing Status, Changing Lives?* project. The rest of the paper is divided into four sections discussing methodology, participants and lessons learnt. The next section begins by explaining the choice of research methods – a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches - used in this project. It then gives an overview of the research design and sampling strategy. This is followed by more detailed explanations of the design of research instruments, access and implementation of interviews with workers and au pairs, and with employers, host families and agencies. The section concludes with a brief description of the data collected and a general health warning about the analysis and interpretation.

The third and fourth sections give an overview of the characteristics of the migrants, employers, host families and agencies surveyed and interviewed. For convenience, the term "respondents" will be used to indicate migrants and employers who participated in surveys. The term "interviewees" indicates migrants, employers and other stakeholders with whom we carried out in-depth interviews.

The fifth and concluding section gives a preliminary assessment of the methodological lessons learned during the course of the project.

2 Methodology

The *Changing Status, Changing Lives?* project aims to address three broad sets of research questions:

- What are Central and East European migrants' experiences and perceptions of working in low-wage jobs in the UK? What is the role of immigration status – including "illegal residence" - in determining migrants' labour market outcomes?
- What is the nature of employers' demand for migrant labour? How are employers meeting their demand for migrants? What is the role of migrants' immigration status in employers' recruitment decisions?
- What are the living conditions and leisure activities of Central and East European migrants in the UK, their attitudes towards and relationships with British people? Are these affected by immigration status, length of stay or their long-term aspirations? What impact has EU Enlargement had on A8 nationals and on East European migrants from outside the enlarged EU?

2.1 Choice of methods

While *Changing Status, Changing Lives?* is an exploratory project it was clear from the outset that it would have strong policy relevance. Research which is concerned to have a policy impact typically tends towards quantitative methods. Policy makers, whether government or those more broadly concerned with migrant workers, are more convinced by an analysis and recommendations that contain numbers and statistics than quotations

from individuals without the possibility of generalising from their opinions and experiences. Some of the research questions that we have set out above– such as the exploration of labour market demand for example - clearly lend themselves towards quantitative analysis.

Research on *impacts,* however, also requires consideration of personal experiences, aspirations, feelings and responses which are more suited to a qualitative approach. Issues that trouble policymakers are not necessarily the same as those that trouble migrants or indeed employers. There is, moreover, a difference between a felt impact and an impact that can be measured. For example, a survey can provide data on whether or not workers changed employment following a change in immigration status, but in-depth interviews can explore how this change affects whether workers might want to change employment. These kinds of impact are related to each other, and for a full picture it is important to capture both. The complex social lives of individuals, and the power-laden sets of relations within which we all work, cannot be captured in surveys. The simple responses required by quantitative approaches can iron out some of the uncertainties and complexities of real life that are part of what the research project aimed to capture. In particular we anticipated that we would be dealing with particularly complex employment relations that shade into personal relations, overtly with au pairs and through the myriad sub-contracting arrangements that often feature in the other sectors. Exploration of these issues requires a qualitative approach, one that does not become mired in details of individual difficulties but indicates structures and patterns of power.

For these reasons, we have attempted to formulate a truly interactive methodology for this project, drawing on quantitative (survey) and qualitative (in-depth interviews and diaries) methods. Both survey and in-depth worker interviews are exploratory and contemporaneous and we have chosen a flexible, issue-led model, in which we selected our method depending on whether it was the most appropriate for the questions we were exploring. Thus, quantitative and qualitative approaches have been combined, not only in the fieldwork, but also during the conceptual design and analysis. We recognize that interviews are social interactions. While this fact poses difficulties for quantitative approaches, it may be one of the strengths of qualitative interviews.

2.2 Research design and sampling strategy

Changing Status, Changing Lives? comprises two waves of quantitative and qualitative research. Wave 1 was conducted between March and May 2004 and funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC)[1]; wave 2 was conducted between November 2004 and June 2005 and funded by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (JRF). Funding for the project was secured only a matter of weeks before 1st May 2004. This required considerable commitment at short notice from funders, and some flexibility, and

[1] Funding from the ESRC was partly derived from COMPAS core funds, and partly through a special grant. The ESRC also funded the employer and host family mail surveys conducted in early 2005.

we are grateful to both the ESRC and the JRF for their recognition of the value of the project.

It should be noted that while we surveyed and interviewed both employers and migrants, we did not originally intend to conduct either surveys or interviews with employers and migrants who were in an employment relationship with each other. This proved unavoidable for the agriculture sector within the constraints of the research project (see below). However the data cannot be "matched" as they are anonymised.

Workers and au pairs

Limitations of time and budget required us to select only certain nationalities and employment sectors. Our concern to explore the impact of a change in immigration status required a focus on sectors where migrants are known to work irregularly or on permits. It was also necessary to try to get a balance between those working irregularly and those employed on legal schemes, notably the Seasonal Agricultural Workers' Scheme (SAWS), Au Pair Scheme and the Sector Based Scheme (SBS). This affected our selection of nationalities and sectors of employment. The sectors of employment selected - as of April 2004 - were agriculture, construction, hospitality, and the au pair sector, though it should be noted that au pairing is not officially constructed as work at all but as cultural exchange, and relations between au pairs and host families are governed not by employment contracts but by being "part of the family". The inclusion of au pairs as a sector therefore required modification of research instruments, not least because we felt that the language of employment would not be regarded as appropriate by the relevant respondents and interviewees in this sector. Food manufacturing/processing was also included in our original design, but was largely dropped at the fieldwork stage for reasons outlined below.[2]

We selected four A8 nationalities on the basis of their prominence in the SAWS, Au Pair and SBS schemes before EU Enlargement: Czech, Slovak, Lithuanian and Polish. It was also necessary to have a comparison group, that is, people whose immigration status would not change following EU Enlargement so that we could attempt to disentangle the change in immigration status from other factors. For example, staying longer in the UK may mean that people are more likely to sign on with a doctor, and a comparison group whose immigration status has not changed will help indicate whether *change in status* is a factor in migrants accessing GPs or whether what is important is *length of stay*. Ukrainians and Bulgarians formed this comparison group. People of these nationalities also participate in the UK's legal temporary worker schemes (with one exception: Ukrainian nationals are not able to enter the UK as au pairs). Bulgaria is currently an EU candidate country unlike the Ukraine.

It was originally intended that 50 percent of survey and in-depth interviews with workers be conducted with those working with permits or student visas, and 50 percent with those working in breach of immigration regulations or otherwise working "illegally". In practice this proved unworkable. First, there were a number of practical and sector-

[2] As discussed below, however, it was retained in the mail survey of employers.

specific reasons. For example, in hospitality it proved difficult to access workers on legal schemes and in agriculture, in contrast, it was difficult to access those working irregularly. We believe that for both of these groups a longer period to explore means of access might have helped. In the construction industry "false" self employment proliferates among UK nationals[3] and the mapping of this on to an immigration status of "self employed" is complex. For au pairs there are both methodological and philosophical issues in resolving who "counts" as an "illegal" au pair and in particular, the difference between an au pair working "illegally" and migrant working as a domestic worker. For this reason we decided to interview only au pairs who were working with host families and who had not overstayed their au pair visas.

A second factor that made it difficult to implement our initial plan of interviewing regular and irregular migrants in roughly equal numbers was a problem of definitions. Questions were raised at the outset about how to categorise students who work. Although used in many academic and public discussions, the classification of migrants as regular or irregular is much less clear in the real world – how, for example, should one characterise a student who is working 25 hours a week, when 20 hours a week in term time is all that is permitted? Or an au pair who is also working part time in the hospitality sector? A conceptual framework for managing this is set out and operationalised in Ruhs and Anderson (2006)[4]. This paper introduces the notion of "semi-compliance" to indicate a situation where a migrant has leave to remain in the UK but is working in violation of some or all of the conditions attached to the migrant's immigration status. Our development of this concept responds to the emergence of "semi-compliant" migrants as an empirically important group in this research project.

Employers, host families and agencies

We were advised by both senior academics and employers on our advisory board that employers would be extremely reluctant to complete surveys or to give interviews. This cast doubt on the feasibility of engaging employers both "before and after" 1st May 2004. Moreover a pre-May 1st survey might simply have served to flag up particular concerns and anticipations which, in the event, the participants might not have found justified. While we were exploring the possibility of gaining access to employers who had applied to Work Permits UK (Home Office) for permits, and employers in particular sectors through their representative bodies, it became clear that it would not be possible to conclude these arrangements before the May 1st deadline. For these methodological and logistical reasons we decided to conduct only one retrospective survey of host families and employers, 8-14 months after EU Enlargement, allowing time for some initial changes to become apparent.

The pre-May 1st data on host families, employers and agencies are therefore all qualitative. We decided to interview agencies active in particular sectors because in many cases it is the agency that is the direct employer of the worker rather than the "labour

[3] Harvey, M. (2001) *Undermining Construction* London: The Institute of Employment Rights, London
[4] Ruhs, M. and B. Anderson (2006) "Semi-compliance in the migrant labour market", COMPAS Working Paper (May 2006), available at www.compas.ox.ac.uk/changingstatus

user" and because agencies often possess detailed knowledge of labour market conditions in the sectors in which they operate, and indeed contribute to shaping these conditions.

Ethics

We have tried hard to take an ethical approach throughout the project in relation to both participants and colleagues employed as interviewers, coordinators and research assistants. Informed consent was sought from all participants by describing to them in full the purposes for which data were being collected before the completion of survey questionnaires and embarking on interviews. Participants were assured of anonymity and confidentiality and data were handled in a way that enabled this to be strictly observed. The principal investigators do not have access to the names, addresses or other contact details of workers interviewed. Qualitative interview transcripts and questionnaires are stored securely at COMPAS. Particular care has been taken in the training of interviewers to ensure that the immigration status of individual participants is not divulged to anyone outside of the research project.

All interviewers were trained, not only to ensure that they were able to conduct the interviews ethically and in an informed way, but also to ensure their personal security. Colleagues working on the project were formally contracted to do so and where possible principal investigators have sought to make the experience and subsequent contact such that it could contribute to their forward career trajectories. This has included career advice and provision of job references. All those who have worked on the project have been formally acknowledged by name at the end of this report.

