

Employment, Skills and Training Needs of Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Recent Migrants in Haringey

Final Report

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1. Executive Summary

- 1.1 This study of **Employment, Skills and Training Needs of Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Recent Migrants in Haringey** was commissioned from the Working Lives Research Institute of London Metropolitan University by the London Borough of Haringey.
- 1.2 The WLRI conducted a broad literature review and gathered information from 24 organisations within Haringey, including 13 FE, training and job brokerage providers. It also conducted face-to-face interviews with representatives of seven businesses operating in Haringey and with 31 individual interviews (with 16 recent migrants, 9 refugees and 6 asylum seekers). Finally it conducted four focus groups involving a further 53 people.
- 1.3 The main research questions were:
 - What are the nature and impact of barriers to labour market participation that are experienced by the three discrete groups of refugees, asylum seekers and recent migrants who reside and/or work in Haringey?
 - What are the employment, training and enterprise needs of these three groups?
 - What are the attitudes and policies of local employers and education and training providers to the three groups?
 - How does the skill base of these three groups compare with the requirements of the local economy?
 - Can more be found out concerning the numbers and needs of these different groups?

Nature and Impact of Barriers to Participation of Target Groups

Members of each group of recent migrants, refugees and asylum seekers experience different barriers in their search for employment. However some common barriers include:

- Lack of English – shortage of language skills was highlighted both in business and individual interviews. ESOL classes, socialising and work were seen as ways of improving language skills and of learning more about English culture.
- Lack of recognition of qualifications – as a result many refugees felt that they have to start again from scratch and migrants that their skills are not adequately used. The requirement of UK work experience and provision of relevant references for most vacancies constitutes an additional barrier for both groups.
- Lack of appreciation of abilities – although some refugees and migrants were able to find jobs equivalent to their skills the majority felt that they do not have the opportunities to use their previous work experience in the UK labour market.

Recent migrants

- Are often perceived as just cheap, willing labour
- Feel a lack of appreciation of their experience and qualifications
- Experience a high level of competition for low-paid jobs from other recent migrants, especially in the informal economy
- Have limited recourse to support in cases of poor treatment at work
- Use social networks and word of mouth increasingly to find work
- Are often wary of employment agencies
- Include some more entrepreneurial migrants who are overcoming barriers to find more skilled and higher-paid jobs, but many are struggling in hard, low-paid work

- 1.4 The research reflects findings from other studies on how recent migrants, in particular people from the A8 (2004 accession countries), are taking on a large number of the low-paid, unskilled, routine jobs in certain sectors. They are often over-qualified and experienced for these posts. Competition has grown in some jobs between recent migrants and pay rates have become more depressed. Some people have had problems with meeting their living costs in London.

Refugees

- Experience a long period of economic inactivity due to having to wait for status
 - Lack of asset base
 - Rely on their own community and particularly on their family
 - Have problems with progressing their English (some also lack basic literacy in own language)
 - Experience high levels of dependence on benefits
 - Have difficulties with workplace culture
 - Are despondent about the lack of skilled work opportunities
 - Are often reluctant to take on minimum wage work
 - Have unrealistic expectations of the labour market
 - Experience discrimination and prejudice – especially in terms of race and/or religion
 - Have difficulties obtaining references and passing security checks
 - Feel their skills and experience are not appreciated
 - Are frequently unemployed, while those in work are often stuck in low-paid jobs
- 1.5 The bottom line is that refugees face multiple disadvantages that limit their labour market outcomes. The economic conditions of high levels of inequality and low levels of social mobility in the UK create serious barriers for some groups. Refugees are at the intersection of these factors, which are compounded by discrimination against BME people in general and negative media coverage of immigration and asylum seekers.

Asylum seekers

- Have no right to work
 - May do take on informal work but this was not evident in this research. Indeed the employers we interviewed appeared more rigorous in checking visas than in the past and were also more likely to have an adequate labour supply from other 'fully documented' migrants
 - Are generally unaware that they can apply to the Home Office for a work permit if they have waited for a decision for over 12 months through no fault of their own
- 1.6 In short, asylum seekers are stuck in a limbo in relation to work and training. This has serious ramifications on their ability to rebuild their lives once they are granted leave to remain protection. This early period of frustration and unemployment may set them back seriously.

Analysis of Training, Job Brokerage and Enterprise Needs

Recent migrants

- Have problems accessing ESOL (and these may be exacerbated by the fees rise)
- Find it difficult to access ESOL due to working hours, childcare needs etc
- Often have problems providing documents, particularly references

Refugees

- Experience problems pursuing further education due to benefits restrictions and New Deal requirements
- If they are not unemployed, they are often under-employed in part-time and low wage work – when not being able to access free ESOL and other courses becomes a problem (free ESOL is only available to the unemployed and those on income-based benefits)
- Criticise the quality of training and lack of outcomes – they are aware they are stuck in a cycle of short-term training programmes
- Feel that their opportunities are limited

Asylum seekers

- Can find it difficult to build relationships and establish trust
- Need more opportunities for volunteering and training to keep them linked in to the labour market, but also need funded support to cover their basic costs

Attitudes and Policies of Local Employers and Training Providers

Findings suggest that there were problems in providing courses and training to cover the needs of the local businessmen and to match the expectations of the potential trainees.

➤ ***Training providers***

- Believe ESOL provision is over-stretched and under-performing for some groups – they accept demand outstrips supply and refugees in particular struggling to progress
- Identify problems with funding regimes – too short-term, uncoordinated etc
- Believe targets can skew activities
- Sense a lack of strategic oversight of provision
- Recognise there are poor links between training and job brokerage
- Need more supported job placements

➤ ***Employers***

- Experience an ample supply of workers
- Are using word of mouth recruitment of migrant workers (benefits of lower costs but risks of segmenting labour force)
- See high level of competition and tight margins as limiting possibilities for staff development and training
- Report some problems with high staff turnover
- Partially recognise that migrant workers are not adding their full potential value to the economy
- Are reliant on a succession of migrant groups

Skill Base of Target Groups against Requirements of Haringey Economy

- 1.7 The main occupations both for Haringey residents and Haringey workplaces include managerial, professional and technical; office work and skilled trades; services; process and elementary. Main sectors include manufacturing, construction, and services such as hotels, transport etc and tourism. A high proportion of Haringey service sector jobs are in warehouse and distribution, retail, hospitality and catering.

- 1.8 The following table summarises the main economic activity of Haringey in terms of industry sectors and main occupations. Comparing these figures with the whole of London shows that Haringey's manufacturing sector is 31% larger than in the whole of London and the Tourism-related services sector is 24% larger.

Table 1: Haringey's principal industrial activities and occupations

Haringey's Main Industrial Activities			
	Haringey Employment (%)		London (%)
Services	88.6		91.7
Of which tourism related	11		8.4
Manufacturing	7.3		5.0
Haringey's Main Occupations			
	Haringey residents (%)	Haringey Employment (%)	London (%)
Managerial, Professional and Technical	52.7	46.2	51.9
Office Work and Skilled Trades	20.2	12.4	21.0
Services (retail, caring etc)	11.9	22.2	13.3
Process and Elementary	15.2	19.2	8.9

- 1.9 The breakdown of main occupations shows that in Haringey there is a 67% over-representation of service occupations compared to the rest of London and a 116% over-representation of the least skilled occupational category of 'process and elementary' occupations. In contrast there is an under-representation in the Haringey labour force of office work and skilled trades occupations (41% greater across the whole of London) and of managerial, professional and technical occupations (11% greater across London). It should be noted however, that an important proportion of professional Haringey residents work outside Haringey (as shown in table 7.4)
- 1.10 Some specific manual skills shortages were reported as well as a lack of basic qualifications. Regarding more skilled occupations and professional, managerial and technical, however, it is hard to say on the basis of this research whether there are shortages in Haringey workplaces.
- 1.11 Table 2 on the following page summarises the qualifications and the type of jobs held by 26 of our face-to-face interviewees, both before and after coming to the UK. There are a variety of skills and working experiences amongst the groups, ranging from highly qualified to those that received no schooling at all. The data cannot be used definitively to 'prove' that the three groups are not fully exercising their potential to insert themselves into managerial, professional and technical or office and skilled trades employment. The sample is just too small. But the evidence does point that way.
- 1.12 Recent migrant workers appear to hold the highest qualifications while 'primary school' and 'no qualifications' are proportionately more common amongst refugees and asylum seekers due mainly to the individual experiences of war, persecution and forced displacement.
- 1.13 One experience the three groups have in common is their employment in low paid and unskilled jobs or unemployment. Most work in the service industry, which also reflects the relatively high demand for employees in the sector in Haringey.

Table 2: Haringey interviewee employment experience and levels of qualification

Interviewee	Employment before coming to UK	Current Employment in the UK	Qualification
Refugees			
R1	marketing agent - hotel management	au-pair – cashier - waitress	university degree
R2	builder	cleaner - unemployed	primary school
R3	housewife	housewife	primary school
R4	shop assistant	self employed in a valeting centre	secondary school
R5	worked in family business	unemployed	secondary school, basic training from Red Crescent
R6	student	Admin - worker	university degree in economics
R7	student	cleaner	studied for GCSE (in Portugal)
R8	teacher	Volunteer teaching assistant (previously kitchen porter – cleaner)	teaching qualifications
R9	student	student – unemployed	secondary school
Recent migrants			
M1	export – Import Assistant	waiter	university degree
M2	university student	Take away - waiter	university student
M3	student	cleaner	student
M4	chemistry/physics teacher	McDonalds, pub work, factory/distribution of CDs/DVDs	university degree
M5		retail and coffee shop work, cleaner	
M6	various business jobs	casual cleaning jobs	studied economics but no degree
M7		various cleaning jobs	college painting-carpentry
M8	work in scaffolding	distribution, restaurant work, currently looking for a job	received training on building sites for scaffolding
M9	engineer	street cleaning	engineer
M10	administrative work	basic skills training, unemployed but actively seeking work	learning languages before civil war broke out
M11	factory Worker	works in a care home	high school
M12	odd jobs during school vacations	painter/decorator	high school
M13	manager's assistant construction company	construction	college education
M14	student – difficult to get a job	cleaner – had a baby and lives with husband who is working as a plumber	degree in Chemistry
M15	unemployed	works in restaurant	high-school and college
M16	unemployed	building contractor	high school – economic student
Asylum Seekers			
AS1	sociology student	unemployed	sociology student
AS2	unemployed	student and part time in café and claiming	no schooling
AS3	worked in church	studying	no schooling
AS4	teacher, shop keeper, diamond agent	ESOL classes, never worked in UK	college for teaching French
AS5	barber	unemployed	5 years primary school
AS6	café owner	Unemployed - studying at CONEL	primary school

- 1.14 Some of the A8 recent migrants we interviewed reported that they, or other migrants they knew, were beginning to move on into skilled occupations.
- 1.15 This process, however, was rarely a result of training. Although there were one or two exceptions, most of the local employers of recent migrants or refugees whom we interviewed placed a higher emphasis on keeping costs low rather than training or retraining their workers.
- 1.16 Although assessing the impact of migrant workers on local wage levels is a complex issue and cannot be fully addressed in this short study, interviews revealed that some employers believe that supply of migrant workers may be helping to prevent wage inflation in some sectors and low-paid occupations.

Haringey population profile

- 1.17 Haringey is an area of two contrasting halves of deprivation and affluence. 38% of the whole population was born overseas and the three largest groups include population from Sub Saharan Africa, the Caribbean and Latin America and East Europe. For 2005 an estimate for the total population was 224,500. Population projections indicate an overall growth of 6.1% between 2007 and 2016. In the recent years there has been an increase in the number of migrants and asylum seekers in the borough. The most recent change came with the influx of East European migrants.
- 1.18 It is difficult to estimate total numbers of **recent migrants** – nearly 40,000 NINO registrations in last five years have taken place at Job Centre Plus but a large proportion of them move on. In particular there is a high turnover of A8 recent migrants. Because of continued lower than London average house prices, and presence of existing mixed populations, there is a possibility that population flows may increase in the Borough through international and internal movements of recent migrants.
- 1.19 On the basis of the evidence we could access it is not possible to authoritatively update the LSC prediction that up to 30,000 **refugees** reside in the Borough, i.e. 15% of the total population. School pupil data, however, seem to suggest even larger number of children from refugee households.
- 1.20 There are perhaps 1,000 NASS-supported asylum seekers and 300 children living in the Borough, plus an indeterminate number who have had their initial application rejected.
- 1.21 According to the Annual Population Survey, 74.8% of the Borough's population was economically active in 2006, which is a similar proportion to that across London. Reflecting both national and London trends, Haringey's BME groups have a lower employment rate than the white population. Some tension between BME residents, refugees and recent migrants has been indicated in this study as a result of competition over funding and resources.

- 1.22 The most successful way for both migrants and refugees to find employment is through word of mouth. The community network, employment agencies or Job Centre Plus help others. Another route to employment is through voluntary work, an option taken mainly by refugees to gain work experience in the UK.
- 1.23 There is a shift from direct to agency employment. Main types of employment for recent migrants and refugees are low-paid routine and semi-skilled occupations. As overall employment in Haringey (and in London as a whole) has increased, there is a general belief that recent migrants are not displacing longer-term residents from jobs. However, the construction sector is an exception. Its use of significant numbers of East European skilled workers appears to be limiting opportunities for work placements and training of longer-term resident young people.
- 1.24 The reasons for choosing Haringey vary amongst the three groups as their circumstances of their arrival. Refugees and asylum seekers were either placed in the area or chose to come in order to be nearer to the community of people of similar background. Relatively low housing costs were a common factor. Recent migrants came to the area because of job opportunities or to be near their family. Future plans for these migrants also vary – some are planning to stay and work longer-term in the UK while others see being here only temporarily.