2.3 Overview of research instruments

Tables 2.1 and 2.2 give an overview of the research instruments developed and used in this project. As explained in the following sections, there were minor differences between the research instruments developed for workers (i.e. respondents and interviewees working in agriculture, construction and hospitality) and au pairs. We also needed to design different instruments for re-surveys or re-interviews (i.e. wave 2 surveys/interviews with migrants already interviewed in wave 1), and for retrospective surveys or retrospective interviews (i.e. surveys/interviews with migrants interviewed after EU Enlargement only). Finally, in the case of au pairs, different wave 2 instruments had to be developed for migrants who were au pairs in both wave 1 and wave 2, and for those who were au pairs in wave 1 but "workers" (i.e. employed outside the au pair sector) in wave 2. All research instruments are available on the website of the *Changing Status, Changing Lives?* Project: www.compas.ox.ac.uk/changingstatus

Table 2.1: Overview of research instruments for workers

Quantitative	Qualitative
Wave 1 (before EU Enlargement)	
Survey of workers	Interview schedule for workers
Survey of au pairs	Interview schedule for au pairs
Wave 2 (after EU Enlargement)	
Re-survey of workers	Re-interview schedule for workers
Retrosp. survey of workers	Retrosp. schedule for workers
Re-survey of au pairs still au pairs	Re-interview schedule for au pairs
Re-survey of au pairs now workers	
Retrosp. survey of au pairs still au pairs	Retrosp. schedule for au pairs
Retrosp. survey of au pairs now workers	Diaries for au pairs and workers

Table 2.2: Overview of research instruments for employers, host families and agencies

Quantitative	Qualitative
Wave 1 (before EU Enlargement)	
	Interview schedule for employers
	Interview schedule for host families
	Interview schedule for agencies
	Interview schedule for au pair agencies
Wave 2 (after EU Enlargement)	
Mail survey of employers[5]	Re-interview schedule for employers
Mail survey of host families[6]	Re-interview schedule for host families
	Re-interview schedule for agencies
	Re-interview schedule for au pair agencies

2.4 Surveying and interviewing workers and au pairs

It is important to emphasise that this research project was designed to be exploratory. The workers and au pairs surveyed and interviewed do not comprise a representative sample: they reveal patterns within the group interviewed and indicate certain tendencies and relations.

Both survey and in-depth interviews with workers and au pairs were conducted face to face and in the interviewee's first language. The accurate translation of research instruments to ensure comparability was of crucial importance, and translations were discussed at some length with the principal researchers and research assistants. For wave 1 the same interviewers were used for survey and in-depth instruments. For wave 2 interviewers were given "specialised" tasks, with some interviewers doing survey interviews and others carrying out in-depth interviews only. In line with our practice

[5] The mail survey of employers was carried out during May-July 2005.
[6] The mail survey of host families was carried out in January-February 2005.

regarding research ethics outlined above, key to our selection of interviewers of workers was that they would respect confidentiality and anonymity, and in particular that they would not disclose the immigration and employment status of any named individual. To further protect respondents' and interviewees' privacy, interviews were not conducted in migrants' homes." Training sessions were held with all interviewers. As well as discussing research instruments, logistics and access, information on the legal background to British immigration laws and regulations was provided (all within Office of the Immigration Services Commissioner regulations).

Design of research instruments for workers and au pairs

The principal researchers designed both qualitative and quantitative instruments. The qualitative interview schedule began with the same basic questions as the quantitative instrument to enable us to contextualize some of the responses. While the design of the instruments was a complex procedure that cannot be detailed here, we should draw attention to the concept of the "primary job". This was developed as we recognised that in order to obtain data on employment the survey instrument must simplify potentially complex sets of part time jobs. The "primary job" was defined as the job people would least like to lose.

Wave 1: Surveys were designed to be completed by an interviewer and to take approximately one hour. Separate survey instruments were used for workers and for au pairs as the latter are not officially deemed to be "workers" and the blurring of employment and personal relations is much more overt and easier to explore than it is for "workers". The two surveys were however designed to ensure comparability of data. Some questions were modelled on the Labour Force Survey to facilitate comparison of data. The questionnaires were pre-coded and comprised mainly closed questions, with some open-ended questions that were coded after data entry. Considerable thought was given as to the placing and wording of all questions, in particular those exploring immigration status, which was "checked" in different questions. In-depth interviews were semi-structured and designed to be tape-recorded, with the possibility of detailed notes if interviewees did not consent to being taped. They were anticipated to last around an hour. For au pairs, different interview schedules were devised, with a focus on exploring the nature of the employment/host family relationship as experienced by the worker/au pair.

Wave 2: This comprised two sets of respondents/interviewees: re-interviews of those who had been interviewed in wave 1, and "new" respondents/interviewees whom we could ask retrospective questions. We expected considerable attrition from our original sample of workers and au pairs: some would return to their country of origin, some would change jobs or accommodation, and of course there is a natural reluctance, particularly on the part of those working irregularly, to hand over contact details to a research institute. Our aim was to re-interview as many of our original sample - through their original interviewer - but we hoped for at least 25 percent. We therefore had to design two sets of survey (re-interview and retrospective) and two sets of in-depth instruments, one suitable for re-interviews and one for retrospective interviews. Again, we had to design separate but comparable surveys and in-depth interviews for au pairs, with an added complication

that some people who were au pairs before May 1st 2004 might be workers in November 2004. We therefore had several research instruments for wave 2 (see Tables 2.1 and 2.2). Retrospective surveys naturally raise issues of problems of recall and post hoc rationalization – this was taken into account during the data analysis.

In order to capture the "felt impacts" of immigration status we asked some migrants to keep diaries from October 2004. These were designed to give migrants space to record their thoughts and experiences in a semi-structured way in their own language, every two weeks.

Access to workers and au pairs

The same access methods were used for both quantitative and qualitative interviewees. Where possible we wanted to avoid accessing workers through their employer for ethical and methodological reasons. We therefore negotiated access with community groups and other gatekeepers. Our interviewers had contacts with people of their nationality. Their role in accessing interviewees who trusted them from prior knowledge, and snowballing from these initial contacts was crucial to the success of the project – though it brought its own challenges and we anticipated "interviewer effects" on the composition of our sample. There were two methodological issues arising from the fact that many (though not all) of our interviewers were students. First, it required us to put a limitation on the number of those on student visas to be interviewed as these were the easiest migrants for this group of interviewers to find. Second, it was necessary to make greater efforts to gain access to au pairs, who do not seem to "mix" with students. We should note that our Bulgarian and Ukrainian interviewers found it more difficult to access their respondents/interviewees, i.e. the non-A8 nationals.

While access to construction workers, au pairs and hospitality workers proved relatively unproblematic, it was harder to contact workers in agriculture and food manufacturing/processing, where our urban based interviewers had few contacts. Time constraints (the importance of completing wave 1 by 1st May 2004) meant that we therefore had no option but to approach workers through their employers for the agricultural sector. The delay in accessing agricultural workers meant that a small number (about 25) of them were surveyed the week after EU Enlargement. Accessing workers through employers was also the only option for food manufacturing/processing, but since it was time-consuming and required contacts that we did not have, we decided that we could no longer include this sector in our sample.

For agriculture, employers selected for in-depth interview (see employers' section 3.4) were asked to allow a team of 3-4 trained interviewers to interview workers on site. Agricultural workers were interviewed at a total of seven sites. In some cases this took place on the same day as the employer interview, though always by different researchers. One disadvantage of this method is that employers themselves facilitated access to workers. Another was that almost all of the workers interviewed, whether with the status of SAWS card holders or accession nationals, were placed with their employers by SAWS operators. Thus we were not able to interview agricultural workers working

outside the terms of their immigration status or without any such status. In some cases workers were interviewed at the end of the working day. When agricultural workers were asked whether they were willing to come off the packhouse line, or the field, to be interviewed (in all cases asked by their employer), it was not clear to the interviewers that the migrants were being compensated for any loss of earnings. This is an ethical issue that needs to be addressed in future projects.

Access issues continued into wave 2 of the interviews, as the methodology required us to keep in touch with our original group, as well as find further respondents/interviewees for the retrospective interviews in wave 2. We intended to keep in touch with those wave 1 respondents/interviewees who had agreed to a follow-up interview by providing them with information on immigration and employment rights (while recognising its methodological implications). The "keeping in touch" had to be done by the wave 1 interviewers, requiring a commitment from them that in practice they were not all able to make given the timing of the summer vacation. In the event, those who had consented to be re-interviewed were only contacted at the beginning of wave 2. Not all wave 1 interviewers participated in wave 2 (about half did), and this required negotiation between wave 1 interviewers and interviewees and the replacement wave 2 interviewer to ensure that interviewees felt comfortable with contact details being passed on. Despite all these challenges we managed to retain a third of our wave 1 respondents/interviewees for wave 2 re-interviews. In wave 2, all respondents were provided with a £10 phone card in recognition of their contribution to the project.

We also needed to access a new cohort of respondents/interviewees (for the "retrospective" interviews) for wave 2. We decided to find new respondents/interviewees on the basis of the gender, age range and nationality (i.e. personal characteristics that are highly unlikely to change) of the wave 1 respondents/interviewees who could not be re-interviewed in wave 2. The migrants for retrospective interviews also had to have been working in one of our sectors in April 2004. The matching exercise involved a staged process, firstly following up with previous potential re-interviewees, then analysing on a weekly basis the groups on which we were not collecting wave 2 data, and requesting our interviewers to find respondents/interviewees with the basic characteristics of this group. One problem with this approach was that wave 2 interviewers would tend to interview migrants who had not changed sectors between wave 1 and wave 2. This is because, in order to access a migrant who was working in hospitality sector in April 2004, most interviewers would approach migrants who were working in hospitality in wave 2 of the research project. This made it likely that our sample would be biased towards migrants who did not change sector.

The agricultural sector raised a particular problem. As explained, our interviewers were not linked into the agricultural networks, and moreover, the terms of the SAWS programme are such that workers must leave the country within six months of entry. This meant that none of the SAWS workers interviewed in April 2004 were able to be working under SAWS in November 2004, when most of the second wave survey interviews were carried out. Almost all of those who had been working with the status of accession nationals had also moved on, as the main season for fieldwork had ended for most crops.

It also meant that most SAWS workers interviewed in wave 2 had not been in the UK pre-May 1st 2004 and had not personally experienced a change in immigration status.