Recommendations

- 1.25 The main recommendations made by the interviewees and organisations we spoke to and that arise from the research can be divided into those aimed at improving procurement and recruitment policies in the public sector, those concerned with public awareness, those concerned with direct public support for the target groups and those concerned with language skills and training. For the medium to long-term there is also a recommendation concerning the direction of evolution of the local economy.

1.26 Contracting by the public sector

- Service and construction contracts could include suggestions/requirements around the promotion of employment opportunities for refugee groups. For example, contractors could be asked to show how they will make recruitment accessible to refugees, how they will work with local communities, training providers and job brokerage agencies etc
- Service and construction contracts should include provisions for contractors to provide staff training and pay rates in line with London living wage and public sector levels (e.g. £7.30 an hour for cleaning workers)

1.27 Recruiting to the public sector

- Human resource departments should propose contracts with employment agencies supplying workers for temporary and permanent posts that include measures requiring them to outreach to refugee communities through job fairs, links with training providers and community groups etc.

- Public bodies could relax reference requirements for selected posts and also permit some applicants without ILR (Indefinite leave to remain) to work on fixed-term contracts.
- A linked programme of volunteering, job placements and employment vacancies to be targeted at refugee groups could be developed building on the Haringey Guarantee.
- Further awareness about the benefits of voluntary work as a means of acquiring work experience in UK should be promoted, especially within organisations that work with young people. Public bodies should work closely with HAVCO to develop specifically designed projects as the first steps in accessing employment that would lead to a full or part time job

1.28 Changing attitudes

- A public awareness campaign could be launched stressing the potential benefits of recent migrants and refugees' skills and experience that employers may be missing out on
- Employers should be offered advice on how to train their staff on management, equality and diversity issues at workplace to reduce any potential inter-ethnic tension at workplace and promote a more integrating environment
- The Home Office should review the prohibition on asylum seekers working while waiting to hear about their status.

1.29 Public sector support

- Haringey businesses should be offered an employment status confirmation service by the Borough, to reduce their anxieties about employing recent migrants or refugees
- There should be a London-wide qualifications accreditation centre funded from across London to provide APEL and other certification of recent migrant and refugee employment, education and training
- Continuous support and information should be provided to each individual before and after the completion of all training courses. This would both encourage individuals to be more flexible in entering the labour market and encourage better monitoring of publicly-funded training
- A locally (public and private) seed-corn funded micro-credit provider should be established to foster partnership and self-employment opportunities for women refugees
- The Borough should investigate the conditions and opportunities for the creation of social enterprises within Haringey

- A grants programme could be funded for refugees to take conversion courses with dedicated links between provider organisations in Haringey and further and higher education institutions in London.

1.30 Language and training strategy

- The Borough should take the lead in establishing a local cross-provider ESOL strategy coordinating body for Haringey. Involving the LSC and the major providers it would facilitate greater coherence and cooperation in provision
- Targeted and tailored job brokerage should be developed to outreach to private sector.

1.31 Local economy

- The opportunities within the local Haringey labour market are currently skewed towards low paid and low status jobs. The Borough and local employers and support bodies should actively address the issue of how to achieve a long-term shift in the local economy towards a higher skilled occupational base

2. Introduction

Throughout its history the population of London has changed due to migration into and out of the city. The list of countries of origin of people who have come to work and live here covers the whole world. Migrants have fuelled the economic, social and cultural dynamism of London. Down the years various factors have moved different migrant groups, but in recent times the scale of international movement has evolved ever more rapidly for reasons such as: the expansion of the European Union, changes in immigration visas, economic globalisation demanding knowledge and labour, conflict intensification and climate change forcing flight and displacement. These drivers are supported by the proliferation of more accessible transport and intermediaries such as agencies. Within the UK, due to its diverse population and economic vitality, London has always received the great majority of international migrants.

The growth in EU accession migrants and in numbers of refugees and asylum seekers have generated interest across public authorities in developing a greater understanding of the demographic, social and economic impacts at a local level. Some areas of London have experienced greater population change for reasons such as the mix and availability of housing, links to established family members and/or community networks from similar backgrounds, and access to work and training provisions. The opportunities and barriers faced by recent migrants, refugees and asylum seekers in accessing skills and training provision and entering the labour market have come under investigation. However there is still a lack of research information on these dynamics. Due to their language and cultural differences, experiences of discrimination, and reliance on community networks, these groups may be relatively marginalized in society, more active in the informal economy and/or 'precarious' work relations (i.e. temporary, casual or irregular work) and more likely to be outside the view of statutory regulation and services.

A growing body of research has pointed to relatively high levels of disadvantage faced by these groups and has highlighted a number of potential barriers to their access to training and skills services and participation in the labour market. These include a lack of relevant skills and qualifications, language and cultural communication difficulties, limited understanding of the UK labour market and its practices, dependence on precarious unskilled and low paid work, reliance on agencies and other intermediaries, shortage of guidance and job brokerage facilities, and an inability to build on qualifications from home countries or to provide references. Ethnicity and immigration status can also be important barriers as they may reinforce prejudice and lead to discriminatory practices. The London Borough of Haringey commissioned the Working Lives Research Institute (WLRI) in March 2007 to carry out research to explore the relationships of refugees, recent migrants and asylum seekers living and/or working in Haringey to skills gaps, training needs and labour market opportunities.

3. Research Objectives

The detailed objectives of the research were to:

- Explore the nature and impact of barriers to labour market participation that are experienced by the three discrete groups of refugees, asylum seekers and recent migrants who reside and/or work in Haringey.
- Undertake an analysis of the employment, training and enterprise needs of refugees, asylum seekers and recent migrants, identifying both the distinct and the common needs of these three groups.
- Examine the attitudes and policies of local employers and education and training providers to the three groups.
- Compare the skill base of these three groups against the requirements of the local economy.
- Improve knowledge concerning the numbers making up these different groups.

Haringey Council's purpose in commissioning the research was to assist in the design of programmes that address the training, employment and enterprise development needs of these groups, to ensure that the local economy achieves the maximum benefit from the skills and experience of these groups and to provide a better understanding of the impact of these groups. The research recommendations are focused largely on the role that the local authority can play. However it is important to recognise Haringey's position within the wider economic and political contexts of London, the UK and the global economy. The capacity of the Council to directly change or influence many of the processes at work is limited and consequently some of the findings and recommendations of this research will need to be discussed with other key government bodies, such as the Mayor's Office for London, Job Centre Plus and Learning Skills Council, as well as with business representatives and the trade unions.

4. Definitions

4.1 Migrant Workers

There is no consistent definition of 'migrant worker' set by the government or adopted across the UK. Migration for the purposes of finding or taking up employment has always been a human endeavour. However it has grown in scale and distance in the increasingly interconnected world economies of the late 20th and early 21st century. There is also considerable intra-regional migration within the UK as well as international migration to the UK. The proposed research is focused on the latter; that is people born overseas who have come to the UK. It is important to note that after coming to the UK however, some international migrants are then highly mobile within the country in their pursuit of employment.

Other WLRI research on migrant workers has used the definition of migrant workers as *those people who have come to the UK within the last five years, specifically to find or take up work, whether intending to remain permanently or temporarily and regardless of whether documented or undocumented*. The five-year period is based on the fact that migrants who have been continuously resident in the UK for five years would normally be entitled to Indefinite Leave to Remain or Naturalisation as British Citizens (of course, individual circumstances such as entering the UK without full documents or spending long periods outside the UK over the course of the five years would affect applicability for citizenship).

Migrant workers enter the UK on the basis of their nationality and visa entitlements. Citizens from the member countries of the European Union and the European Economic Area Agreement are generally free to enter and work in the UK in any capacity. A significant recent change has been the expansion of the EU into East and Central Europe. In May 2004, ten new countries (eight East European accession countries (A8) with Malta and Cyprus) joined. The UK was one of few countries to immediately permit free entry to work for A8 citizens. However the government has limited the entitlement to benefits until after one year spent working continuously, which is recorded through the Worker Registration Scheme (WRS). In January 2007, Romania and Bulgaria (A2) joined the EU. The WRS scheme does not apply to them, as their citizens do not have an open right to work in the UK. In general they still need to enter under established worker authorisation restrictions; highly skilled migrants, food and agriculture sector based schemes, students, self-employed, and self-sufficient persons; and family members of main applicants. A2 workers have to have an accession worker card before beginning work. Their entitlement to benefits is the same as for A8 nationals, provided they have worked with an accession worker card for at least a year. European Community Association Agreements also apply to Turkey with provisions for self-employed people and their dependents.

Outside the EU, international migrants can enter the UK through a variety of visas administered by the Home Office. Different schemes have evolved through a series of legislative changes in recent years to fulfil economic demands for skills and labour as well as personal reasons for migration such as family or marriage. The government has been shifting towards a points-based system of work permits so that employers can source labour overseas with the necessary skills where they are lacking in the UK.

Migrants may be able to enter and remain in the UK for a set period or indefinitely where they come under one of the following authorised positions:

- Spouse, civil partner, same sex or unmarried partner of a person settled in the UK

- Work permit holder
- Highly skilled migrants programme
- Domestic worker in a private household
- Au pair
- United Kingdom ancestry
- Seasonal agricultural worker
- Employment under the sectors-based scheme for the food sector
- Home Office approved training or work experience
- Working holidaymaker from Commonwealth countries
- Students

There are further groups who are permitted entry depending on Home Office conditions. Full details on the law and policy of current UK immigration rules can be accessed from the Border and Immigration Agency.¹

Each of these visas carries different stipulations and restrictions in relation to rights to work that need to be checked by authorities and employers. Nonetheless, there is evidence that a number of migrants are only semi-compliant with their visa work entitlements (Anderson, 2006). For example, some students and working holidaymakers may work over their 20 hours per week entitlement. While the majority of migrant workers enter and remain in the UK with authorised documentation and visas, there are also undocumented migrants who manage to avoid official view and control. They may have managed to enter the UK without going through border port controls, or entered as only a visitor or tourist, or over-stayed their visa period.

Increasingly, the government has emphasised the need to control immigration and enforce visa restrictions. The onus has been placed on employers to ensure that they check documentation thoroughly to ensure that migrants obey the immigration laws, work within the terms of their visa and obtain an extension or leave the UK on expiry of their authorisation. Consultation on new powers to prevent illegal migrant working was carried out in 2007, focusing on tougher checks and enforcement with potentially greater penalties being applied on employers that take on illegal migrant workers due to negligence or on purpose (Home Office, 2007a).

4.2 Refugees and Asylum Seekers

There is a tendency in the media and public opinion to conflate refugees and asylum seekers together, but there are important differences in their respective rights and entitlements. An asylum seeker is an individual who has made an application to the Government for recognition as a refugee. As a signatory, the Government has an obligation to assess each application for asylum made in this country on its own merits in accordance with the Geneva Refugee Convention. The basic definition of refugee, as laid down by the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, is a person who has a well-founded fear of persecution *because of his or her nationality, race or ethnic origin, political opinion, religion or social group*; is outside the country of his or her nationality; and owing to such fear is unable or unwilling to seek the protection of the authorities of his or her own country. Wars, internal conflicts and state repression have driven displacement and flight of asylum seekers from different areas.

For the purposes of this research, refugees are defined as either the principal applicant, or a dependent of the principal, who has been granted protected refugee status or leave to

¹ www.ind.homeoffice.gov.uk/lawandpolicy/immigrationrules

remain in the UK that confers the right to work. Asylum seekers are defined as people whose case still awaits status determination or who are appealing an initial decision to reject their claim. In some cases temporary humanitarian protection only is granted.

The UK has honoured its international obligations and many asylum seekers have entered the country and been protected here as refugees. However in recent years there has been a growing emphasis on controlling their entry and restricting their movement. There is no internationally agreed set of procedures to determine which persons will be granted refugee status. Since the Amsterdam Treaty 1999, determination policy in the UK has been influenced by the movement towards the harmonisation of asylum policy and practices within the European Union and the development of a common European asylum system. The UK has developed a corpus of asylum law with six major legislative changes to the asylum system over the past decade. In general, the direction of asylum legislation has been influenced by the perception that some people make false applications when they are in fact drawn to the UK by economic motives such as employment and welfare benefits. Media attention has also focused on the pressure from asylum seekers on the labour market and social security, health care and public housing provision. The approach of the government has been to progressively make access to public services more limited while attempting to process cases more quickly.

Since 1999, the National Asylum Support System (NASS) has been centralised within the Home Office and it dictates where asylum seekers are housed in temporary accommodation across the UK. The remit of local authorities to support asylum seekers has been gradually rolled back as new applicants have come under the aegis of NASS. The one area where a duty of care still applies to local government is in relation to families with children and unaccompanied young people. With regard to employment, in the past asylum seekers were granted a work permit while their case was under review but this right was removed in July 2002. Concessions are only granted in limited circumstances that are dependent on individual merits, such as if their claim remains outstanding for longer than 12 months without a decision being made on it.²

Therefore, with regard to the research questions for this project, asylum seekers and refugees are in markedly different positions since access to employment and training opportunities is highly restricted for asylum seekers, whereas refugees are able to claim welfare benefits, access public services and take jobs on the same terms as British nationals. With regard to asylum seekers, there is little scope for local authorities to take much initiative in support provision since this is largely the preserve of NASS and funding streams clearly exclude them. Nonetheless there are some limited opportunities to engage asylum seekers locally such as through EU Equal Development Partnerships.

Once their status is confirmed, refugees generally have the same rights as citizens and may apply for employment and public services. They lose their NASS support and instead might present particular housing and support needs to Councils due to their vulnerability. A complicating factor is that the Exceptional Leave to Remain (ELR) or Humanitarian Protection granted to some refugees is only for up to five years, after which they can apply for Indefinite Leave to Remain (ILR).

² Asylum applicants are not generally allowed to work while their claim for asylum is under consideration. If an asylum applicant has waited longer than twelve months for an initial decision on their asylum claim they may request permission to work. In such cases, if permission to work is granted, this will not allow the applicant to become self employed or to engage in a business or professional activity. Permission to work will only be granted if the delay in reaching an initial decision cannot be attributed to the applicant (Home Office web site, 2007).

5. Methodology

The objectives of the research were very ambitious in relation to the short timetable of the project, which ran from May to August 2007. In line with the exploratory nature of the research objectives, qualitative methods were primarily used to develop a deeper understanding of the experiences of the targets groups. Quantitative data from secondary sources was accessed to analyse trends and patterns in local population demographics, economic activity and labour market participation. Desk-based research of existing policy documents, research literature and statistical studies was carried out to set the context and relationships.

5.1 Quantitative Research

As far as possible census, survey and administrative data were gathered for this project. Various studies have highlighted the difficulties in estimating the numbers and economic impacts of migrant workers, refugees and asylum seekers in sub-regional areas due to the lack of current and comprehensive datasets (cf Rees and Boden, 2006). People from these groups may be more likely to be mobile and work in temporary and/or informal sector jobs, which are poorly captured in statutory surveys. The activities of undocumented and semi-compliant workers in particular may not be counted due to their status.

5.2 Qualitative Research

The primary research fieldwork involved semi-structured interviews and focus groups with the following actors.

- Key respondents from organisations in Haringey, in particular job brokerage, skills and training providers
- Employers and recruitment agencies based in Haringey in a variety of sectors
- Recent migrants, refugees and asylum seekers living and/or working in Haringey

The interviews and focus groups lasted up to an hour. The topic guides are included in Appendix A. In practice, the lines of questioning were tailored to the experience of the respondent, but views were gathered from all of the participants in relation to each of the major topics. The information was analysed by systematically comparing the responses from different people with regard to their personal position and status.

While the project successfully gathered the views and experiences of a good cross-section of participants from different organisations, businesses and nationalities, they do not represent a systematic survey or representative sample of the population. Appropriate caution must be exercised therefore in generalising the findings. Bias may also have been introduced by the decisions of those who agreed to participate in the research. However, these interviewee testimonies – in the contexts of the wider literature and quantitative evidence – may be seen as indicative of issues and problems in Haringey.

Interviews with key respondents

Face-to-face or telephone interviews were conducted with key respondents from different statutory and voluntary sector organisations about their knowledge and experience of the employment, training and skills needs of recent migrants, refugees and asylum seekers in Haringey. As many respondents were contacted as possible to gather local intelligence. In total, useful information was gathered from interviews with key respondents from 24

organisations – in several cases, the interviews also involved more than one member of staff who could give an insight into different relationships and issues. The organisations included 13 further education, training and job brokerage providers in Haringey, a total that represents most of the major ones in the area as well as some smaller initiatives. Managers of the College of North East London, and of the local Learning Skills Council and Job Centre Plus were interviewed. In addition, five officers from Haringey Council Neighbourhood Management Services were interviewed to gain an insight into local population dynamics and employment schemes. The CAB and the Haringey Race Equality Council also provided information about cases that they had seen and some community and/or housing support organisations were interviewed about the issues that have been coming to their attention.

Interviews with local employers and recruitment agencies

The research aimed to interview a small cross-section of local employers and recruitment agencies of different sizes and sectors with experience of the target groups. Some potential participants were approached directly after being identified from local intelligence or business listings, however this method elicited few responses. In general, business managers are often very busy and wary of cold-calls from researchers. Approaches through known intermediaries, such as business agencies and traders' associations, were more fruitful. In total, face-to-face interviews were conducted with seven businesses employing workers and three agencies supplying workers. The sectors represented included construction, textiles manufacturing, office cleaning, healthcare, retail distribution, restaurants and hairdressers. Two of the employers were in the public sector and two of the agencies were funded or contracted by public authorities. Four of the employers were relatively small with fewer than 50 workers (although in two cases they were also responsible for more sub-contracted workers). The other three employers directly employed over 100 staff each.

Interviews with people from the target groups

Interviewees were found through a range of methods, including approaching people directly at training and advice centres, at known recruitment spots and through organisations and people working in the community. Interviews were conducted where and when it was convenient for the participant. The majority of interviews were with people living in the East of Haringey around the Tottenham Hale, Seven Sisters, Northumberland Park, White Hart Lane and Bruce Grove areas, although there were also a few interviewees from other parts of the Borough. This geographical distribution broadly reflected the concentration of the target groups and the available community links.

In total 31 individual interviews were completed: 16 recent migrants who had been in the UK less than five years, nine refugees and six asylum seekers. There were 17 men and 14 women; sixteen were aged between 18 and 30 years old; nine were between 31 and 40 years old; and the remaining six were aged between 41 and 50 years old (none were older). The regions of origin of the participants are shown in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Nationalities of individual interviewees from the target groups

Region/Country of Origin	Gender	Numbers
Central and East European (A8)	4 male – 3 female	7
Romanian/Bulgarian (A2)	1 male – 1 female	2
Albanian/Kosovan	2 male – 1 female	3
Turkish/Kurdish	3 male – 2 female	5
Middle Eastern	2 male	2
Somali/ Ethiopian/ Eritrean	2 male – 2 female	4
Sub-Saharan African	2 male – 4 female	6
Latin American	1 male – 1 female	2
Total	17 male – 14 female	31

The research team conducted interviews in Polish, Albanian, Somali, French, Spanish and Turkish. Nineteen of the interviews were conducted in the person's home language. The other 12 were in English.

All of the nine Central and Eastern European (A8 and A2) participants were recent migrant workers, of whom three had entered the UK prior to the accession of their countries to the UK. Other recent migrant interviewees were people from Turkish/Kurdish, Albanian and Latin American backgrounds, who had entered the UK through a variety of immigration channels including student visas, self-employed certification and marriage to a EU national. Five of the 16 recent migrant workers had first arrived in the UK in the last year and the other 10 had first arrived in the last five years. The recent migrant workers interviewed tended to be younger than the refugees and asylum seekers – 11 of them were aged between 18 and 30. All of the recent migrants were currently working, with the exception of two women with babies who had also been working up until their pregnancy. The majority were in low-skilled, low-paid occupations in restaurants, cleaning and construction (some people had worked in more than one job in different sectors). Two interviewees had worked previously in manufacturing and warehouse distribution sites. Only three participants were in professional positions or managerial responsibilities. Five of the interviewees were self-employed; mainly in construction trades or labouring (which is not surprising given that the construction industry engages a large number of nominally self-employed workers). Some of the recent migrants had high levels of experience and/or qualifications from their home countries in professions such as in engineering, teaching and management but were not applying these skills in the UK.

The refugees and asylum seekers interviewed were from Kosovan Albanian, Turkish Kurdish, Lebanese, Iraqi, Eritrean, Angolan and Congolese backgrounds, which are areas of the world where wars and internal conflicts have displaced large numbers of people in recent years. These groups of interviewees were generally older than the recent migrants – 10 were aged between 31 and 50. Three of the refugees had first arrived in the UK in the late 1990s and the other six refugees had all been in the UK for more than two years. Some had had to wait several years for their asylum application to be finally decided (in a couple of cases this had been following an appeal). Of the six asylum seekers interviewed, only one had first arrived in the UK in the last year. The other five had been in the UK for periods ranging up to four years and some reported they were in the process of appealing against initial negative decisions. None of the asylum seekers reported that the Home Office had granted them a work permit and none had taken on paid or unpaid work (although a couple admitted having looked for work in the past). The nine refugees interviewed had all been granted leave to remain in the UK and were therefore entitled to

work, but seven of them were unemployed at the time of the interview and three refugee women had never worked in the UK since their first arrival (although they had looked for work at times). Others had worked in cleaning or restaurants in the past, and two were currently studying and/or gaining experience in unpaid work. From their home countries, some of the refugees and asylum seekers had relatively high levels of experience and two had run their own small businesses, but they generally had not been able to apply these skills to the UK.

In sum, the cross-section of individual interviewees was skewed towards people in low-skilled, low-paid occupations or unemployed, which broadly mirrors the likely characteristics of the wider community but also reflects the ways in which possible participants were sought. The issues under focus were also more likely to be reflected by these types of participants (as opposed to people who had come to the UK under the highly skilled migrant programme and employed in professional occupations).

Focus groups with people from particular communities

Focus groups were conducted with people living in Haringey from the following ethno-linguistic backgrounds; Polish, Turkish/Kurdish, Somali, and Francophone African. The topic guide for the discussions is included in Appendix A. All of the focus groups generated very lively discussions lasting over an hour. Local cafés and community centres were used to hold the groups on evenings or weekends and discussions were conducted in their home languages. The number of participants was as follows:

Table 5.2: Number and gender of participants in focus groups

Polish	13 people – 10 women; 3 men
Turkish/Kurdish	11 people – 7 women; 4 men
Francophone African	9 people – 5 women, 4 men
Somali	22 people – 13 women, 9 men

The Somali focus group was held twice after three women only attended the first event and the second event was over-attended following extra efforts made to enlist participants. In addition, an Albanian/Kosovan group had been planned but could not be organised within the research time schedule. A more dedicated outreach effort was deemed necessary for this group.

Of the 55 participants, there were considerably more women (34) than men (21) who attended. In part this reflected that women are often more engaged in community events and organisations, especially when caring for young children. In the case of the Polish group, the main route of enlisting participants was through support groups for mothers and children. The employment and immigration status of all of the participants was not recorded, however it was apparent in the Turkish/Kurdish, Somali and Francophone African groups that many of the participants were refugees (and included a few asylum seekers waiting status determination) and that many of them were currently unemployed or had been unemployed in the past.

6. Economic and Migration Contexts

6.1 Trends in the UK Economy and Labour Market

Before turning to research on the general experiences of recent migrants, refugees and asylum seekers in the UK, this section briefly sketches out some of the major trends in the UK economy and labour market. This sets the context for then considering what factors are shaping relative advantage and disadvantage of different groups.

Recent research by Dorling et al (2007) compares the relationships of wealth and poverty over the last 40 years of development of the UK economy. This reveals that social equality increased during the 1970s, followed by rapidly rising inequality in the 1980s and 1990s. Relative poverty levels climbed to unprecedented levels of more than one in four households by 2000. Changes since 2000 are less clear, but available data suggests that levels of relative poverty and inequality have remained high (but have not continued to increase at the rate seen in the 1990s due to measures introduced by the government). Dorling et al (2007) also find evidence of growing polarisation in terms of urban clustering of areas of poverty and wealth. This is highlighted in London and the Southeast in particular, where 'average' households (neither poor nor wealthy) are found to be gradually disappearing. The Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) reveals that these disparities are also present in Haringey where the borough is broadly divided into two socioeconomic areas. Although pockets of relative deprivation exist across the borough, the division remains into a more affluent west and more deprived east. This point will be further discussed under section 7.1.

Blanden et al (2005) have compared patterns of intergeneration social mobility in the UK and other developed Western economies. They find that the UK and the USA have the lowest social mobility, and that furthermore this situation has been getting worse in the UK (whereas it has stabilised in the USA). In sum, the implication is that people from less privileged backgrounds are more likely to continue facing disadvantage into adulthood, whereas the affluent continue to benefit disproportionately from educational opportunities. With respect to the three groups in the study, there is a body of research both on national and local scale showing that members of these groups experience relative disadvantage. Barriers such as language, lack of skills and qualifications, limited understanding of the UK system and practices, immigration status are all contributing factors in generating such disadvantage. Sections 7 and 8 of the present study examine these general trends in relation to the Haringey population.

These national trends in inequality and low social mobility are despite the fact that since the mid-1990s the UK economy has enjoyed a period of stable growth, low inflation and increasing employment. Broadly speaking, the economic policies applied since the 1980s have stressed market liberalisation and deregulation. The notion of flexibility is central to the government's vision of labour markets – it is seen as the necessary evolution of employment to meet the needs of companies in the competitive global marketplace and the aspirations of workers looking to balance their lives and work. What is generally agreed is that the changing organisation of work has resulted in conventional forms of direct protected employment being supplemented by a growing number of temporary, fixed-term, self-employed, sub-contracted and other contractual forms of work. The volume of work supplied by temporary recruitment agencies has also grown rapidly (Arrowsmith, 2006).

The emphasis on liberalisation, deregulation and flexibility is credited with supporting jobs growth. People with expert knowledge and transferable skills in professional and managerial occupations have been able to take advantage of more flexible options for employment in the 'knowledge economy'. This has been a feature of the employment of many Haringey residents based in the west of the Borough.