For wave 2 we also aimed to make special efforts to increase the numbers of respondents/interviewees in our comparison group. As mentioned above, Bulgarian and Ukrainian migrants turned out to be more difficult to access and interview than A8 nationals. In wave 1 of the project, Bulgarians and Ukrainians comprised only 28 percent of all respondents. By specifically targeting Bulgarian and Ukrainian migrants in wave 2, we managed to raise this share to 36 percent overall.

The selection of diarists was made with the intention of involving an approximately equal number of each of the six nationalities of worker being studied and of workers who had recent work experience in each of the sectors. It was also intended that the ratio of men to women would approximately reflect their proportions in the sector. We identified wave one interviewees who had been prepared to be contacted again and approached them. In most cases, for reasons of confidentiality, this was carried out by wave 1 worker interviewers who had developed the contacts. Although we had initially aimed at 50 diarists, the number of people open to contributing was nearer to 30. We expected the diaries to take approximately 30 minutes every two weeks, and so provided an honorarium in recognition of the time contributed by the diarist. The number willing to participate increased noticeably when we increased the honorarium. In the end, a total of 12 diarists wrote fortnightly entries. In some cases, diarists described the events in their lives in some detail but some entries were brief and factual, lacking the depth and continuity that we had anticipated. For that reason the diarists were asked at the end of the process to write a retrospective essay describing their experiences, for which broad prompt questions were provided. They were invited to do so when brought together with interviewers for a de-briefing and for feed-back from the researchers. This was held at a London hotel, after which an evening meal was provided to thank the diarists and interviewers for their contribution.

Administering research instruments for workers and au pairs

When interviewers approached interviewees they were instructed to guarantee anonymity. They informed respondents that we intended that research results inform policy and "make a difference" but that this project was independent from government and that the Home Office would not have access to any of their personal data. We believe that this, together with the trust that interviewers were able to draw on through their personal contacts, was important in enabling access to irregular workers.

For wave 1 a cohort of 22 trained interviewers were employed to administer the workers' in-depth and survey instruments. They were organised by national group and encouraged to work together. As well as participating in training sessions, interviewers were given written guidelines on who were suitable candidates for interviews, how to conduct the interviews, health and safety matters etc. In wave 2 we employed 28 interviewers, who were given individual profile forms of re-interviews and retrospectives, monitored by the

principal researchers on a weekly basis. Given the large number of research instruments, it was important to ensure that the correct instrument was used in each case.

2.5 Surveying and interviewing employers, host families and agencies

As with workers and au pairs, the employers, host families and agencies interviewed do not constitute a representative sample. While the qualitative interviews were designed to be conducted face to face by trained interviewers, the quantitative instruments were self-completion mail surveys. All data were gathered with the assurance of confidentiality and if necessary, anonymised before being passed to principal researchers.

Design of research instruments for employers, host families and agencies

There were three qualitative instruments designed for wave 1 employer interviews: one schedule for employers and agencies operating in agriculture, construction and hospitality, one for au pair agencies and one for host families. There was a particular emphasis on exploring why migrants rather than UK nationals were employed, and on the employment relations from the employers' point of view. In-depth interviews began with quantitative data with the intention of being able to contextualize in-depth material with survey data.

It was anticipated that for the second wave of qualitative interviews the same employers would be approached, thus re-interviews rather than retrospectives would be required. However, it became clear that employers were only admitting to employing "legally" – even in sectors where it is well known that illegal employment is rife. We developed our qualitative instruments and methods to investigate this further in wave 2. As with all interviews no data on particular companies or individuals were passed on to the principal researchers, and transcripts were anonymised. Interview schedules were designed to be taped and conducted face to face by trained interviewers.

The survey of employers and host families were both designed as self-completion mail surveys. This naturally constrained the number, scope and depth of questions that could be asked. In particular, while it was possible to ask about how respondents *perceive* the importance of immigration status as a determinant of their demand for workers, the mail survey questionnaires did not explicitly ask about the immigration status of the workers/au pairs working for the respondent. Both questionnaires – for employers and host families - included about 50 questions that could be answered in no more than 30 minutes. A number of industry and survey experts were asked to comment on drafts of the mail survey of employers and host families. Our objective was to achieve a response rate of no less than 12.5 percent, the average response rate in mail surveys.

Access to employers, host families and agencies

For the qualitative interviews we were not concerned with obtaining a "representative sample". We nevertheless wanted to interview a range of sizes of business.

In agriculture, the selection of companies for interview aimed to be illustrative of developments in the main regions of employment of migrant workers in the West Midlands, East Midlands and the Eastern and South-Eastern regions. The interviews took place just before and immediately after Enlargement, between April and June 2004.

All but two of the agricultural employers' contacts were obtained through Concordia, a government-approved operator of the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme (SAWS). Some of the migrant workers in each company were thus SAWS student workers. Nationals of accession countries were able to enter and take up employment under the SAWS scheme prior to May 1st 2004. After May 1st, Concordia, like other SAWS operators, with extensive contacts in universities in accession countries, supplied farms with nationals of Accession countries without SAWS work cards, especially from Lithuania and Poland, as well as with SAWS workers, notably Bulgarians and Ukrainians. The remaining two employers were accessed with assistance of South Holland Borough Council in south Lincolnshire.

In relation to au pairs, access to agencies and host families was facilitated by the British Association of Au Pair Agencies (BAAPA), through participation at the Annual Conference of the International Association of Au Pair Agencies. Host families were also accessed through snowballing and personal contacts of the researchers. The registration requirements of BAAPA mean that the agencies interviewed come from the self-regulated section of the industry.

For the hospitality and construction sectors we drew on individual personal contacts, industry representatives and trades unions.

Access to the host families for administering a mail survey was facilitated by au pair agencies. Thirteen agencies agreed to send out our questionnaire to a total of 810 host families on their databases, together with a letter from the researchers and an agency cover letter. The mail survey was returned direct to COMPAS. The names and addresses of the host families were not passed to COMPAS. Again it should be noted that these are host families using BAAPA registered agencies rather than a representative sample of host families.

For the mail survey of employers in hospitality, agriculture and food processing, access was facilitated by Work Permits UK (WPUK) and by the British Hospitality Association (BHA). WPUK has enabled us to mail around 3,500 employers who had received SBS permits or SAWS permits. COMPAS did not have access to the names of the firms nor addresses. Respondents were asked to return completed questionnaires to a mailing company which then forwarded the questionnaires to COMPAS. The agreement was that WPUK would not have access to individual questionnaires nor data provided by

individual respondents. In order to reach employers in hospitality who may be employing migrants without SBS permits (who by definition we could not reach through the permit provider, Work Permits UK), we also asked the BHA to provide a further 2,000 addresses of employers who could also be included in our mail survey. Again, all the names and addresses of individual BHA employers were handled by the mailing company and were never made available to COMPAS. We are grateful to the BHA and Work Permits UK for their invaluable assistance with the mail survey.

The different methods were required to access employers for survey instruments and the negotiations for this were quite complex, and owing to the tight timetable of the project we did not manage to develop a specific means of accessing employers in construction for the mail survey. We therefore do not have quantitative data from employers in this sector.

Administering of research instruments for employers, host families and agencies

In-depth interviews of host families, agencies and employers were conducted by a different group of interviewers from those speaking to migrant workers. Separate training was conducted and background information provided on immigration schemes and the sectors concerned. It was originally intended that particular interviewers would "specialise" in particular sectors, thereby building up a useful knowledge base that would ensure the highest quality interviews. While this was possible to an extent in agriculture, the constraints on employers' and interviewers' times were such that it proved impossible to maintain evenly across the sectors. As with the interviews of workers, lessons were learned from Wave 1 that were drawn on in our management of Wave 2, in particular the issue of the management and co-ordination of interviewers and the importance of constant monitoring and feedback for in-depth interviewers.

The mail survey of host families was mainly administered by au pair agencies in January 2005. The project researchers sent the questionnaires to the various agencies which then sent the questionnaires with two cover letters, one from the principal researchers and the other from the relevant au pair agency, to host families. This process was very successful and we achieved a high response rate of 33 percent (268 returned questionnaires). Moreover, while the survey was designed to comprise mainly closed questions, the open questions frequently drew long and detailed responses.

The mail survey of employers was mainly administered by the mailing company which sent questionnaires to the addresses of employers received from WPUK and the BHA. Following piloting, the first mailing of questionnaires took place in May 2005. This included a cover letter from the project researchers, and, for those accessed through the BHA, a letter from the BHA. Those accessed through WPUK had a cover letter from the researchers only. It resulted in 321 returned questionnaires (equivalent to a response rate of 5.8 percent), including 148 questionnaires from WPUK employers and 173 questionnaires from the BHA employers. In order to improve the response rate, a reminder letter was sent out to WPUK employers (but not to the BHA employers) six weeks after the first mailing. This resulted in an additional 44 returned questionnaires,

bringing the final number of returned questionnaires to 365 (equivalent to a response rate of 6.6 percent). Despite the fact that the reminder letter was sent to WPUK employers only, the final response rate for those employers accessed via the BHA employers (8.6 percent) was higher than for those access via WPUK employers (5.5 percent).

Policy interviews

In order to explore the historical and policy context of the research questions, 16 interviews were conducted in June 2005 with representatives of organisations with responsibilities relating to migrant workers in the public, private and voluntary sectors. These were with officials in the Home Office, Department of Work and Pension and Work Permits UK; in a local authority in whose area a significant number of migrant agricultural workers are living (involving two officials and a representative of the local diocese); with two senior police representatives in the same region; with the TUC and two trades unions representing workers in the sectors covered by the project; with the Confederation of British Industry, three bodies representing employers and one agency responsible for placing SAWS workers; with the head of a migrant association; and with representatives from two embassies from among the six Eastern and Central European countries covered by the research. The interviews established the nature of the organisation's responsibility for migrant workers before exploring the anticipated impact of EU Enlargement on 1st May 2004 and the actual impact experienced by the organisation and/or its members.

2.6 Overview of data collected

Tables 2.3-2.5 give an overview of the data and information collected in this project.

Table 2.3 Survey interviews with migrants (576 respondents)

	Cze	Lit	Pol	Slov	Bul	Ukr	Total	AS	NAS
Wave 1	48	81	59	53	46	46	333	241	92
Wave 2 - re-interviews	14	36	18	19	14	8	109	87	22
Wave 2 - restrospective	29	33	35	33	42	71	243	130	113
Total respondents	77	114	94	86	88	117	576	371	205
"Panel"	43	69	53	52	56	79	352	217	135

Table 2.4 In-depth interviews with migrants (93 interviewees)

	Cze	Lit	Pol	Slov	Bul	Ukr	Total	AS	NAS
Wave 1	2	17	22	2	6	2	51	43	8
Wave 2 - re-interviews		7	10	1	2		20	18	2
Wave 2 - restrospective	11	4	5	11	4	7	42	31	11
Total interviewees	13	21	27	13	10	9	93	74	19
"Panel"	11	11	15	12	6	7	62	49	13

Table 2.5 In-depth interviews with employers, host families and recruitment agencies

	Employers	Host families	Recruitment agencies
Wave 1	24	6	16
Wave 2 - re-interviews	12	4	12
Wave 2 - restrospective	3		
Total employers, host families, agencies interviewed	27	6	16
"Panel"	12	4	12

Mail survey of host families:
268 questionnaires returned out of 810 distributed (33 percent response rate)

Mail survey of employers:
365 questionnaires returned out of 5,500 distributed (6.6 percent response rate)

Migrants' diaries: 12

After data had been collected it had to be transformed into a form amenable to analysis. For the quantitative material this required questionnaire responses to be coded, entered into a computer file (initially SPSS, then STATA) and the entries checked, while qualitative material had to be translated and transcribed. The two wave 1 survey datasets (au pair and worker surveys) were entered into a single file. Given the number of research instruments, file design and quantitative data entry for wave 2 was complex and we employed a team of people for data entry. Drawing on lessons from wave 1 [?], qualitative material from wave 2 was presented [?] according to a transcription template, and coded into Excel files.

2.7 A health warning

As this section has illustrated, most of the sampling process for the study was purposive rather than random. This means that the samples are not representative of the wider populations of migrants, employers, host families and agencies under consideration. Thus the results of any analysis based on these data are not generalisable, but instead merely serve as an indication of potential patterns and relationships. Despite this important caveat – which will be repeated at appropriate junctures throughout the various papers arising from this research project - analysis with the data collected in the *Changing Status, Changing Lives?* project is still extremely useful in carrying out exploratory analysis of many issues - such as the employment conditions of irregular migrants - that have so far remained greatly under-researched in existing studies in the UK.

3 Characteristics of migrant respondents and interviewees

This section provides basic background information about the migrants who participated in this research project. This includes a brief overview of respondents' and interviewees': gender; age; marital status and dependents; schooling and vocational training; work experience; sector of employment in April 2004 (wave 1); English language proficiency; and time of most recent entry to the UK for employment purposes. All the data presented in this section refer to respondents' and interviewees' situation *before EU Enlargement*, i.e. either at the time of the survey or interview (April 2004) or, whenever specified, at the time of respondents' last entry to the UK for employment purposes (always before 1st May 2004).

As stated above, respondents and interviewees for both the survey and in-depth interviews were purposively selected rather than randomly chosen. In some cases, there were "interviewer effects", e.g. older interviewers tended to find and interview older respondents; "sector effects", e.g. in agriculture most respondents were legally employed under the SAWS scheme which meant that most of them were students in their home countries[7]; and/or "sampling effects", e.g. respondents working as au pairs were selected on the basis that they had legally entered, and were legally residing, on an au pair visa. The data are thus not representative of the wider population of migrants under consideration.

Most of the data presented below are organized by citizenship and presented as simple cross tabulations. Of course, this particular choice of "lens" gives a very limited view; it serves to simplify and introduce the data rather than facilitate a comprehensive descriptive analysis. All of the data discussed in the text are based on the tables given in the Appendix (see Appendix Tables A1 – A2)

3.1 Survey respondents

Gender

The overall gender distribution of the sample is fairly balanced: 55 percent of all respondents were male. Among Czech and Slovak respondents, women outnumbered men. In construction all respondents were male, and among au pairs the majority were female.

Table 3.1 Survey respondents (Wave 1 and Wave 2) by citizenship and gender

	Cze	Lit	Pol	Slo	Bul	Ukr	Total	A8	NA8
Male	33	65	58	40	56	63	315	196	119
Female	44	49	36	46	32	54	261	175	86
Total	77	114	94	86	88	117	576	371	205

Source: Survey interviews with migrant workers and au pairs
Notes: "A8" indicates accession state national; "NA8" indicates non accession-state national

[7] To be eligible to enter the UK under the SAWS scheme, migrants need to be registered as students in their home countries.

Age

Most respondents were young and single. Their average age – at the time of the wave 1 interview - was 27.[8] Ukrainians (30 years on average) and Bulgarians (28 years) were older than the respondents from the accession states whose average age was 26.

Partners and dependants

Less than half of all respondents reported to have a partner (43 percent), but more than half of the Polish and Lithuanian migrants surveyed did. On average, just over half of all partners were in the UK. On average, Ukrainian and Bulgarian respondents were financially supporting more – and A8 respondents significantly fewer – than one dependent. This is likely to stem, at least in part, from the higher average age of Bulgarian and Ukrainian migrants surveyed.

Schooling and vocational training

On average, respondents had completed 13 years of formal schooling (which may include vocational training) with little difference between the various nationalities. Poles reported the longest average period of formal schooling (14 years) and Ukrainians the shortest (12 years). There were, however, some significant differences between the highest *levels* of schooling completed by migrants from different countries. In particular, 20 percent of Ukrainians and Bulgarians reported completion of the second stage of tertiary education,[9] compared with two per cent of respondents from the four accession states.

A fairly high share (42 percent) of all migrants surveyed received vocational training. Bulgarians and Ukrainians reported a higher incidence of vocational training than accession state nationals (49 percent) compared to 37 percent). Furthermore, among those respondents who received vocational training, Ukrainians and Bulgarians also reported the highest average *years* of vocational training (3.6 and 4.2 years, respectively, compared to an overall average of 3.4 years for all migrants surveyed). Again, the differences in vocational training received may not necessarily reflect generalisable differences in the characteristics of the wider populations of these workers. Important explanatory factors may include the Ukrainians' higher average age and different sectors of employment.[10]

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[8] The wave 1 age of some migrants surveyed in wave 2 of the project only ("retrospective interviews") had to be estimated from the information about age provided in wave 2.

[9] Of course, the comparative analysis of data on the level of schooling completed may be problematic for a number of reasons. They include differences between the various countries' education systems, and potential problems - on part of the respondents and/or interviewers - with identifying the correct level of schooling completed. There is also likely to be a strong sectoral effect. For example, SAWS workers must be students. The age limitation and "cultural exchange" element of the au pair visa may also have had an impact.

[10] For example, 22 percent of accession state respondents were working as au pairs. The corresponding figure for non-accession state respondents was only 2 percent.

Work experience

Accession state workers reported significantly fewer months of work experience (64 months on average) than Bulgarians (89 months) and especially Ukrainians (110 months).[11] Again, Bulgarian and Ukrainian respondents' higher average age is likely to be an important factor explaining this difference. Importantly, there was almost no difference between respondents from accession states and non-accession states in terms of work experience *in the UK* which was 21 months, on average, for both groups.

Sector of employment in April 2004

In April 2004, just over a third of survey respondents were working in hospitality, just under a third in construction, and the remainder in agriculture, the au pair sector or in another sector.[12] As shown in Table 3.2, respondents in hospitality and the au pair sector were predominantly female (67 percent and 86 percent respectively). In contrast, almost two thirds of respondents working in agriculture and all of the respondents working in construction were men. In terms of respondents' citizenship, we obtained a fairly good spread within the four sectors of interest to this study. The exception is the au pair sector, where Czechs and Slovaks (who are all A8 nationals) made up more than three-quarters of respondents. A8 workers constituted just over half of all respondents in hospitality and construction, and three-quarters of respondents in agriculture.

Table 3.2 Survey respondents by nationality, gender and sector of employment in April 2004

	Hosp	Constr	Au pair	Agric	Other	Total
A8 respondents:	*114*	*101*	*81*	*61*	*14*	*371*
Czech Republic	21	15	31	6	4	77
Lithuania	32	45	11	20	6	114
Poland	34	32	2	23	3	94
Slovakia	27	9	37	12	1	86
NA8 respondents:	*91*	*77*	*4*	*21*	*12*	*205*
Bulgaria	35	40	4	9	0	88
Ukraine	56	37	0*	12	12	117
Total	*205*	*178*	*85*	*82*	*26*	*576*
% female	67%	0%	86%	37%	81%	45%

Source: Survey interviews with migrants

* In the au pair sector, we interviewed only those respondents who were working legally on au pair visas. Ukrainians are not eligible to apply for au pair visas.

[11] These figures exclude au pairs.

[12] Although we specifically set out to interview migrants employed in April 2004 in four sectors only (hospitality, construction, agriculture and the au pair sector) some of our interviews were with people in other sectors. Migrants employed in these other sectors will be excluded from most of the analysis of employment issues in this report. They will, however, be included to a greater extent in the subsequent report on migrants' experiences of life (i.e. outside the workplace) in the UK.

English proficiency

More than two-thirds of respondents described their English speaking proficiency as "fluent" or "adequate". The lowest levels of English speaking proficiency were reported by Bulgarians (52 percent fluent or adequate) and Poles (57 percent fluent or adequate). Almost half of Bulgarian respondents – and almost a third of Ukrainian respondents - said that they spoke basic English only. The corresponding average figure for all respondents from the accession countries was 22 percent.

Time of most recent entry to the UK for employment purposes

The great majority of migrants interviewed are very recent migrants.[13] As of April 2004, respondents reported an average of 17 months since their last entry for employment to the UK.[14] This figure was lowest for Bulgarians (9 months) and highest for Ukrainians (21 months). A quarter of all respondents had last entered the UK in the first four months of 2004; another half entered during 2002-03; and the remaining quarter in or before 2001. In total, 39 respondents last entered the UK to work before 2000.[15]

Summary of differences between respondents from A8 countries and non-A8 countries

To summarise, the main differences between the personal characteristics of the accession state (A8) migrants and non-accession state (NA8) migrants interviewed include differences in: their average ages (NA8 respondents are older); the number of dependents (higher for NA8 migrants); vocational training received (higher incidence among NA8 nationals); English speaking proficiency (higher among A8 nationals); and total work experience (significantly higher for NA8 respondents). Commonalities include: the share of men among respondents (slightly more than half); similar periods of formal schooling (13 years on average for all respondents); and similar periods of work experience in the UK.