However, over the last 20 years there has also been a major decline in skilled and semi-skilled jobs in the manufacturing sector and a marked growth in often low-skilled, routine and semi-routine jobs in service sectors such as hotels and restaurants, retail, cleaning, security, domestic help and social care. Instead of enjoying the benefits of flexibility, these workers risk face greater insecurity and poorer terms and conditions in the new forms of non-direct employment that have arisen (Allen and Henry, 1997). Thus studies on temporary agency working in the UK have found that workers in low-skilled routine jobs tend to receive lower rates of pay and fewer fringe benefits (Purcell, 2004; Forde and Slater, 2005). They also find little evidence to suggest that few workers voluntarily opt for agency work due to the flexibility on offer or the opportunity to move on to permanent jobs. Less regulated labour markets are also credited with enabling the expansion of economic activity in the informal and shadow economies, although the extent of this activity is difficult to define. One North London study for the Low Pay Commission in 2000, for example, found 30 per cent of employees who worked in shops and hotels in main streets in Islington and Haringey admitting they were working 'off the books' (Davis, Colgan and Jefferys, 2001)

6.2 Trends in Labour Market Participation of BME Population

The trends in inequality, social mobility and employment opportunities sketched above have had different impacts on different groups of workers. Migrants, refugees and asylum seekers are part of the Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) population of the UK. Many studies have shown that the BME population overall has struggled with persistently lower labour market outcomes (whether defined by rates of economic activity, employment, earning levels, occupational status or qualifications) than the White British population. Drawing on the 1991 and 2001 Census data, Simpson et al (2006) have mapped the labour market situation of the BME population in the UK. They found that most BME groups had gained some improvement in average qualification levels and employment circumstances between 1991 and 2001, but that the playing field has become *more uneven* in terms of net disadvantage. There are differences in the experience of particular minority ethnic groups though. Notably, the circumstances of the Indian population have improved to better than average labour market outcomes but even their outcomes were worse than for White British people with the same level of qualifications (Simpson et al, 2006).

From statistical models of unemployment, occupation and earnings, Heath and Cheung (2006) also calculate "ethnic penalties" that minority groups face in labour markets where they compete with white workers with the same education and training. Although they find some evidence that 'first generation' immigrants born overseas face greater penalties than the 'second generation' born and bred in the UK, the penalties are broadly similar across generations, and have not changed for Afro-Caribbean Black men and male Pakistanis and Bangladeshis since the 1970s.

These findings point to entrenched forms of discrimination despite the relative success of some BME groups to improve their education and progress in the labour market. A wide range of studies has investigated the causal factors. The national BME population is

highly concentrated in London, where analysis by the GLA (Meadows et al, 2006) found that the incidence of worklessness is higher amongst people with children, in particular lone parents, and associated with housing tenure other than ownership with a mortgage. Lack of English language skills and lack of understanding of UK institutions and systems can also be important factors. Although difficult to quantify, Heath and Cheung (2006) point to evidence that unequal treatment on the basis of race, colour and/or religion are likely to be a major underlying factor.

The experience of the BME population differs somewhat by sector of employment. Heath and Cheung (2006) find that ethnic penalties in term of occupational status are considerably more marked in the private sector than the public sector. This may be expected given the greater onus placed on the public sector to take positive action to promote diversity and equality. Corporate social responsibility and other measures have endeavoured to encourage the private sector to follow suit, especially larger establishments; but Heath and Cheung (2006) find little indication that they have had an impact. Instead they found that ethnic penalties were less prevalent in smaller businesses, which they speculate may be due to the presence of owners and workers from the same minority ethnic backgrounds.

When considering the situation of the BME population, the literature has tended not to focus on “White Other” groups, although sizeable numbers have come from the ‘Old Commonwealth’ (New Zealand, Australia, Canada and South Africa) or Western European in the EU. Coming from higher average income countries with similar political and economic institutions, the assumption may have been that integration into the UK has not been as problematic for these groups. Of course this is debatable, especially with regard to Portuguese, Greek Cypriot, Turkish and other South Europeans. Most recently, the influx of migrants from East Europe has focused attention on this issue.

6.3 Migrant Workers in the UK Labour Market

There is a considerable body of evidence to show that the numbers of overseas nationals in the UK have risen considerably in recent years. Using the Labour Force Survey (LFS), Salt and Millar (2006) estimate that there were 1.5 million migrant workers in the UK in 2005, of whom 64% were resident in London or the Southeast of England. This concentration in London and Southeast reflects the historical patterns of migration, although there is also evidence to suggest that more recent migrant workers are dispersing further across the UK. Migrants from the A8 countries have been a major recent inflow; the Accession Monitoring Report (Home Office, 2007b) for May 2004 to June 2007 reported that a cumulative total of 682,940 applicants had applied to the WRS over this period. Over half (56%) of the 223,885 registered workers in the year between July 2006 and June 2007 indicated that they intended to stay in the UK for less than three months, which suggests that many A8 migrants stay for short time. Whether they change their intentions after entering the UK is more uncertain. The assumption is that a high proportion of recent migrants are temporary, but from interviews with A8 migrants Spencer et al (2007) find that many peoples’ intentions change over time and that it is probable that some temporary workers will in reality stay in the UK for a number of years or settle permanently.

Migrant workers have come to London from across the world. There are apparent differences in their labour market outcomes in the UK linked to their country of origin and qualifications. The GLA (2005) analysed labour market outcomes by country of birth using 2001 Census statistics, which found marked differences between migrants from higher

income and lower income countries. This showed that migrants from developed countries in North America, Australasia and Western Europe had considerably higher levels of qualifications, employment rates, workers in professional and managerial occupations, and overall earnings. Unemployment rates among migrants from some African and other lower income countries were very high, for example 55% of Somalis were unemployed. Migrant women with children were also more likely to be unemployed. Migrants were found to be over-represented in the hotels and restaurants and retail and wholesale sectors.

The impact of recent international migration, in particular from the A8, on the UK economy and labour market is the subject of considerable conjecture but limited data. Recently several studies have used quantitative analyses and economic models to try and assess the macroeconomic relationships at a national level. Broadly speaking, they generally find that migrant workers make a positive contribution to the UK economy and skills. For instance, analysis by Sriskandaraja et al (2005) found that the *per capita* contribution by foreign-born people in general to the share of UK tax revenue is higher than the UK-born population. Studies on labour market changes find little or no evidence that recent migrants from the A8 have had a negative impact on wage levels or unemployment for the resident population (Blanchflower et al, 2007). Gilpin et al (2006) conclude that the flexibility of the UK labour market has responded to recent migrants and there is no statistical evidence that migrants are contributing to claimant unemployment. As Exell (2007) comments, while the media often claims that migration has a negative impact on unemployment and wages for resident workers, there has been a close historical relationship between growth of employment and growth of the labour force. In other words, the number of jobs has increased in line with the supply of migrant workers and this has not limited opportunities to residents.

While the overall assessment of the economic and labour market impacts of migration is broadly positive (Home Office, 2007d; Sriskandarajah *et al*, 2007), researchers also caution that the relationships may vary by industrial sector and geographic region and that it is too early to analyse the trends fully. Saleheen and Shadforth (2006) point out that the relationships between supply of migrant workers and productivity, wages and unemployment are uncertain and complex. They found that 'new' migrants (those who had entered the UK up to two years ago) were relatively younger and more educated than the UK-born population and previous immigrants, but that they were also more likely to be working in lower-skilled routine and semi-routine occupations. The Bank of England (2006) also reported on the increasingly large proportion of migrants in these occupations in sectors such as distribution and hotels and restaurants, and conjectured that falling or stable overtime rates and lower than average rates of pay rises might be a response in these sectors to 'new' migration. Saleheen and Shadforth (2006) find evidence that of the emergence of a significant wage gap between 'new' migrants and UK-born workers. In particular, Blanchflower et al (2007) report that the influx of A8 migrants has added supply to the labour market relative to demand, which has reduced inflationary pressures on wages. What is unknown in these relationships is to what extent relatively well-educated migrant workers in low-skilled occupations are moving into better jobs or returning to their homelands, and whether other recent migrants are then filling their places in the labour market.

Regional and sector-specific studies in recent years have explored the role that recent migrant workers are starting to play in the labour market. Research by the Working Lives Research Institute (McKay and Winkelmann-Gleed, 2005; McKay, Craw and Chopra, 2006) has found that many of the migrant workers interviewed in different regions and sectors have had high levels of education and qualifications, but were often employed in

low-paid, low-skilled routine or manual occupations. The following trends are highlighted from these and other studies in relation to employment and migration.

- Basic processing in sectors such as food, and the packaging and distribution of wholesale and retail goods, has shifted to more flexible forms of delivery to meet highly competitive demands from supermarkets in particular. Low wage shift work has grown in response to these pressures and migrant workers are often engaged in temporary, casual and agency employment, often in anti-social or irregular hours in repetitive manual tasks that require very little English or other skills to carry out.
- Service sectors such as hotels and restaurants, care homes and contract cleaning have grown in the UK in terms of number of jobs. The evidence suggests that they are increasingly reliant on migrants from lower income countries to complete the minimum wage work on offer with poor conditions and insecure employment terms. For instance, Evans et al (2005) found that over 90% of the workers they interviewed in London cleaning, hospitality and care work were migrants. The work is often organised to avoid the need for English language skills (for example, through teams from same background and/or bilingual supervision).
- Higher skilled service employment has also grown in London, particularly in business and financial services where some employers are sourcing migrants from across the world to fill their demands. Health and education professionals, such as doctors, nurses, teachers and social workers, have also been sourced from countries in the 'Old Commonwealth' and the EU in particular but also from countries such as India and the Philippines for some professions.
- The construction industry has tended to use a highly mobile workforce, which in London is estimated to include 20% to 30% migrant workers (Craw et al, 2007). They are known to be filling gaps in skilled trades as well as carrying out general labouring jobs. Many workers are registered self-employed under the Construction Industry Scheme (CIS), although this is a contentious characteristic since in reality a contractor often employs them.
- The employment arrangements of migrants in non-professional and managerial jobs are often relatively 'precarious'. Temporary agency working plays an ambivalent role in terms of labour market integration, since it may be the easiest route to finding remunerative employment but can also limit opportunities for further training, progression and productivity into higher-skilled occupations.
- Relatively informal economies have persisted or grown due to the changing organisation of work. Irregular and/or undocumented work is commonplace for some groups, often within businesses owned by compatriots. Erdemir and Vasta (2007) for instance show how many Turkish migrants are reliant on community networks to find work, but can also be limited and exploited in this relationship. Some migrant workers have been noted to be entrepreneurial, although their motivations may be complicated in relation to recognising the opportunity of market openings or the necessity resulting from relative disadvantage.
- Migrant workers are often exposed to poor working conditions and vulnerable to exploitation. The CAB (2004) has provided evidence of how migrant workers need help in situations such as discrimination at work, not being fully paid, not receiving the minimum wage or minimum legal rights to holidays and sick leave, and working excessive hours. At the worst, Anderson and Rogaly

(2005) find that the conditions of migration and employment amount to forced labour. McKay, Craw and Chopra (2006) document evidence that the conditions and organisation of work contribute to health and safety risks faced by migrant workers.

- Trade union membership amongst migrant workers is particularly low, and union representation in many of the sectors and temporary work arrangements where migrant workers predominate is also marginal. The TUC has taken a lead in raising concerns about the conditions faced by migrant workers, and regional and site-specific campaigns have been led by particular unions, but their reach and influence is varied.

Many of these trends are particularly accentuated in London, where the processes of globalisation and numbers of migrants are concentrated. May et al (2006) characterise the increasing occupational polarisation as a 'migrant division of labour', wherein a succession of migrant groups from the lower income countries of the Global South and former socialist states of East Europe are relied upon to fill many of the low-paid, low-skilled jobs with precarious terms and conditions far removed from the world of professional and managerial careers.

6.4 Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the UK Labour Market

There have been several major studies of the employment needs of refugees in the UK and London, whose findings are briefly sketched out here. An overview by Schreiber (2006) for London Refugee Economic Action provides a good overview of the employment, training and enterprise needs of refugees. The Mayor of London's Draft Strategy for Refugee Integration (2007) also outlines supporting evidence for its promotion of initiatives to support them.

Although it is difficult to estimate accurately due to lack of definitive statistics, various studies have found evidence of high levels of unemployment amongst refugees. For instance, the DWP (2003) estimated that around 36% of refugees nationally were unemployed, which was six times higher than the national average. Other studies have reported even higher levels of unemployment among refugee groups ranging up to as high as 90%, with women being most unlikely to work (Bloch, 2002; Phillimore and Goodson, 2006). Those in employment had also often faced long periods of unemployment (or under-employment) in the past and tend to work more often in low-skilled and low-paid jobs (McKay, Dhudwar and El Zailaee, 2005). The relatively low labour market outcomes are despite the fact that many have attained a good education level and/or professional experience in their home countries, although there are differences by community and gender in this regard (Bloch, 2002). Although the relatively high level of qualifications and experience among some refugees and asylum seekers has been highlighted, Bloch (2002) also found that others have little or none and that 20% of her sample were illiterate in their own language.

Some studies have compared the labour market situation of refugees with other BME groups (Bloch, 2004; McKay, Dhudwar and El Zailaee, 2005). They have found that refugees face even greater levels of employment disadvantage for reasons including their experience of exile, mental and physical health problems, particularly low levels of English and general lack of knowledge of how UK systems and employment practices operate. Phillimore and Goodson (2006) also point out that due to the circumstances of their flight, refugees often arrive in the UK without evidence of their qualifications and lack employers'

references or other evidence of work experience. For the reasons outlined above, it has been found that refugees often rely on information from members of their own communities rather than from mainstream services, but the problem with this approach is that the information may not be comprehensive or up to date (Shiferaw and Hagos, 2002).