3.2 In-depth interviewees

The personal characteristics of in-depth interviewees (see Table A2) are broadly similar to those of survey respondents. Slightly more than half of the interviewees were men (the share was two-thirds among NA8 interviewees). The average age of interviewees was 27.

[13] This is not surprising given that interviewers were instructed to interview migrants who have been in the UK for a maximum of five years. Not all interviewers respected this rule all of the time which explains why some respondents have been working in the UK for longer than 5 years.

[14] Of course, some migrants may have had previous migration experiences in the UK as evidenced by our in-depth data.

[15] The great majority of in-depth interviewees were also recent migrants. Three-quarters last entered the UK for employment purposes between January 2003 and April 2004 (see Table A2)

NA8 interviewees were slightly older (30 years on average) than A8 interviewees (26 years). On average, interviewees had 14 years of schooling.

3.3 Diarists

The selection of diarists was made with the intention of involving an approximately equal number of each of the six nationalities of worker being studied and of workers/au pairs who had recent work experience in each of the sectors. It was also intended that the ratio of men to women would approximately reflect their proportions in the sector. Although we had initially aimed at 50 diarists, the number of people open to contributing was nearer to 30. In the end, a total of 12 diarists wrote fortnightly entries (six men and six women), which were supplemented in May 2005 with a final essay written at the workshop for diarists and worker and employer interviewers. Table 3.3 below shows how the diarists were distributed by nationality.

Table 3.3 Migrant diaries

	Cze	Lit	Pol	Slov	Bul	Ukr	Total
Migrant diaries (Nov 2004 – May 2005)	2	0	2	3	3	2	12

4 Characteristics of employers, host families and agencies surveyed and interviewed

This section provides and overview of the employers/businesses, host families and agencies surveyed and interviewed in this project.

4.1 Employers surveyed and interviewed

Again, it needs to be kept in mind that the data are not necessarily representative of the wider populations of employers in hospitality and agriculture/food processing. As explained in section 2.5, the kind of business approached to complete the mail survey was conditioned in part by the route of access. Hospitality employers who participated in our mail survey were accessed through the British Hospitality Association and Work Permits UK. Thus the sample included both employers who had used the Sector Based Scheme and/or other work permit routes to employ non-EU workers, and those who had not. In contrast, the mail survey respondents in the agriculture and food processing sectors were all contacted via a database held by Work Permits UK. Therefore they included only businesses which had made use either of the Sector Based Scheme (in the case of food processing), of the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme (in the case of agricultural production and on-site packing), and/or of another work permit scheme.

Employers surveyed

The mail survey of employers was carried out during May-July 2005 and drew a total of 365 responses (equivalent to a response rate of 6.8 percent). 86 percent of respondents were either owners, managers or both owner and manager of the business. Just over 90 percent of all respondents were British and more than 95 percent had been working for the business since before 1st May 2004.[16]

Of the 365 businesses surveyed, 243 were in the hospitality sector and the remainder in agriculture and food processing. Almost two-thirds of the hospitality respondents filled in the questionnaires on behalf of hotels, while the remainder was divided between restaurants (33 percent), and canteens and catering (5 percent). Of the respondents in the food supply industries, the majority were producers and packers of agricultural (mainly horticultural) goods (89 percent) and 11 percent were food or beverage manufacturers.

Of the hospitality respondents, 89 percent described their businesses as operating in the private business sector, and 9 percent in the public sector. In contrast, all businesses surveyed in the agricultural and food processing sectors were described as private businesses.

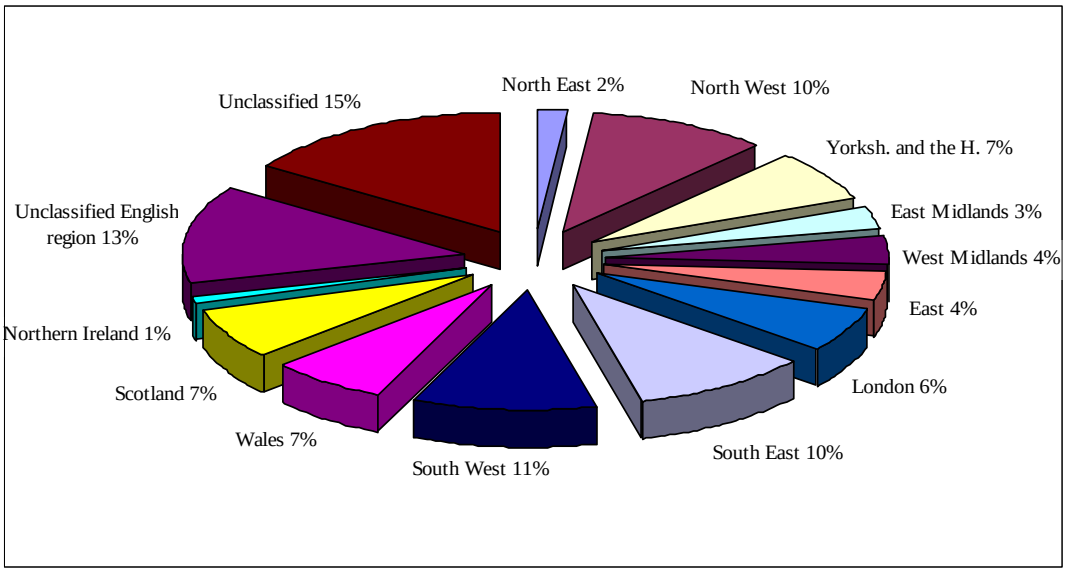
The great majority (three-quarters) of the business establishments surveyed were the only site of the business, 10 percent were headquarters of companies with several branches, and another 12 percent were branches of bigger companies.

Food supplying businesses that responded were on average considerably older than hospitality sector businesses, with mean set up dates of 1965 and 1980, respectively. A portion - 21 percent - of businesses surveyed in hospitality were set up in 2000 or after. The corresponding figure for respondents in agriculture and food processing is 3 percent.

As shown in Figures 4.1 and 4.2, the mail survey drew responses from employers across the United Kingdom. It is notable that only four percent of all businesses (six percent in hospitality and, less surprisingly, none in agriculture and food processing) were in London. This is in contrast with the survey of workers, much of which, in the hospitality and construction sectors, was carried out in London.

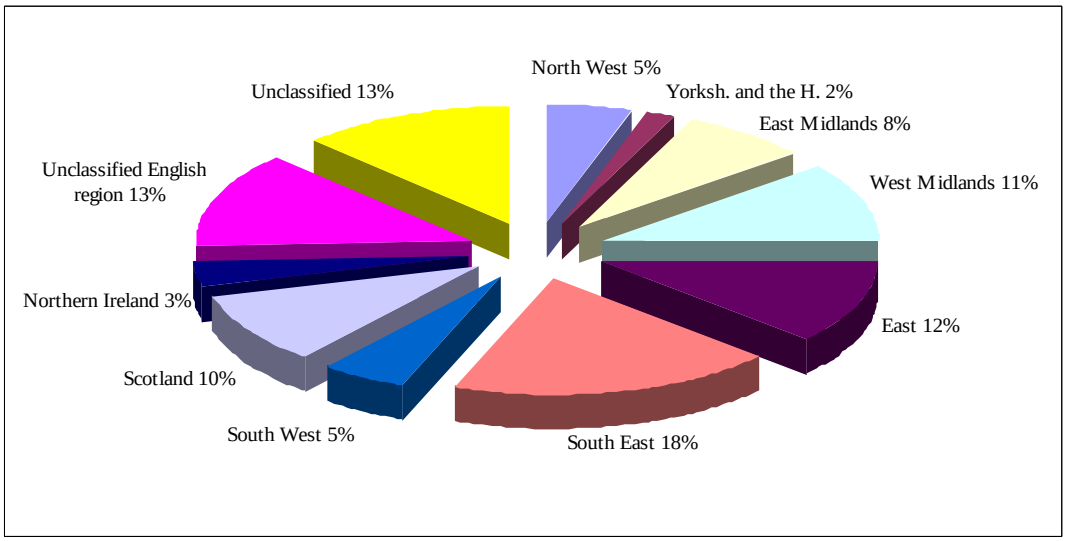
[16] About a third of the employers surveyed started work at the business before 1990, another third in the 1990s, and the remaining third in or after 2000.

Figure 4.1: Location of the businesses surveyed in the hospitality sector (N=243)



Source: Mail survey of employers (see Table A3)

Figure 4.2: Location of the businesses surveyed in agriculture and food processing (N=120)



Source: Mail survey of employers (see Table A3)

As shown in Table 4.1 below, almost three quarters of the businesses surveyed can be classified as small businesses with fewer than 50 workers. The remainder is mainly made up of medium firms (50-249 workers) and very few large firms (>249 workers). Just over half of all businesses surveyed reported a turnover of less than one million pounds in 2004.

Table 4.1 Number of workers and gross turnover of businesses surveyed

	Hospitality		Agriculture and food processing		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Firm size (number of workers)						
Small firm (<50 workers)	157	74.1%	64	67.4%	221	72.0%
Medium firm (50-249 workers)	47	22.2%	29	30.5%	76	24.8%
Large firm (>250 workers)	8	3.8%	2	2.1%	10	3.3%
Total	212	100.0%	95	100.0%	307	100.0%
Missing: 58						
Turnover in 2004, £ thousands range						
0-99	14	7.5%	2	2.3%	16	5.9%
100-249	29	15.6%	17	19.5%	46	16.8%
250-499	24	12.9%	9	10.3%	33	12.1%
500-999	39	21.0%	16	18.4%	55	20.1%
1,000-4,999	66	35.5%	33	37.9%	99	36.3%
5,000+	14	7.5%	10	11.5%	24	8.8%
Total	186	100.0%	87	100.0%	273	100.0%
Missing: 92						

Source: Mail survey of employers (see Table A3)

Employers interviewed

We conducted in-depth interviews with 34 employers, including ten employment agencies, in: agriculture (9 employers, 3 agencies); construction (5 employers, 3 agencies); and hospitality (10 employers, 4 agencies). In contrast to the mail survey which was carried out only after EU Enlargement, the in-depth interview data were collected in two waves, one at the time of EU Enlargement (April/May 2004) and the second approximately seven months later. 32 employers were interviewed in wave 1 (March - May 2004) of which 23 were re-interviewed in wave 2 (November 2004 - January 2005 with one interview in May 2005). Two additional employers were interviewed in the hospitality sector in wave 2.

Unlike in the mail survey, only agricultural producers and packers, not food processors, were included in the sample of labour-users selected for in-depth interviews in the food supply sector. However, the three agencies interviewed in this sector between them provided labour across the UK food supply sector as a whole. The labour-user interviews included soft fruit, salad, field vegetable and top-fruit suppliers. Annual turnovers in 2003 ranged from under £100,000 to £190 million. The companies were all based in England, in the East Midlands, West Midlands, East and South-East regions. Of the labour-providers in this sector, only one had more than one office. Each operated in a particular region corresponding to three of the regions where we interviewed labour-users.

The turnover of the five construction sector labour-users ranged from £100,000 to £4.5 million. All were London-based so the findings on construction from this dataset are

specific to that region. The construction industry in London and the South East uses a high proportion of migrants, but it is structured very differently in other parts of the United Kingdom. Of the agencies providing construction workers, two were medium-sized with six and seven offices respectively, and one was very large with over fifty offices and some 9,000 workers on their books.

Almost all of the 14 hospitality sector in-depth interviews were based in London. The exceptions were one agency interviewed near Gatwick and one restaurant in each of Oxford and Bristol. Labour-users ranged from small family-owned businesses to large chain hotels and restaurants. One conference centre manager was also interviewed. Two small labour provider agencies were interviewed along with one very large one with over 100,000 time sheets.

4.2 Host families surveyed and interviewed

The mail survey of host families of au pairs was carried out during January and February 2005 and drew a total of 267 responses (equivalent to a response rate of 33 percent). We also carried out an additional ten in-depth interviews with six different host families (four of whom were interviewed before and after EU Enlargement). Access to host families, both for the survey and for in-depth interviews, was obtained through au pair agencies. This is therefore not a random sample of host families, particularly since the agencies in turn had been contacted through the British Association of Au Pair Agencies (BAAPA) which represents the self-regulated section of the industry.

Host families surveyed

The majority of mail survey respondents were female (88 percent), aged 30-50 (93 percent) and living with their partners (81 percent), as shown in Table 4.2. However, more than half of our 12 percent of male respondents were single parents. All of our respondents had children living with them. Over 80 percent of respondents had more than one child living with them and over one third (38%) had at least one pre-school age child

Table 4.2.: Respondents' living arrangements by gender

	Male respondents		Female respondents		Total	
Living arrangements						
living with partner	19	59%	196	84%	215	81%
living with no partner	13	41%	37	16%	50	19%
Total	32	100%	233	100%	265	100%

Source: Mail survey of host families (see Table A4)

Over 90% of our respondents were British, with the remainder being nationals of other European countries of the USA, Australia or New Zealand, and 97% of our respondents described themselves as white. Most worked outside the home (more than 80 percent), usually full time, though 12 percent described their occupation as "housewife" or "mother".

The sample was conspicuously highly educated, with 71 percent holding a degree, and 44 percent having a post-graduate qualification. Accordingly, more than three-quarters of respondents were working in jobs requiring a high level of skill and qualifications. A similarly high share (74 percent) of respondents were living in households whose total annual income exceeded £50,000.

Host families interviewed

We carried out in-depth interviews with six host families of au-pairs. Women formed four-fifths of in-depth interviewees. All interviewees were white British, aged 31-40 and had children. The respondents' occupations included architect, housewife, lecturer, recruitment manager and researcher. Four interviewees had a degree or postgraduate qualifications. Two respondents' annual household incomes were in excess of £50,000.

4.3 Agencies interviewed

Fourteen agencies were interviewed. While some worked in several sectors, we identified a primary sector for each. Five were au pair agencies, four hospitality, three agriculture and three construction. Of the 14 agencies interviewed in wave1, 11 were re-interviewed in wave2. The agencies working within hospitality were the largest, with between 700-27,000 workers on their books. Au pair agencies were the smallest with between 300-700 au pairs a year. Agricultural agencies were all "employment businesses" that is, providing labour that was directly employed by them, rather than by the labour user. Hospitality agencies were also principally employment businesses, though some did place people in permanent jobs. Two of the three construction agencies supplied self employed workers to construction businesses, while one construction agency was an employment business. All the au pair agencies provided au pairs to families, and the families were then responsible for payment of "pocket money".

5 Lessons learnt: a preliminary assessment

We set out to interview and survey a non-representative sample of migrant workers of different immigration statuses, and employers/users of migrant labour. We believe our quantitative and qualitative datasets are as robust as possible given the project limitations. We will now assess and consider some of the methodological lessons learned in the course of this project: the research design, access matters, fieldwork, data collation, and analysis.

While researchers frequently complain about limited resources and are wont to imagine what would have been possible "had we but world enough and time", we do wish to emphasise that the project was run to an exceedingly tight time schedule. The funding for

the project was only secured in February 2004 and all "before" surveys and interviews needed to be conducted before May 1st that year. This meant instruments had to be designed, interviewers trained, and interviewees accessed in a very brief window of time. It was, in practice, only just possible, and extremely demanding.

Research Design

The research was designed to take advantage of EU Enlargement to enable a before and after look at the situation of A8 national workers and the demand for their labour. We could not control for the fact that the labour market would change given the possible influx of A8 newcomers, rendering a comparison group particularly important. We aimed to interview and survey migrants before and after EU Enlargement, re-interviewing as many as possible. Ideally we would have conducted the "before" surveys and interviews with workers and employers considerably earlier than we did, in order to limit "anticipation effects", but this was not logistically possible. We interviewed workers and employers some 6-12 months after EU Enlargement to examine the immediate post Enlargement effects. We consider that interviewing workers for a third time 24-36 months after EU Enlargement, would reveal more longer term effects, in particular whether the "trade-offs" of poor work for experience, money etc identified in Anderson, Ruhs, Rogaly and Spencer (2006)[17], are viewed as "worth it". Moreover it is clear from our interviews with employers that labour markets, demand and employment relations fluctuate. The demand/supply balance cannot simply be resolved by EU Enlargement, as it is not static and is affected by many other extraneous factors.

The project has accumulated extremely useful datasets, both qualitative and quantitative. We wished to use mixed methods, qualitative and quantitative, at all stages of the project for reasons given earlier in this paper. In general we believe that this has worked well, but this required that quantitative and qualitative researchers recognised the value each methodological tradition brought to the project, were involved in the design of all research instruments, and were familiar with all datasets – qualitative researchers have a basic grounding in quantitative methods and analytical tools, and qualitative data are analysed in a manner that is accessible to quantitative researchers.

The design of instruments, particularly survey instruments, was complex. The area we were concerned to cover – employment and life in the UK – was broad. We needed instruments that were compatible with significantly different sectors, and importantly, covering different employment relations. Designing an instrument that worked for self employed, employed, and agency workers, was demanding, as was designing an instrument that would work for employers and labour users in our different sectors. It became even more complex and somewhat unwieldy in Wave 2 because of the large number of instruments required. Taking a broad approach was necessary, but somewhat frustrating. It meant that we could not explore issues such as informal working for example, as much as we would have liked. However, we did focus on the key issue of

[17] See Anderson, B., Ruhs, M., Rogaly, B. and S. Spencer (2006) *Fair enough? Central and East European migrants in low-wage employment in the UK*, May 2006 (available at www.compas.ox.ac.uk/changingstatus)

immigration status. We feel that the survey questions on status on entry, and current status worked well. Some people felt able to describe their status as "visa expired" when given this in a range of options, and the consistency checks built in to the questionnaire suggest that the great majority of respondents were consistent with their answers.

After all survey and in-depth interviews with migrants were complete, we held a one day workshop with interviewers to evaluate the interviewing process. When we asked interviewers for their judgment on interviewee and respondents' openness they felt that questions on status did not pose any problems, and in general that respondents and interviewees were honest. The only exception was with reference to some of the survey wage data, where female interviewers felt that male interviewees might have exaggerated their earnings to impress them.

We believe that the fact that instruments were translated, and that interviews and surveys were conducted in the interviewee's first language was crucial, both to their openness and in ensuring consistency across interviews. The process of translation of the different instruments was extremely useful as they were translated and checked by our interviewers. This meant that they had to check the exact meaning of words and the emphasis required with the principal researchers and led to some heated discussions within own language research teams. It gave interviewers some ownership over the instruments.

Designing the mail survey questionnaires for employer and host families posed different challenges. First, as we knew at the outset that employers might have very little incentive to give their time and participate in this mail survey, there was significant pressure to keep the number and scope of questions at an absolute minimum. Given the wide range of issues we set out to explore, this was particularly difficult in the context of our study. Comments from academics and industry informants including employers proved vital in designing and formulation the questions. Second, questions about nationality and immigration status of workers needed to be situated and formulated in a way that maximized the likelihood of obtaining truthful answers. This worked reasonably well as the respondents who completed the questionnaire did not systematically refuse to answer any of the questions about their workers' nationality and immigration status.

Research Process and Access

Interviewers were key to the success of the project. It was they who facilitated access and who administered research instruments. Most were students, which in practice had some limitations as, since they were usually student visa holders, they could work only for 20 hours a week during term time. Consequently, although we were under time pressure we could not require any more than this of most of our interviewers. However, the advantage of using students was that they appreciated the importance of being rigorous in the administration of instruments. Interviewers were interviewed before being recruited. Since they would have access to sensitive material, particularly around immigration status we felt this was an ethical requirement. There were a considerable number of interviewers (over 40 in total), so the recruitment process was rather time-consuming.

Interviewers were trained, not just in the instrument, but in the project and given a basic background in relevant immigration statuses. They were re-trained in wave 2. We had learned some lessons from wave 1 including the importance of informing interviewers of their payment schedules – giving set dates for submission of invoices and dates for reimbursement. This represented one of the biggest challenges to the project, as interviewers had to advance their own expenses, the practice in academic institutions. The fact that most of them were students and yet were prepared to do so represented some commitment to the project that we very much appreciated and was important to recognise.