As discussed before, the right of asylum seekers to work in the UK are highly restricted. Phillimore and Goodson (2006) emphasise how the UK government policy to restrict asylum seekers' rights and place them largely in accommodation in deprived areas has serious negative impacts on social cohesion. They also point to the detrimental effect of this period waiting for confirmation with little opportunity to develop or use their skills and abilities can impact on their subsequent integration in society and work once granted refugee protection. The Refugee Council (2006) and other organisations working with asylum seekers and refugees have also criticised the lack of any real foundation for the government rationale for restricting asylum seekers' rights to work to prevent potential abuse by economic migrants. They also raise concerns about the limitation on asylum seekers to only apply for work if they have not received an initial decision on their claim after 12 months, which does not take account of the lengthy appeal process that can follow. To avoid destitution and facilitate integration, the right to work to asylum seekers from the point of their initial claim is advocated. Prior to July 2002, this right was granted to the large number of claimants waiting over six months. As Bloch (2004) points out, there is no evidence that access to employment opportunities or welfare benefits have been significant 'pull' factors on asylum seekers, so the government and media fear of abuse of the system are unfounded.

6.5 Employment and Training Support

Government policies down the years have aimed to promote employment and skills in the population by funding different organisations and projects to support disadvantaged groups to access courses and jobs. The types of projects include the following;

- Basic or General Employability Skills (e.g. CV and interview preparation)
- English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL)
- Information Advice and Guidance
- Access to Jobs / Job brokerage
- Vocational Training
- Literacy and/or Numeracy Basic Skills
- ICT Skills
- Volunteering
- Raising Employer Awareness

There are mainstream national programmes, which are run through Job Centre Plus (JCP) and the Learning and Skills Council (LSC), and several smaller, more local initiatives that are funded by Community Regeneration Funding (CRF). The wide range of funding streams, targets, timetables, geographic areas, organisations and projects add up to produce a complex picture of this area. As a result, measuring the overall impact on levels of economic activity and employment in the target groups is also inherently difficult. A brief overview is presented here for London and then Haringey.

A recent attempt to map and analyse the provision of employment and training support to disadvantaged groups in London was the 'Disadvantage, Disengagement and Discrimination' (3Ds) project, supported by the Learning and Skills Council (LSC) and the London European Social Fund (ESF). This study documented over 500 projects provided by 362 different organisations. Although this resulted in a comprehensive directory,

information on a number of other projects was not captured and the information can become quickly dated due to project changes. The final report highlighted examples of good practice and critical success factors, but also identified several weaknesses in funding and planning that act to limit the overall effectiveness of the projects (Beutel and Paraskevopoulou, 2006). Key findings included:

- Although the level of funding and resources targeted to disadvantaged groups has increased in recent years, it was still inadequate for addressing many of the deeper social issues that underlie patterns of disadvantage.
- Project funding arrangements can be too rigid and target driven, making it difficult to develop the holistic approach necessary to addressing clients' needs and tackling disadvantage.
- Funding is overly fragmented and not strategically linked, resulting in wide range of uncoordinated projects that do not link together effectively and create gaps and duplication in provision.
- Successive rounds of funding with different targets result in projects ending and others being initiated without being able to consolidate on experience.
- The short-term nature of many funding programmes is inappropriate for breaking down the long-term and persistent barriers to employment that disadvantaged groups face.
- Insecure funding results in providers having to rely on temporary staff, with the attendant problems of lack of continuity and difficulties of organisational learning and capacity building.
- 'Soft' outcomes such as increased confidence and motivation are often important to engaging disadvantaged people but are difficult to measure.
- Engaging employers, particularly from the private sector, in projects for disadvantaged people is often very difficult since they are primarily motivated by the wider labour market and meeting their competitive demands. Nonetheless, it is crucial that sustained efforts are made to involve them.

These findings are largely mirrored in another analysis for the London Councils (GLE, 2007). This report emphasises that local authorities find it difficult to strategically coordinate provision due to the way that funding is distributed and projects established through so many different channels and providers. A lack of alignment of mainstream JCP and LSC work with local CRF projects is critiqued. It is recommended that the Local Strategic Partnerships supported by London boroughs should always be consulted since they have the best overview of local needs and services.

The GLE (2007) study found that mainstream JCP provision was often not targeted effectively at disadvantaged local groups and questioned the emphasis on securing a job without necessarily considering training or other needs. Looking at ethnic minority experiences of JCP, Hudson et al (2006) reported very mixed perceptions although they seemed to vary more depending on what local office the person accessed and whether he or she had a personal adviser. Overall, the study suggested that people who had access to personalised support such as the New Deal programmes were more satisfied, whereas experiences of general JCP staff and office resources were overwhelmingly negative. In recent years, there have been successive changes to JCP organisations and requirements for claiming benefits. In practice, the Citizens Advice Bureau (2007) has found that more people are struggling to access JCP and claim benefits as delivery systems have changed, local office resources have decreased and telephone systems have been encouraged as the only option for seeking JCP advice.

Looking at refugees in particular, there have been a number of projects targeted at supporting them to access employment and improve their skills. Some boroughs have successfully developed programmes with funding from different sources, such as the Camden RAISE (Refugees Access into Sustainable Employment) project with EQUAL funding (LORECA, 2006), which offer a relatively comprehensive service. But a general criticism is that most refugee initiatives have tended to be rather small-scale and limited for tackling the specific and multiple disadvantages that they face (Phillimore and Goodson, 2006). Phillimore and Goodson (2006) suggest that a co-ordinated and systematic settlement programme, such as what operates in some other European countries, is necessary. As discussed before, the integration of refugees into work and life in the UK is also influenced by their experience of waiting for asylum. Asylum seekers are generally excluded from mainstream funding support – EU funding such as the EQUAL programme has provided some support to them instead. Mentoring and volunteering have been promoted as methods of encouraging refugees and asylum seekers, but there is little evidence to prove that this does improve their opportunities. In particular, the private sector has been reported to place relatively little value on volunteering experience in its application and recruitment processes (Beutel and Paraskevopoulou, 2006).

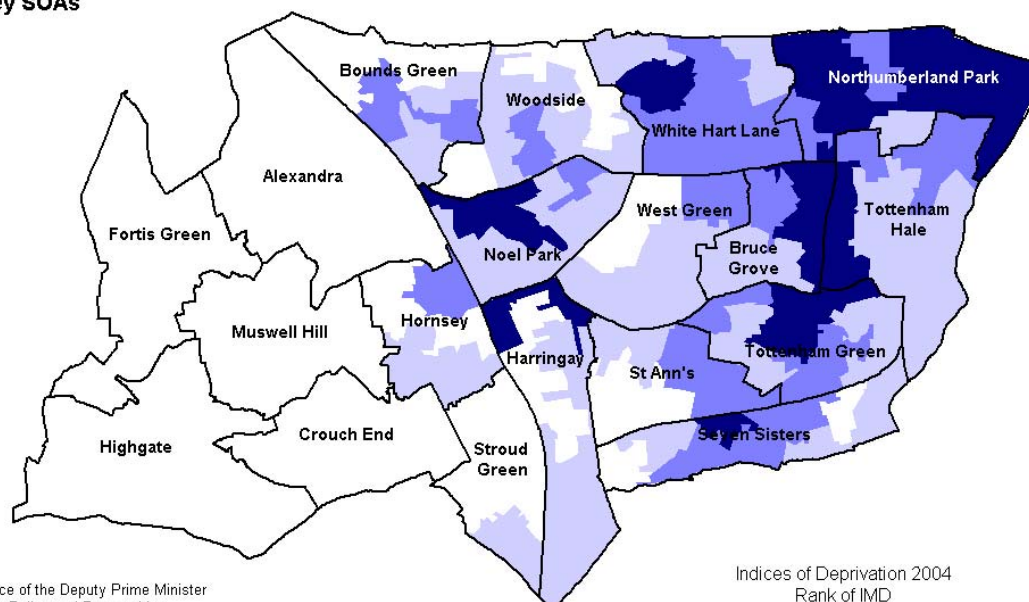
With regard to migrants, refugees and asylum seekers, of course ESOL provision is a particular need not only for finding employment but also for wider community integration. Reviews have shown that the level of demand for ESOL has risen and raised concerns around the availability and quality of courses (NIACE, 2006). LSC (2006) has noted that despite increases in funding, demand has outstripped supply, and as a result has implemented changes from 2007/08 to focus free tuition more closely on priority groups (primarily people who are unemployed or receiving income-based benefits). Universal entitlement to free ESOL training up to level 2 (i.e. basic levels) will be removed. The TUC, Refugee Council and others have raised concerns about the implications for migrant workers and refugees earning around the minimum wage, who may not be in receipt of benefits and will find it difficult to pay for their courses. With regard to asylum seekers, only those people waiting over six months for a decision on their claim or appeal or those refused asylum but unable to return due to circumstances beyond their control, are eligible for LSC funding.

7. Haringey Profile

7.1 Population and Local Conditions in Haringey

In terms of relative socio-economic wealth and poverty, Haringey can be broadly characterised as an area of two contrasting halves. This is shown in the map below of the Index of Multiple Deprivation 2004 (IMD), which is a ranking score of relative deprivation in different geographic areas using composite statistical indicators for the seven domains of income, employment, health and disability, education, skills and training, housing and services, living environment, and crime. From the IMD, approximately 30% of Haringey Super Output Areas (SOAs) are amongst the 10% most deprived in the country. As shown in the map beneath, these SOAs are largely concentrated in the east of the borough.

Indices of Deprivation 2004
Rank of IMD
Haringey SOAs



Source: Office of the Deputy Prime Minister
Produced by Policy and Partnerships
Haringey Council, August 2004

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Indices of Deprivation 2004
Rank of IMD

- Amongst 5% most deprived SOAs in England
- 5-10% most deprived
- 10-20% most deprived
- 20%+ most deprived

In drawing this analogy of two halves, it is important to note that there are pockets of deprivation located across the whole of Haringey. This is evidenced by the fact that 114 of the 144 SOAs in Haringey are in the 30% most deprived in the UK (GLA, 2005a). These areas are also ones in which there are high proportions of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers. Caution is necessary, however, in assuming simplistic relationships between geographic patterns of relative deprivation and population diversity. For instance, Simpson et al (2006) point out that the differences in labour market circumstances between ethnic minorities are greater than between areas. Their study suggests that the geographic area of residence is less influential in determining outcomes than the different ethnic backgrounds people have.

From the 2001 Census, 40% of the London population was from ethnic groups who were not White British. The equivalent proportion for Haringey was 55%. It is well known that parts of London have a highly diverse population compared with the rest of the UK on average. Simpson's index provides a measure for ranking population change and diversity at different geographic levels from local authority to ward to standard output area³. Haringey is ranked the 5th most diverse local authority in the UK (the four more diverse boroughs are also in London) by this measure (GLA, 2005). At ward level, diversity is clearly greatest in the east of the borough – Tottenham Green, Bruce Grove, Northumberland Park, Tottenham Hale, West Green, St Ann's and Seven Sisters are the seven Haringey wards that rank in the top 50 for the UK for diversity. The proportion of the population in these wards who are *not* 'White British' ranges from 64% to 70%. Between 1991 and 2001, census statistics indicate that the White and Indian populations decreased overall while Black Caribbean and African, Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Other Asian populations increased. Countries of birth statistics provide more detail about the origins of the population in different areas. From the 2001 Census, 38% of the Haringey population was born overseas. Of this group, the largest three regions were Sub Saharan Africa (22%), the Caribbean and Latin America (17%) and East Europe (15%). Some Eastern European migration to the UK thus clearly preceded A8 Accession in 2004.

With regard to ethnicity, the most comprehensive dataset that provides information on a part of the population is the Pupil Level Annual School Census (PLASC). This gives an impression of the school-age population that in years to come will be entering the labour market. Data for Haringey indicate that the population of young people and children in the borough is even more diverse than the adult population. From the 2006 census, only 20% of pupils were White British. Another 21% were from other White backgrounds, most notably Turkish (8%). Black African and Caribbean pupils constituted 34% of the school age population in Haringey, which was higher than in other North London boroughs, whereas South Asian pupils only constituted 6%, which was relatively less than in other North London boroughs.

The level of overall population change, let alone change in ethnic minority populations, in different areas is difficult to estimate in the periods between the Censuses every ten years⁴. The 2005 mid-year estimate for the total population of Haringey was 224,500, a rise of nearly 8,000 from the 2001 Census count of 216,507. This overall change only gives part of the picture of population movement into and out of the borough. In parts of London, there is a high degree of population change and Census snapshots can quickly become dated. For instance, a random sample survey of residents in Northumberland Park in Haringey found that half (51%) of them had been living in the area for less than 10 years (MORI, 2001). The Office for National Statistics (ONS) and Greater London Authority (GLA) have developed complex models for producing estimates and projections of population change over the years using administrative and survey data. Since they have major implications for planning, funding and service provision, these models are the subjects of considerable debate.

The latest 2006-round GLA projections for Haringey indicate that the population will grow by 6.1% (14,036 people) between 2007 and 2016. By 2031, overall growth of 18.8% is projected. The fastest rates of growth are predicted in Northumberland Park, Hornsey and Tottenham Green. Housing studies inform predictions of future capacity. Natural change (births minus deaths) and international migration are fuelling the projected population

³ The standard output area (SOA) is the base geographical unit of small neighbourhood areas reported from the 2001 census. Lower level SOAs encompass a minimum population of 1000 with a mean of 1500 and middle level SOAs encompass a minimum population of 5000 with a mean of 7200.