It was a great advantage to be able to employ interviewers who were able to speak the same language as our interviewees. However, there were also some limitations, particularly for the qualitative data. Sometimes issues which, to other researchers might seem particularly interesting, were not explored in depth by interviewers because they were not particularly novel to the interviewer. Attitudes towards "race" and ethnicity proved an example of this.

In both waves of research, we employed a research assistant to help manage all our interviewers. Among other things, this involved managing interview and payment schedules linking up with COMPAS finance staff. This help in managing interviewers proved invaluable as the implementation of the surveys and interviews by such a large number of interviewers was an extremely complex exercise.

Most of our migrant interviewees (apart from in agriculture) were accessed through interviewers with consequent "interviewer effects" as noted in previous sections. We suspect for example, that one reason that our Ukrainian sample was significantly older than other nationals may have been that the interviewers themselves tended to be older. Given that we knew that our sample could not be representative we did not consider this to be a significant problem, as long as we were able to access a reasonable number of people of different immigration statuses and not principally students. We have already noted the problems of accessing migrants working in agriculture. We were unable to refine our search in any way which meant that we did not access many migrants employed by labour providing agencies ("gangmasters"). This required more time than we had available.

The research design in two waves meant that we had the opportunity to adjust some of our practices in wave 2. One change implemented that significantly affected data quality was to ask certain migrant interviewers to "specialise" in qualitative interviews, and to administer separate quantitative and qualitative training. In wave 1 several interviewers had taken a distinctively quantitative approach to in-depth interviews and we did not have the number of taped interviews that we had anticipated. In wave 2 we were able to select interviewers who had shown themselves particularly good at qualitative interviews in wave 1 (including two journalists), to work with them and review the interview transcripts as they arrived. For quantitative data we were able to request interviewers to

write open-ended responses in English rather than in the language in which the instrument was administered. This made inputting data faster.

We managed to surpass our "target" and re-interview one third of wave 1 respondents though, for the reasons stated in section 2 above, this did not include agricultural respondents. The re-contacting of respondents and interviewees nevertheless posed problems, partly because we were dependent on our interviewers for access as we had undertaken that names and contact details would not be passed on to principal researchers. We do not know how important this undertaking was in facilitating access (though following the second interviews respondents were prepared for their details to be passed to principal researchers), but we had not properly considered its implications for the research process and we had no agreement with interviewers about how this was to be handled in the case of any management difficulty, or should they not wish to participate in wave 2. On reflection such an agreement would have been extremely useful, and have clarified and formalised the role of the interviewers in providing access.

Accessing employers and agencies to interview undoubtedly worked better when the principal researchers were able to draw on personal contacts established in previous research on the agriculture and au pair sectors. Construction employers were particularly difficult to access, and we did not manage to re-interview many of them. Again the pressure of time meant that employer interviews were unable to specialise in particular sectors. This would have enabled more rigorous qualitative interviews, as it would have enabled interviewers to have become more familiar with the peculiarities of each sector including, for example: self employment, CIS cards etc in construction, gangmaster labour in agriculture, high turnover in hospitality, managing personal relationships for host families. However the training for employer interviews meant that interviewers did have a basic grounding in each of the sectors.

The mail survey of host families was greatly facilitated by the support of au pair agencies. Each agency that distributed the survey wrote a covering letter encouraging families to participate and we suspect that this made a difference to the response rate. The British Hospitality Association also inserted a cover letter in the mail survey that was distributed through their database. The response rate of BHA members was notably higher than that of employers accessed through Work Permits UK. We have no way of knowing why this was. It might be that employers, despite assurances of anonymity, were less confident about the involvement of WPUK, on whom they were dependent for obtaining work permits, as opposed to their own trade association.

Data management and analysis

Data collation and management was more time consuming than we had originally anticipated, in particular the time taken to input and clean data for what was a complex questionnaire was considerable. We employed four data entrists who were processing data in SPSS. In some cases, they had to all enter data from the same source – e.g. workers and au pairs survey data – which meant that the data entrists' SPSS files needed to eventually be merged into one single SPSS file. Given the need for minor adjustments

of coding, this proved time-consuming – as did the merging of wave 1 with wave 2 workers' data into a single file. All SPSS files with quantitative survey data were eventually converted into STATA files which were then used for analysis.

Analysing a mixture of quantitative and qualitative data was always going to be challenging but we feel that the process went reasonably well in this project. The different lead researchers took the lead on different types of datasets, specialising in the analysis of either quantitative or qualitative data. We tried to make the process of analysis as interactive as possible, with early or emerging findings from the quantitative and qualitative data being communicated among lead researchers such that the analysis could be a truly "integrated" one.

Appendix

Table A1 Personal characteristics of migrant survey respondents, April 2004 (Wave 1, N=576)

	Czech Republic	Lithuania	Poland	Slovakia	Bulgaria	Ukraine	Total	A8	NA8
Gender									
male	33	65	58	40	56	63	315	196	119
female	44	49	36	46	32	54	261	175	86
Total	77	114	94	86	88	117	576	371	205
Age[1]									
Mean	24.64	26.49	27.17	24.83	27.77	30.02	26.94	25.89	29.01
s.d.	4.60	5.60	5.65	4.11	5.47	9.82	6.54	5.19	8.22
N	N=77	N=114	N=94	N=86	N=84	N=104	N=559	N=371	N=188
Has partner	36.8%	57.0%	52.1%	27.9%	40.9%	40.2%	43.3%	44.9%	40.5%
Total N	76	114	94	86	88	117	575	370	205
Partner in the UK	39.3%	64.6%	67.3%	50.0%	70.6%	37.0%	56.5%	59.0%	51.3%
Total N	28	65	49	24	34	46	246	166	80
Total number of dependents									
Mean	0.30	0.73	0.68	0.11	1.15	1.65	0.83	0.48	1.44
s.d.	0.78	1.55	1.24	0.35	1.49	2.22	1.57	1.16	1.97
N	N=66	N=106	N=90	N=83	N=80	N=116	N=541	N=345	N=196
Dependents in the UK									
Mean	0.03	0.16	0.23	0.00	0.30	0.18	0.16	0.12	0.23
s.d.	0.17	0.85	0.62	0.00	0.66	0.71	0.62	0.58	0.69
N	N=66	N=106	N=90	N=83	N=80	N=116	N=541	N=345	N=196
Total years of formal schooling									
Mean	13.69	13.39	14.13	13.56	13.38	12.10	13.31	13.68	12.64
s.d.	2.02	4.49	2.63	2.29	2.23	4.21	3.34	3.15	3.56
N	N=77	N=112	N=94	N=86	N=86	N=117	N=572	N=369	N=203

Notes: [1] includes estimated figures for some retrospective interviews; 2/3 of respondents -1 year; 1/3 same age

Table A1 continued: Personal characteristics of migrant survey respondents, April 2004 (Wave 1, N=576)

	Czech Republic	Lithuania	Poland	Slovakia	Bulgaria	Ukraine	Total	A8	NA8
Highest level of schooling completed									
Primary education	1.3%	0.0%	2.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.5%	0.8%	0.0%
Lower secondary education	2.6%	2.7%	8.5%	4.7%	0.0%	1.7%	3.3%	4.6%	1.0%
Upper secondary education	63.6%	45.5%	55.3%	59.3%	55.2%	20.7%	48.1%	55.0%	35.5%
Post-secondary non-tertiary education	15.6%	25.9%	8.5%	9.3%	5.7%	19.8%	14.9%	15.4%	13.8%
First stage of tertiary education	15.6%	21.4%	23.4%	25.6%	16.1%	39.7%	24.5%	21.7%	29.6%
Second stage of tertiary education	1.3%	4.5%	2.1%	1.2%	23.0%	18.1%	8.7%	2.4%	20.2%
N	77	112	94	86	87	116	572	369	203
Has had vocational training	37.7%	43.0%	46.8%	18.6%	52.9%	46.6%	41.5%	37.2%	49.3%
Total N	77	114	94	86	87	116	574	371	203
Total years of vocational training									
Mean	2.86	3.21	3.14	2.37	4.24	3.60	3.40	3.01	3.88
s.d.	1.28	1.16	1.43	1.98	2.14	1.81	1.73	1.39	1.98
N	N=27	N=47	N=33	N=15	N=43	N=54	N=219	N=122	N=97
English speaking proficiency									
Fluent	31.2%	22.8%	18.1%	23.3%	16.1%	31.6%	24.0%	23.5%	25.0%
Adequate	54.5%	57.0%	39.4%	58.1%	35.6%	30.8%	45.4%	52.3%	32.8%
Basic only	13.0%	19.3%	37.2%	18.6%	44.8%	29.1%	27.1%	22.4%	35.8%
None	1.3%	0.9%	5.3%	0.0%	3.4%	8.5%	3.5%	1.9%	6.4%
Total N	77	114	94	86	87	117	575	371	204
English reading proficiency									
Fluent	37.7%	19.3%	19.1%	27.9%	18.4%	27.4%	24.5%	25.1%	23.5%
Adequate	49.4%	51.8%	42.6%	59.3%	41.4%	30.8%	45.2%	50.7%	35.3%
Basic only	10.4%	23.7%	25.5%	12.8%	36.8%	28.2%	23.5%	18.9%	31.9%
None	2.6%	5.3%	12.8%	0.0%	3.4%	13.7%	6.8%	5.4%	9.3%
Total N	77	114	94	86	87	117	575	371	204

Table A1 continued: Personal characteristics of migrant survey respondents, April 2004 (Wave 1, N=576)