⁴ There are also complex methodologies applied to account for potential under-counting of the population in the Census data.

growth. However it is important to note that the ONS expect an overall migration deficit to continue – in other words, migration out of Haringey to exceed migration into the Borough. Although it can be assumed that international migration is a net contributor to the Haringey population, internal migration to other parts of London and within the UK more widely is forecast by the ONS to lead to net loss. The assumptions behind these projections are debateable, however, and recent data indicates that there was a net migration increase around 2004/05.. This may have been due to A8 migration, especially migrants from East European countries who were absorbed by the Haringey local labour market as shown in section 8.1.

One of the most problematic variables in measuring population change is the level of international migration both into and out of the UK. There is no definitive data source or model for estimating migrant populations in local authority or other areas, but various administrative and survey datasets can be combined to model probable stocks and flows. Rees and Boden (2006) for the GLA provide a useful overview of what datasets hold in terms of period of availability and information on population stocks, flows and profiles for identifying migrant populations. Survey datasets provide an indication of changing migrant populations, notably the quarterly Labour Force Survey and the International Passenger Survey (IPS). Although it includes questions on individuals' countries of birth and years of arrival in the UK that can be analysed against an exhaustive array of labour market characteristics, the LFS is not a large enough quarterly sample at the local authority level to produce confident estimates of migrant workers (the Annual Population Survey builds on the LFS quarter to produce annual local authority estimates of labour markets, but this is also deficient for disaggregating migrant workers). The helpful 2007 IPPR report aggregates six LFS quarters and can then only produce results with some confidence at national level. The IPS meanwhile surveys intentions at the point of entry to the UK and thus offers a limited basis for predicting how many migrants may end up in local authority areas.

In terms of administrative datasets, one of the more comprehensive is Job Centre Plus data for new National Insurance Number (NINO) applications (which is required of all new people when they start work). These statistics are available for overseas nationals registering in local authority areas. Of course whether they live or work there is a moot point, but at least they are an indication of new workers with some connection to the area. This data is summarised in Table 7.1 for 2002/03 to 2006/07 for Haringey by region/country of origin. Overall, the number of allocations increased dramatically (86%) from 5,890 in 2002/03 to 10,960 in 2006/07, which was largely due to the influx of A8 East European migrants. Polish arrivals have made up the majority of them (75% of the 5,090 A8 migrants in 2006/07). With regard to other regions of origin, the number of allocations to people from other EU countries also increased markedly (in particular from France, Italy and Cyprus; the latter following accession in 2004 as well). There was little evidence that the accession of Bulgaria and Romania (A2) resulted in more NINO allocations at the start of 2007. The number of new NINO allocations to people from Sub-Saharan Africa and the Caribbean also decreased during this period (most notably in numbers of Somalis and Jamaicans respectively). Of course, the NINO data does not count those migrants in informal work who wish to remain undocumented for whatever reason.

Table 7.1: NI number allocations In Haringey by region of origin, 2002/03 to 2006/07

	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	% Change 2002-6
A8 East Europe	380	830	2,090	3,980	5,090	1239
A2 East Europe	350	540	360	120	260	-26
West and Other European Union	1,220	1,370	1,250	1,780	2,030	66
Australasia	320	280	250	380	450	41
North America	150	140	130	160	210	40
Caribbean	360	450	210	170	110	-69
Latin America	150	250	230	290	330	120
South Asia	400	410	400	360	440	10
East Asia	330	430	330	340	320	-3
Sub-Saharan Africa	1,270	1,400	1,230	1,280	980	-23
Turkey, Middle East and North Africa	670	720	560	520	520	-22
Russia and Other Former USSR	120	120	110	100	100	-17
Former Yugoslavia and Albania	210	210	140	110	110	-48
Not specified	10	10	20	10	10	0
All	5,890	7,190	7,280	9,580	10,960	86

Source: Department for Work and Pensions, 2007

Note: Data for each individual country is rounded to nearest 10 and regional and total sums may differ due to rounding

Another administrative source of data is the NHS, which can provides information on new GP registrations and flags up when people have come from abroad. This data has not been widely used at the local authority level, but work by the London Borough of Newham (2007) on population change in London reported that in 2004/05 there were 7,048 new GP patients from abroad that registered in Haringey. Previous years to 2001/02 also recorded between 6,800 and 7,100 new patients, so there was no apparent trend. Raw data could not be accessed for Haringey in time for this research, but the responsible office in Enfield PCT indicated that it would also now be possible to extract information on country of birth.

Estimating the refugee and asylum seeker numbers in different areas is even more complicated than migrants because they are not specifically identified or counted in census, survey or administrative data. Therefore estimates need to be made from assumptions around likely refugees using country of birth statistics. Klodawski (2004) provides a summary of data sources on refugees and asylum seekers. Using 2001 Census data, Haringey Council (2005) found that approximately 35,000 people living in Haringey were from countries that had displaced large numbers of people. This figure included people from the identified countries who were not refugees or asylum seekers, however. The African Education Trust (2002) for the LSC used surveys to estimate that the refugee and asylum seeker population in Haringey would be in the range from 24,639 to 30,325, which would constitute between 11% and 15% of the total population. The proportion of school age children from refugee background households is estimated to be even higher at 19%. In general, large refugee communities of Turkish Kurds and Somalis are noted in Haringey, as well as the majority of Zairian Congolese in North London. Local reports on people seen by NHS primary care centres in Haringey also found that there were a large number of Kosovan Albanians (Haringey PCT, 2005).

The number of asylum seekers coming to the UK had grown and ebbed due to changing conflicts and restrictions on their movement. Statistics are available from NASS on the numbers supported in different boroughs. The latest report indicated that in Haringey as at the end of December 2006 there were 607 asylum seekers (including dependants) in receipt of subsistence only support and 370 asylum seekers (including dependents) in dispersed accommodation (Home Office, 2007). The total of 977 was higher than in any other London borough due to the relatively large number placed in dispersed accommodation in Haringey in particular, but was less than corresponding total of 1,195 (840 subsistence and 355 accommodation) as at the end of December 2005 (Home Office, 2006). These figures did not include unaccompanied asylum seeking children supported by local authorities, who amounted to 336 as at December 2006 and 311 as at June 2007. They also would not account for asylum seekers whose applications had failed and were no longer received NASS support.

7.2 Haringey Labour Market Profile

It is important to bear in mind the contrasts between different groups in the borough and the evidence of growing inequality, stagnant social mobility and persistent BME barriers in the UK more widely. Overall statistics can mask the disparities in labour market outcomes, but survey data is generally limited for analysing trends at the local authority level.

The Annual Population Survey (APS) for the period of January 2006 to December 2006 reports that 74.8% of the working age population (16-59/64) of Haringey were economically active, which was an equivalent proportion to that across London as a whole but lower than for the UK. As shown in Table 7.2, there were relatively more self-employed people and unemployed people actively looking for work in Haringey than in London and the UK.

Table 7.2: Economic Activity in Haringey, London and the UK, January-December 2006

	Haringey (No)	Haringey (%)	London (%)	UK (%)
Economically active	116,600	74.8	74.8	78.6
In employment	106,700	68.2	69	74.3
Employees	78,300	50.6	57.8	64.6
Self employed	28,300	17.6	10.7	9.3
Model-based unemployed*	10,900	9.2	7.6	5.3

Source: Annual Population Survey, 2006

Note: *Model-based unemployment estimates use claimant counts as well APS data to produce a more reliable measure of unemployment

Slightly over a quarter (25.2%) of the Haringey population was economically inactive, of whom 19% indicated that they did not want to find a job (which could be for reasons such as ill health, disability or education). Women were more likely to be economically inactive (31.4% compared with 19.4%) of men.

As discussed above, economic activity and employment rates for BME groups in the UK have been consistently lower than for the White groups. Haringey is no exception to this rule. Statistics comparing the working age employment rate, unemployment rate and economically inactive rate of the White and Non-White population are presented for Haringey in Table 7.3.

Table 7.3: Employment, Unemployment and Economically Inactive Rates for White and Non-White Populations of Haringey and London, January-December 2006

	Haringey (No)	Haringey (%)	London (%)
working age employment rate - white	69,800	75.7	74.6
working age employment rate - non-white	33,100	56.3	58.4
16+ unemployment rate - white	4,000	5.2	5.3
16+ unemployment rate - non-white	6,000	15.1	13.1
economically inactive % - white	18,400	20.0	21.2
economically inactive % - non-white	19,700	33.6	32.7

Source: Annual Population Survey, 2006

Note: The 95% confidence interval for these statistics is up to $\pm 12\%$

Employment by occupation can be explored in relation to the area of residence and the area of the workplace. These obviously give different results, since a large proportion of Haringey residents would commute to work in the wider London labour market⁵ (and many others would commute to Haringey for work). A further complicating factor of course is that some workers would also be travelling to different sites and working on different contracts. Overall, the APS 2006 estimates that there were 106,500 people from Haringey in employment, but APS workplace analysis estimate that there were 58,900 people employed in Haringey workplaces – in other words a considerably higher number of people were commuting out of the borough. Table 7.4 presents the numbers and proportions for Haringey for residents and workplaces in relation to the main occupation groups.

⁵ The main boroughs to which Haringey residents commute for work are Westminster, Camden, Islington and the City of London.

Table 7.4: Occupations of Haringey residents and Haringey workplaces, January-December 2006

	Haringey residents		Haringey workplaces		London
	No.	%	No.	%	%
<i>Managerial, Professional and Technical</i>	56,100	52.7	27,200	46.2	51.9
Managers and Senior Officials	17,500	16.4	8,500	14.4	17.6
Professional Occupations	16,700	15.7	6,900	11.7	16.4
Associate Prof & Tech Occupations	21,900	20.6	11,800	20.0	17.9
<i>Office Work and Skilled Trades</i>	21,500	20.2	7,300	12.4	21.0
Administrative and Secretarial Occupations	10,600	10.0	6,000	10.2	13.0
Skilled Trades Occupations	10,900	10.2	1,300	2.2	8.0
<i>Services</i>	12,700	11.9	13,100	22.2	13.5
Personal Service Occupations	7,200	6.8	8,300	14.1	7.1
Sales and Customer Service Occupations	5,500	5.2	4,800	8.1	6.4
<i>Process and Elementary</i>	16,200	15.2	11,300	19.2	13.0
Process, Plant and Machine Operatives	5,100	4.8	4,100	7.0	4.1
Elementary occupations	11,100	10.4	7,200	12.2	8.9
Total	106,500	100	58,900	100	100

Source: Source: Annual Population Survey, 2006

Note: The degree of uncertainty on the Haringey workplace estimates in particular would be very high and should be referenced with caution

This data indicate that the frequency of occupations did not differ markedly for Haringey residents compared with London residents as a whole. As discussed above with regard to the IMD 2004, Haringey is mixture of relatively affluent and deprived areas, which may balance each other out. This was not the case, however, in relation to the workplaces actually based in Haringey. Here, there was a significant over-representation of people in services and process and elementary occupations and a significant under-representation of office and skilled trade occupations. The over-represented occupations reflected the relatively large catering and hospitality, retail and retail and distribution sectors in Haringey. Also, the proportion working in personal services (one in seven) was nearly twice the London average. By comparison the two per cent of skilled trades occupations present in Haringey workplaces was a level nearly four times less than in London as a whole.

For this research, data on employee jobs in Haringey by industry could only be obtained from the Annual Business Inquiry for 2005, which is presented in Table 7.5. Public administration, education and health jobs were just the most prevalent, underlining the importance of the public sector in the Haringey labour market. Jobs in distribution, hotels and restaurants also represented over 25% of all employees in Haringey, which was a greater proportion than across London as a whole (where financial services were the largest sector).

Table 7.5: Employee Jobs by Industry in Haringey, 2005

	Haringey (No)	Haringey (%)	London (%)
Manufacturing	4,700	7.3	5.0
Construction	2,600	4.0	3.0
Services	57,200	88.6	91.7
Distribution, hotels and restaurants	17,600	27.2	21.7
Transport and communications	4,100	6.4	7.7
Finance, IT and other business activities	10,500	16.3	32.7
Public admin, education and health	18,600	28.8	23.0
Other services	6,300	9.8	6.6
Tourism-related	7,100	11.0	8.4
Total	71,500		

Note: Employee jobs excludes self-employed and government-supported trainees

The GLA has produced employment projections for Inner and Outer London to 2026, but the methodology and assumption behind them are the subjects of some conjecture (Gordon, 2006). A percentage increase of 9% was measured for Haringey between 1991 and 2001, but little further growth was projected between 2003 and 2011. From 2011 to 2026 though, some 15,000 additional jobs are predicted to develop in Haringey, which represents an increase of 19%. Evolving centres of advanced services in Outer London and improved transport accessibility are influencing factors on this projection, but what will actually develop is still highly uncertain.

Due to its very nature of operating outside formal regulation, the informal economy is probably not fully represented in official labour market statistics. A survey for the London Borough of Haringey found that 23% of the 2,596 respondents had been involved in informal sector jobs (Community Links, 2006). Earlier Low Pay Commission research in North London (Davis, Colgan and Jefferys, 2001) had suggested a slightly higher proportion of 'informal' working in retailing. Catering and hospitality, cleaning, childcare, and retail sales were the most common sectors. The work was frequently low paid and cash-in-hand, and often varied in terms of hours and periods of work. Overall, the current research confirms that the informal economy is a major area of employment in Haringey, part of which is outside government measurement and regulation. The contribution of the 'shadow' economy (that is, unregulated *and* illegal activities) to the local Haringey economy is even more uncertain.

The APS is not a large enough survey to generate reliable estimates by country of birth or ethnicity (besides not accounting fully for informal sector jobs) to help with mapping the distribution of recent migrants, refugees and asylum seekers in different occupations and sectors of the labour market in Haringey. As discussed above, however, there is much evidence for London and the UK as a whole to suggest that they are more likely to find work in relatively low-skilled occupations (i.e. services, process and elementary).

The Home Office does release data on the numbers of recent migrants to the UK on the various different visa and work permits, which are linked to occupation. This information is generally not available at local authority level, but a data extract was requested from the Home Office for all work permit applications issued between 2002 and 2006 to workers with employers based in postcodes that cover parts of Haringey (N2, N4, N6, N8, N10, N11, N15, N17, N19 and N22). This was supplied with the exception of N6 and N15, that unfortunately could not be included in this report. As well as new permits, the data

includes permits for extensions and changes of employment. Therefore, it is only a very limited picture of immigration to work in Haringey, but nonetheless give an impression of major countries of origin and types of occupations.

This Home Office data show the total number of application granted in 2002 was 516, which then increased to 573 in 2003 and decreased subsequently to 488 in 2004, 403 in 2005 and 354 in 2006. Whether the decrease since 2003 is related to changes in international recruitment and migration following A8 accession cannot be determined. Across the five years, Australians (237), Indians (235) and South Africans were the most common countries of origin. School and college teachers (522), nurses (299) and management related occupations (263) were the most frequent ones for approved applications. Other health and social care occupations were also prominent. This information suggests that the public sector has been active in recruiting skilled migrants from the Commonwealth in particular.

The Worker Registration Scheme (WRS) for A8 migrants takes a record of what type of occupation that are employed in. Home Office statistics indicate that between May 2004 and December 2006, 1,958 A8 migrants registered on the WRS for employment in workplaces in Haringey. The data supplied listed 'other' for a large number of the occupations recorded so it is difficult to draw out trends; however cleaning and domestic jobs (266) and warehouse operatives (285) were the most common ones. Similar to evidence found across the UK, this information suggests that recent A8 migrants have tended to work in relatively unskilled and routine jobs.

8. Changing Haringey

8.1 Population Changes

The most evident recent population change was the influx of East European migrants, whom several of the business owners or managers we interviewed had recruited and employed. These key stakeholders reflected positively on their willingness to work hard in low paid jobs and whatever hours were available. These views were potentially shaping access to the labour market. Thus one of the employment agency managers suggested their clients carried a number of value judgements about the abilities of different groups: East Europeans in particular were deemed more productive and more reliable.

In some occupational sectors this stereotyping was also racialised. One business interviewee acknowledged that white East European girls might be preferred for restaurant and café service jobs because they are 'good-looking'. An agency manager was also surprised at how restaurant and cafes owners in particular would sometimes express a preference for White European female staff. While this agency strictly based its practices on equal opportunities and therefore did not support such requests, the implication was that some employers did practise discrimination.

Given the diversity of the population of Haringey, these stereotypes were based not only on race and gender but also on distinctions between particular ethnic groups. For instance, drawing both from media examples and personal observations, some owners or managers made some judgemental statements about the proclivity of different Black African groups (that would include a large proportion of refugees) to work as opposed to their desire to remain on benefits. Similar prejudices were expressed about the attitude of refugees towards work.

Council Neighbourhood Officers confirmed the recent increased presence of A8 migrants. These were increasingly seen working in a variety of occupations and also starting to open shops and services in the area. Although many A8 migrants were only staying temporarily in the UK, the fact that large groups of parents with young children had developed at the Salvation Army centres in the borough was seen as evidence that others are settling in the UK for longer periods. Having perhaps not realised how expensive the cost of living in London would be prior to coming to the UK, more A8 women with dependent children were also reported to be seeking opportunities to contribute to household incomes. Some A8 migrants were also reported to be seeking the help of churches after becoming relatively destitute in the area. There were also neighbourhood concerns about new Romanian and Bulgarian migrants in the area that seemed to have little support or knowledge of the UK. Neighbourhood officers were therefore putting efforts into establishing outreach links with A8 and A2 migrants. While other minority groups such as Kurds and Somalis included large number of refugees and were well established in Haringey with a number of specific community centres and associations, the most recent East European migrants were seen to be only starting to set up community networks.

While the key respondents felt that the diversity of Haringey's population had contributed to positive cultural sharing between people, some noted tensions between BME residents, refugees and recent migrants from East Europe, however. Competition between different ethnic minority community groups over funding and resources was remarked upon and greater efforts to promote integration were suggested to bridge some of these tensions.

8.2 Structural changes

Haringey has seen important changes in terms of the decline of manufacturing and the shift to a greater variety of service sector jobs. In the context of increasing competition, there has also been a shift from directly employed to agency-employed or agency-sourced staff. There has also been a significant inflow of migrant and refugee labour into the local labour market.

The local businessmen and managers we interviewed believed the number of jobs had increased and that the unemployment figures may not take account of many people active in the informal economy (which some interviewees thought was thriving). There was a widespread sentiment that competition in most sectors had increased as well and operating margins had become tighter as a result. Construction and cleaning contractors referred to strong cost pressures to win contracts from clients. Warehouse and distribution retail suppliers also commented on the competition in their markets. Small business owners in catering and services suggested that many would struggle to survive in the event of an economic downturn, in particular since some started without a clear business plan and had limited interaction with formal institutions.

Overall, the employers had not experienced difficulties in sourcing necessary labour force and agencies reported that they had sufficient workers registered to supply clients. Most recognised that recent migrants were taking on more of the low-paid routine jobs in the area but due to the overall growth in employment in London did not see this development displacing longer resident groups of workers. One agency funded by the government to target unemployed people did perceive that opportunities might have become more restricted over the last two years, however. Two reasons were given for this change; firstly that the remaining long-term unemployed had become increasingly difficult to place; and secondly that the influx of recent East European migrants had filled many vacancies.

The main types of occupations where recent migrants and refugees were reported to be working were low-paid and routine or semi-skilled. Sectors such as warehouse and distribution, catering and hospitality, and other services like cleaning were particularly noted since they often did not require much or any English or experience. Their presence in the construction industry in skilled trades and general labouring was also notable. Recent A8 East European migrants had come to constitute large proportions of the workforce of some businesses and agencies. In one construction firm they amounted to 80% of the workforce, and in one agency they represented around 50% of the temporary workers it supplied to warehouses and distribution centres. Other businesses had workforces largely drawn from particular ethnic groups due to the established community links with management – for instance the cleaning contractor interviewed had a high proportion of West African staff. He recognised that the problem with this ethnic concentration in particular occupations could reinforce stereotypes. Although of course there were exceptions, recent migrants and refugees were only rarely mentioned as working in ‘white-collar’ office jobs.

The Neighbourhood Officers we interviewed felt that overall employment in Haringey and wider London had increased in several sectors, and therefore did not believe that overall recent migrants were ‘displacing’ longer-term residents. However, the construction sector was thought to be an exception: several interviewees reported that East European migrants were being recruited in skilled trades and general labouring for lower rates with the result that the opportunities were more limited for young people in particular to gain work experience. This perception was supported by a Francophone African male refugee:

It's true not only for French speakers but for everyone. When you are a company director you will take the cheapest labour. And that is the real problem. Since the East European people are coming, it's finished. There is no more work even if you knock at all the doors. If you go to building sites they don't have work. Some engineers from Eastern Europe work for £5... That kills the labour market.

More generally, however, a Kurdish Turkish woman argued that the denial of benefits to workers from the A8 countries had had a significant effect on working conditions and wages:

Especially after the EU countries have joined many new migrants have come over to work and since they cannot claim benefits, therefore they work in very bad conditions and in cheap labour. This has also increased the unemployment levels for the local residents, as they cannot find jobs.

Several migrants from various backgrounds commented that finding work had become more difficult in the last year or so. This theme was further discussed in the Polish focus group, where a number of participants commented that it had become harder than before the accession of Poland to the EU (even though people then needed a visa or worked without documents) or when migrants started to come over in 2004 when Poland first joined. Two participants elaborated on this trend:

I came here without any contacts a few years ago. It was easier to find a job then but these were jobs that the local population wouldn't do, such as cleaning and childcare. Now it's more difficult because there are many Poles here so they need to have contacts to get a job. Before that it was easier to get any job but it was more difficult to get legally employed because we needed visas.

Earlier it was easier. My friends for example came here without any contacts. They came with rucksacks and with a tent, and eventually they succeeded. But now such trips without any contacts are impossible. The British people trusted Poles more then. My friend came here alone and found a job in three days, while my husband spent three months looking for a job a year ago. And he found a job only through personal contacts.

Without personal contacts, several interviewees had heard of newer migrants who quickly ran out of savings and had to return home or become destitute. The predominantly manual jobs available were also particularly difficult for older migrants, as one Polish woman explained:

My husband's niece and her boyfriend came here with his father. But the father was over 40. He wanted to earn some money because they had a crisis at home but nothing good came of it. He wasn't suitable for physical work; he was an accountant in Poland and had no idea what it meant to work in construction here. He went back after a couple of months.

8.3 Reasons for Coming to the UK and Haringey

The motivations for leaving a person's home country are always complex. While some of them – around the idea of securing a better life for themselves and their families –

overlapped between the recent migrant workers and the refugees and asylum seekers, the major difference between the two groups was about the degree of pressure to leave: the refugees and asylum seekers had been forced to flee.

Following their flight to the UK and during their wait for status confirmation and subsequent attempts to settle, most of the refugees interviewed had moved between different parts of London and the UK before settling in Haringey. Several were living in temporary accommodation from social providers (either the Council or a Housing Association); others shared rented accommodation with friends or others. The interviewees gave two main types of reasons why they had come to Haringey. One related to the sense of security and benefits of living close to a wider community of people from the same background and of being in a multicultural area. The other related to a lack of choice: either they had been placed in Haringey or they had not been able to find any other area in which there was the equivalent available cheap housing.

Proximity to family and friends had clearly motivated several interviewees to live in Haringey, and Kurdish Turkish and Somali focus group participants in particular also emphasised the importance of wider community links. One Kurdish Turkish woman told the focus group:

[People live here because] they don't feel confident in moving out to a new area and they want to be close to their community. And because most of them don't know how to speak English they feel better living amongst people who they can share their problems with and ask for help when needed.

They had a sense of the historical development of their communities in Haringey; language, culture and information sharing were all given as reasons. Another Kurdish Turkish woman explained:

This cohesion creates security for many people, as they are constantly getting support by their own communities... Also when you look back to the past people had first visited and stayed in the same area as their friends or families have stayed, which has mainly been in Haringey, and this is the place where we have created our community centres, I don't know exactly who has started this but it has happened gradually.

This view was shared by a Somali woman focus group participant:

Firstly in Haringey you get a lot of black people. After that some Somali families started living here and then others and more. You feel that the Somalis help each other; that there are a lot of Somali community organisations and that other friends and family pull together and attract them to be here. I feel that is the main reason. They live here and they like living here, and the people know of and look after each other... and there are Somali businesses here.

The support of local Community Centres with translation, advice and social activities was also appreciated.

The positive mixing and security of living in a multicultural community was also spoken about and compared positively with experiences in other parts of the UK or Europe (where a couple of focus group participants had originally sought refuge). Some people had direct experience of racist attacks in areas outside Haringey. A Kurdish Turkish man reported:

I think that we also have a very strong bond amongst our community members, which is in our culture to support and help one another. Also we have heard that there is racism happening against people living in outer London or areas that are predominantly white English. This could be reason why we live in an area where it is multi-cultural and there is less racism occurring.

A Somali woman confirmed this assessment:

[Haringey] appears to be a safe place in terms of not being a racist one, there are a lot of Black people and a lot of Somalis.

While a male Francophone African compared Haringey very positively with Sweden:

I lived [in Sweden] for 15 years; even my kids were born there. The reason why I live here is because of the love of my children. Honestly, they were born there and they felt the hatred of the Swedes. I feel split in two! I am of African origin, my Muslim identity frightens people here, and the colour of my skin frightened the Scandinavians because they do not know a lot of black people. You are like untouchables. My kids went to England on holiday and told me "Papa, you keep us here (in Sweden) in a prison". That's true. Because they saw people black, white, yellow, hand in hand (in London).

At the same time, several refugees from Haringey had been placed there – in social housing or temporary accommodation – with little other option. Some wished that they were living in other areas and emphasised the lack of choice. One Somali man argued:

Nobody chooses Haringey! They are placed here, usually by Councils or Housing associations, nobody chooses.

A Kurdish Turkish woman emphasised the constraints:

There is also another important point here to mention, which is that people coming here tend not to have any other alternative option. Because they come here, apply for housing and make all their immigration applications here.

Two of the asylum seekers we interviewed were staying with partners or friends in Haringey while appealing negative decisions on their cases. They were reliant on these people who also tended to be refugees and typically earned low wages or claimed benefits. The others had been placed in Haringey by NASS, sometimes at little notice and with no choice. In some circumstances this was very disruptive, notably for one person whose eldest son suffered with severe mental health problems and had not received continuous care across different NHS teams and services.

The poor quality of temporary accommodation was a major complaint of several of the asylum seekers. An Angolan woman told us: *'the hostel was so bad, insects in the room, I had never seen anything like it.'* Another woman was living with two young children and her partner in a small one bedroom flat with obvious problems of damp. She was very concerned about the health implications for her children and partner (who was taking drugs for tuberculosis) that she had raised with the authorities but not yet received a response.