	Czech Republic	Lithuania	Poland	Slovakia	Bulgaria	Ukraine	Total	A8	NA8
English writing proficiency									
Fluent	28.6%	14.0%	11.7%	14.0%	9.2%	21.4%	16.3%	16.4%	16.2%
Adequate	50.6%	45.6%	37.2%	60.5%	34.5%	24.8%	41.2%	48.0%	28.9%
Basic only	18.2%	27.2%	31.9%	25.6%	49.4%	33.3%	31.1%	26.1%	40.2%
None	2.6%	13.2%	19.1%	0.0%	6.9%	20.5%	11.3%	9.4%	14.7%
Total N	77	114	94	86	87	117	575	371	204
Total work experience as of April 2004, excluding au pairs (months)[1]									
Mean	56.09	68.95	69.63	50.88	88.98	110.09	78.90	64.15	102.25
s.d.	66.23	73.38	67.78	55.98	66.60	104.90	80.60	67.91	92.89
N	42	100	88	47	65	110	452	277	175
(1) Total work experience in the UK as of April 2004, excluding au pairs (months)[1]									
Mean	14.42	24.90	25.36	11.96	14.89	24.99	21.27	21.30	21.23
s.d.	16.21	19.56	27.15	12.32	12.68	25.48	21.78	21.61	22.11
N	42	100	88	46	66	111	453	276	177
Year of last entry to the UK for work									
1999 or earlier	3.9%	9.7%	11.7%	0.0%	0.0%	12.1%	6.9%	6.8%	7.1%
2000	2.6%	7.1%	8.5%	2.3%	3.7%	9.5%	6.0%	5.4%	7.1%
2001	6.5%	11.5%	8.5%	10.5%	12.3%	14.7%	10.9%	9.5%	13.7%
2002	19.5%	18.6%	10.6%	12.8%	21.0%	21.6%	17.5%	15.4%	21.3%
2003	44.2%	22.1%	33.0%	47.7%	33.3%	25.0%	33.0%	35.4%	28.4%
2004	23.4%	31.0%	27.7%	26.7%	29.6%	17.2%	25.7%	27.6%	22.3%
Total N	77	113	94	86	81	116	567	370	197

Source: Survey interviews with migrants

Notes: [1] based on estimated figures for retrospective interviews;

Table A2 Personal characteristics of migrant in-depth interviewees, April 2004 (Wave 1, N=93)

	Czech Republic	Lithuania	Poland	Slovakia	Bulgaria	Ukraine	Total	A8	NA8
Gender									
male	5	11	19	6	8	5	54	41	13
female	8	10	8	7	2	4	39	33	6
Total	13	21	27	13	10	9	93	74	19
Age									
Mean	23.3	27.0	26.3	25.8	29.7	29.3	26.6	25.9	29.5
N	13	21	25	13	9	9	90	72	18
Has partner									
yes	1	9	13	6	3	5	37	29	8
Total N	13	21	26	12	10	9	91	72	19
Highest level of schooling completed									
Lower secondary education			1				1	1	0
Upper secondary education	7	9	13	4	5	2	40	33	7
Post-secondary non-tertiary education	2	5	2	1		4	14	10	4
First stage of tertiary education	3	4	8	5	1	2	23	20	3
Second stage of tertiary education	1	3		1	4	1	10	5	5
Total	13	21	24	11	10	9	88	69	19
Total years of schooling									
Mean	12.7	14.9	14.5	14.5	11.1	14.3	14	14.3	12.7
N	13	21	24	12	9	9	88	70	18
Year of last entry to the UK for work									
2002 or earlier	5	3	6	2	1	6	23	16	7
2003	4	8	9	5	6	1	33	26	7
2004 Jan-April		10	9	2	2	2	25	21	4
Total N	9	21	24	9	9	9	81	63	18

Source: In-depth interviews with migrants

Table A3 Profile of businesses surveyed (N=365)

	Hospitality		Agriculture and food processing		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Type of business I						
The only site	184	75.7%	90	75.0%	274	75.5%
Company headquarters with several branches	19	7.8%	17	14.2%	36	9.9%
Branch of bigger company	31	12.8%	12	10.0%	43	11.8%
Other	9	3.7%	1	0.8%	10	2.8%
Total	243	100.0%	120	100.0%	363	100.0%
Missing:2						
Region1 where business is currently located						
England	172	70.2%	92	76.7%	264	72.3%
Wales	16	6.5%		0.0%	16	4.4%
Scotland	17	6.9%	12	10.0%	29	7.9%
Northern Ireland	2	0.8%	4	3.3%	6	1.6%
Unclassified	38	15.5%	12	10.0%	50	13.7%
Total	245	100.0%	120	100.0%	365	100.0%
Region2 where business is currently located						
North East	4	1.6%		0.0%	4	1.1%
North West	25	10.2%	6	5.0%	31	8.5%
Yorkshire and the Humber	17	6.9%	2	1.7%	19	5.2%
East Midlands	8	3.3%	9	7.5%	17	4.7%
West Midlands	9	3.7%	13	10.8%	22	6.0%
East	10	4.1%	14	11.7%	24	6.6%
London	15	6.1%		0.0%	15	4.1%
South East	25	10.2%	23	19.2%	48	13.2%
South West	26	10.6%	6	5.0%	32	8.8%
Wales	16	6.5%		0.0%	16	4.4%
Scotland	17	6.9%	12	10.0%	29	7.9%
Northern Ireland	2	0.8%	4	3.3%	6	1.6%
Unclassified English region	33	13.5%	16	13.3%	49	13.4%
Unclassified	38	15.5%	15	12.5%	53	14.5%
Total	245	100.0%	120	100.0%	365	100.0%
Type of business II						
Private business sector	218	89.3%	120	100.0%	338	92.9%
Private not-for-profit sector	2	0.8%		0.0%	2	0.5%
Public sector	22	9.0%		0.0%	22	6.0%
Other	2	0.8%		0.0%	2	0.5%
Total	244	100.0%	120	100.0%	364	100.0%
Missing:1						
Detailed description of business activity						
Agriculture, hunting and related activities		0.0%	107	89.2%	107	29.6%
Manufacture of food products and beverages		0.0%	13	10.8%	13	3.6%
Hotels	151	62.4%		0.0%	151	41.7%
Restaurants	79	32.6%		0.0%	79	21.8%

Canteens and catering	12	5.0%		0.0%	12	3.3%
Total	242	100.0%	120	100.0%	362	100.0%
Year business started, range						
Before 1950	24	10.0%	29	25.2%	53	15.0%
1950-1959	9	3.8%	14	12.2%	23	6.5%
1960-1969	14	5.9%	5	4.3%	19	5.4%
1970-1979	34	14.2%	20	17.4%	54	15.3%
1980-1989	46	19.2%	19	16.5%	65	18.4%
1990-1999	61	25.5%	25	21.7%	86	24.3%
2000 or after	51	21.3%	3	2.6%	54	15.3%
Total	239	100.0%	115	100.0%	354	100.0%
Missing: 11						
Year business started						
Mean	1980		1962		1974	
Valid N	N=239		N=115		N=354	
Missing: 11						
Turnover in 2004, £ thousands range						
0-49	3	1.6%		0.0%	3	1.1%
50-99	11	5.9%	2	2.3%	13	4.8%
100-249	29	15.6%	17	19.5%	46	16.8%
250-499	24	12.9%	9	10.3%	33	12.1%
500-999	39	21.0%	16	18.4%	55	20.1%
1,000-4,999	66	35.5%	33	37.9%	99	36.3%
5,000+	14	7.5%	10	11.5%	24	8.8%
Total	186	100.0%	87	100.0%	273	100.0%
Missing: 92						
Total number of workers employed/used						
0-4	14	6.6%	5	5.3%	19	6.2%
5-9	27	12.7%	10	10.5%	37	12.1%
10-19	39	18.4%	29	30.5%	68	22.1%
20-49	77	36.3%	20	21.1%	97	31.6%
50-99	30	14.2%	15	15.8%	45	14.7%
100-249	17	8.0%	14	14.7%	31	10.1%
250-499	3	1.4%	2	2.1%	5	1.6%
500-999	2	0.9%		0.0%	2	0.7%
1,000+	3	1.4%		0.0%	3	1.0%
Total	212	100.0%	95	100.0%	307	100.0%
Missing: 58						
Firm size						
Small firm (<50 workers)	157	74.1%	64	67.4%	221	72.0%
Medium firm (50-249 workers)	47	22.2%	29	30.5%	76	24.8%
Large firm (>250 workers)	8	3.8%	2	2.1%	10	3.3%
Total	212	100.0%	95	100.0%	307	100.0%
Missing: 58						

Source: Mail survey of employers

Table A4 Personal characteristics of respondents in survey of host families (N=267)

	N	%
Respondent's gender		
male	32	12.0%
female	235	88.0%
Total	267	100.0%
Missing: 1		
Respondent's age group		
22-30	1	0.4%
31-40	110	41.5%
41-50	137	51.7%
51-60	16	6.0%
61-70	1	0.4%
Total	265	100.0%
Missing: 3		
Respondent's marital status		
single	5	1.9%
separated	10	3.8%
divorced	24	9.1%
widowed	6	2.3%
married, living together	196	74.0%
married, living apart	5	1.9%
co-habiting with man	16	6.0%
co-habiting with woman	3	1.1%
Total	265	100.0%
Missing: 3		
Children living with respondent		
yes	266	100.0%
no		0.0%
Total	266	100.0%
Missing: 2		
Number of children living with respondent		
1	45	18.4%
2	131	53.5%
3	52	21.2%
4	12	4.9%
5	4	1.6%
6	1	0.4%
Total	245	100.0%
Missing: 23		
Respondent's nationality		
British	246	92.5%
USA/Australia/NZ	9	3.4%
EU15	7	2.6%
other European	4	1.5%

Total	266	100.0%
Missing: 2		
Respondent's occupation		
Managers and senior officials	60	27.1%
Professional occupations	75	33.9%
Associate professional and technical occupations	54	24.4%
Administrative and secretarial occupations	19	8.6%
Skilled trades occupations	4	1.8%
Personal service occupations	6	2.7%
Sales and customer service occupations	3	1.4%
Total	221	100.0%
Missing: 47		
Respondent's ethnicity		
black	4	1.5%
white	255	97.0%
asian	3	1.1%
other	1	0.4%
Total	263	100.0%
Missing: 5		
Respondent's education/qualifications		
No qualifications	1	0.4%
GCSE '0' levels or equivalent	37	14.1%
GCSE 'A' levels or equivalent	38	14.4%
degree	72	27.4%
post grad qualification or professional qual.	115	43.7%
Total	263	100.0%
Missing: 5		
Respondent household's annual income		
under £20,000	6	2.3%
£20,000-50,000	61	23.3%
£50,000+	195	74.4%
Total	262	100.0%
Missing: 6	6	

Source: Mail survey of host families

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All errors in this report are the responsibility of the authors alone.