The migrant workers, by contrast, had primarily come to the UK for work. Most of the A8 migrants' decisions had been triggered by the opportunity provided when their countries joined the EU on the 1st of May 2004. However, two of them had actually been here prior to that date and had worked without documents (one had initially entered as an au pair, the other as a visitor). Migrants from Angola and Colombia had also entered the UK by virtue of EU passports from Portuguese and Spanish family and marital ties respectively. One Bulgarian migrant was staying in the UK after marrying a British national. The recent accession of Bulgaria and Romania (A2) to the EU on the 1st of January 2007 had motivated the Romanian migrant interviewed and several others from these countries that we met. Four migrants from countries outside the EU were interviewed. One of the Kurdish Turkish workers had originally come to the UK as an au pair and subsequently gained permission to stay as a self-employed worker; two other Turkish nationals had also entered with work permit visas and were now looking to extend them. An Albanian Kosovan migrant had come to the UK very recently with a current work visa, but it was unclear what type.

Several migrant workers placed the emphasis on how they had been attracted by opportunities they saw to pursue jobs and incomes that would not be able to secure in their home country. Wanting to learn English and/or to pursue further studies were also contributing reasons why some of the interviewees had chosen to migrate to the UK. There was also a 'push' element at work in their home country: some of the interviewees had been working in low paid jobs or had been unemployed before leaving and felt that they lacked better opportunities. For example, two female Polish migrants explained why they had decided to come to the UK.

I finished studies and looked for work in Poland for a couple of months but it was a very bad time then... even more so because I've got a degree in chemistry so it was difficult for me to find anything, even in teaching. If you do not know anyone there [for work contacts], then there is no chance.

Right after finishing business school I went to work in a factory and it was very hard, I had too little money and wanted to leave and start a new life. The other reason [why I came to the UK] was because I wanted to study English.

Some migrants had joined their extended family in the UK and/or planned to encourage other members to join them. How long the different migrants intended to stay varied. Many were evidently planning to live and work in the UK for the foreseeable future, although they also hoped to return to their homeland someday if the economy and labour market improved there. Some were looking to send money home to help their families. There were also four men interviewed who had definite plans to only stay temporarily in the UK to earn some money before returning home.

Almost all the recent migrant interviewees were living in Haringey but like many residents, they were not necessarily working in the area as well. The good transport connections to work across London were mentioned as a positive factor. The main reason they gave for living in Haringey was often the availability of relatively cheap housing compared with other parts of London. Most were living in rented accommodation, sometimes in rooms shared with other migrants to keep costs down. Several made complaints about the quality and cost of accommodation. Some of the A8 and A2 migrants were also in the area because they had heard about places where they could find informal work on building sites.

The Kurdish Turkish migrants in particular stressed the benefits of having established communities from their ethnic group as a reason why they were in Haringey. This had also helped them to find work. Although the Polish community has grown relatively recently, participants in the focus group also commented on the attraction of the presence of many other Polish people and shops in Haringey where they could speak their own language. The odd respondent also commented positively on the multi-cultural society where they felt less likely to be discriminated against.

9. Looking for work

Word of mouth through friends, family or community contacts, going to employment agencies, looking at advertisements in the national language, local and wider media, searching vacancies at Job Centre Plus (JCP), volunteering or setting up their own local businesses were the various methods of looking for work mentioned by our interviewees.

9.1 Word of mouth

With little exception, the most successful way that the migrants and refugees had looked for work was through word of mouth. One business commented that more applicants now approached them on the grapevine since recent A8 migrants already employed had started to invite a large number of their friends and compatriots to apply to the company. As far as the human resources manager was concerned this effectively saved on costs for advertising vacancies. The corollary of engaging more recent migrants though was that a couple of businesses had found that turnover of staff had increased, as their experience was that many of them tended to move on to other opportunities or return home for periods.

Several male migrant interviewees had worked in the construction industry. They had tended to find work through word of mouth and recommendations. Informal pick-up spots for housing renovation and repair and other odd jobs were also known, such as outside the Wickes store on Seven Sisters Road where groups of A8 and A2 migrants congregated (before a police dispersal order was put in force in July 2007 following complaints from residents about street drinking).

A few people had set themselves up as self-employed workers offering services. Two had set up cleaning services, which they advertised through various media with varying success. A Polish woman said that she continued to receive many calls as a result, but a Colombian man reported that it was now a lot more difficult to source jobs due to competition. One construction worker put up notices on Gumtree and Londynek (a well known Polish website) and claimed that he received many contacts from them. Other Poles in particular also looked at adverts in newspapers and on the web in their own language, which is apparently a growing labour exchange.

9.2 Community network

Social networks were considered particularly crucial for finding work. Language difficulties were an obvious problem for some and this had curtailed their job searching methods. A Kurdish Turkish man told us:

Searching for a job in this country has been very difficult for me, as the Job Centre forces us to work, however does not provide enough support in finding one. And because of my lack of English it is very hard for me to find a job. I therefore search for a job either looking in the local Turkish newspaper, asking friends and people I know around, going to Turkish restaurants or shops and asking for a job myself. I had found my last job through the help and support of my relative living here who had known the owner of a Turkish restaurant.

One Somali man described the way social networks operate:

People take other people [they know]. For example, you have a friend who works somewhere e.g. a hotel or the airport - he will then let you know when there is a vacancy. That is the way. The other way is very difficult, requesting experience, have you worked for five years, have you worked here, there? You can't satisfy this. No one will give you that experience.

But the reliance upon ethnic or national minority community networks was not without its critics. The problem was that since they were so significant a source of employment for each national group, they could tend to exacerbate community separation. This could be seen as potentially discriminating because some groups are better established than others. A Somali man explained the problem:

Another problem is that everywhere you go, there is either an Asian employer, or a Ghanaian or a Nigerian. Those people came to this country a long time ago. So when you go to a factory, you fill out the form and then [get] told to go away. After that you never hear from them again. He will give the job to someone of his own country.

Yet there were also other problems linked to staying within a particular community. The key respondents considered the linguistic 'safety' provided to the migrants or refugees created a reluctance to branch out that could also hamper their wider participation in society.

9.3 Employment agencies

Some migrants had registered with agencies and found temporary work that way. One person had done the rounds of many high street agencies and eventually managed to gain temporary work with one that then led on to direct employment with the company. But others were suspicious of agencies. A couple of people had personal experiences of where they felt agencies had taken unexpected deductions or fees and several other A8 migrants had read or heard reports in their community and press about poor practices.

Very few of the refugees interviewed had tried to access work through employment agencies – but several had, nonetheless, formed a negative opinion of how they operate. One Somali man reported this bad experience:

I believe that agencies are also a problem. Some of them are corrupt. I worked for a week with an agency. After a week I requested my pay and they told me that the first week is a trial period and we will call you when there is further work.

9.4 Job Centre Plus

Several migrants had attempted to find work through Job Centre Plus, but generally found it less effective and more competitive than other channels. Highly skilled migrants reported that the available vacancies were too low skilled and paid, and could not understand why they had such complicated application procedures. There were also feelings that the advisers in JCP tended to be unhelpful to migrants.

The refugees were divided about the effectiveness of Job Centre Plus and the help it provided people to find work. Some reported that they had just been pointed to the computers and little else. Several felt it was a waste of time trying to find work through

JCP or employment agencies compared with going through personal contacts. A few, however, had received real support from JCP or linked programmes and had successfully found work as a result. An Albanian Kosovan man gave his experience.

First I went to places and directly asked for a job, but my English was not good. Later I registered at the Job Centre. They helped me prepare my CV and taught me how to be good in an interview when I applied. They supported me a lot so with their help I found a job and after that I never had any problems.

One Bulgarian woman was very positive about the Learn Direct courses that she had completed, while a Polish migrant had found the courses that Job Centre Plus organised to be very helpful:

Job Centre organises many free courses. I went to a couple: how to write a CV, how to look for a job, how to go to an interview. It helped me a lot. And they also gave me my own business advisor who prepares a business plan for me.

A Somali woman was equally positive:

I am registered with Work Directions who help me with my job-search... once or twice a week an appointment is made for me to see them. I get help to find work through the computer and I work with them to do this so that we can complete these (application) papers... They help you to send letters to lots of places. They also pay for your transport and other expenses... In all honesty they help you to look for work and they are with you every step of the way. You are their member and they do not leave you on your own. It is a great place.

The local employers we interviewed were, however, less positive about JCP. Two of them had notified vacancies to Job Centre Plus, but one of them had had some concerns with the calibre of people in terms of their skills and abilities. Their suspicion was that some JCP applicants had been coached on how to conduct themselves and what to say in an initial interview, but once on the shop floor proved not so capable and often lacked basic English communication, literacy and numeracy skills. Local schemes that help people to prepare their CV and make an application were criticised as inadequate for making them employable. An employment agency also expressed the opinion that many client businesses placed little worth on the value of local training courses when taking on new workers. Equally, one Kurdish Turkish interviewee reported negative feedback about these courses and the training provided in the local area. One key respondent also regretted the ending of a JCP scheme where people could be given a clothing allowance to better prepare for interviews.

The role of Job Centre Plus in helping people to access the labour market was discussed across the key respondents. To help them deal with a wide range of jobseekers, JCP managers reported that advisors receive training with various modules, participated in case conferences, and were guided by a quality assurance framework. They also confirmed that they do not have any specific programmes for refugees and migrants but that it tried to direct them to targeted projects and community groups. Other key respondents also emphasised the need to conduct outreach with people rather than expecting them to come into a JCP office. In their experience of trying to organise joint events with JCP such as job fairs, they had found that not many participants came through JCP and they therefore had doubts about how effective JCP was in engaging some groups.

JCP funded other organisations to provide job brokerage services targeted at particular groups. The key respondents from these organisations did feel that they could tailor support better to individuals. One criticism was that JCP would sometimes set criteria that resulted in people falling through the gaps, however. For instance, eligibility for one programme was limited to people who had been out of work for 18 months, but more intensive support at an earlier stage was also believed to be necessary. Furthermore, the period of years that some refugees had had to wait to become fully eligible to work and public benefit would not be factored into this equation and earlier support for them was believed to be necessary to prevent them becoming dependent on support and inculcated into worklessness.

One key respondent working with refugees felt that the JCP/*New Deal* requirements placed on unemployed people to prove that they were looking for work by attending courses on job searching skills were not helpful in some cases. Many of the minimum wage jobs on offer were seen to not be particularly desirable for refugees who had a high level of knowledge and experience from their home country but had been unable to convert and apply this to the UK. When they felt pressured to take on such low-paid routine jobs then this could add to their despondency. Several key respondents doubted whether the *New Deal* had been effective in engaging some communities and participants.

9.5 Voluntary Work

Some refugees had attempted to gain experience, or just keep their hand in, through voluntary work. A Congolese refugee was undertaking voluntary teaching assistant with the hope of obtaining a teaching post within the school. One Kosovan Albanian refugee also reported a good experience of how voluntary work, job placements and training had come together to help her gain confidence and skills and build a career.

In the beginning I did some voluntary work in the centre and after a couple of months they offered me my place as administration worker. Gradually they provided me the necessary training. I did two or three days a week for two to five hours depending on the needs of the centre and was paid £6.67 an hour. They offered training and at the same time I was studying at the college and enhanced my qualifications in administration and business. I chose this work because this was the job of my dreams.

Others, however, felt that they had become instrumental and negative. A Somali woman regretted this:

For example if you go to a school and participate even by making the cups of tea, and then after a while you ask them for a reference, this is something good. But we (Somalis) do not see it that way. And also if you do volunteer training the Somali women will not attend. The first question that is asked is 'what will I get out of this'? Our whole lives has become 'what will I get out of this' and this has left us behind from our counterparts.

Among the training providers and job brokers we interviewed, voluntary work was seen as a useful way for unemployed people lacking references, skills or experience to get some workplace experience without facing too much pressure initially before then potentially progressing on to paid employment. An organisation co-ordinating volunteering placements in Haringey had successfully supported some refugees and asylum seekers. Most of the organisations taking volunteers were in the voluntary and community sector,

whereas relatively few were in the public sector and none with the private sector. Their experience was that the provision of expenses for travel and lunch were crucial. It was suggested that the programme could be expanded with closer links between first volunteering and then work placements and job brokerage. More dedicated work to orientate and prepare refugees for the workplace culture through voluntary work was also suggested. However, in contrast to this positive message, one key respondent suspected that employers did not value unpaid work experience and may in fact see it as a sign that the person was not capable of paid employment.

9.6 Setting up in Business

People from some communities, notably the Kurdish Turkish and Somali participants, spoke of how small businesses run by their compatriots had developed in Haringey. The Kurdish Turkish interviewees spoke about the impact of restaurants, cafes and corner shops in particular and also highlighted the significance of textiles manufacturing in the past. A Kurdish Turkish woman described the contribution they had made:

I am sure that we Turkish and Kurdish people have changed the system here, as we had very successful people working very hard. For example in the past you could not find a shop being open after 7 or 8pm, but after our people opened their shops until very late 24hours, this had influenced all other major stores and they are now all open till late night hours. Also in textile sector our Turkish businesses opened many factories and gained many profits to the community in providing jobs and paid large amounts of taxes to the government. Therefore we had affected the work industry in the UK and have created many job opportunities, especially for our community members, which are all the successes that we had gained in long term. Imagine that our Turkish and Kurdish people have opened 'Kebab shops' literally in all around the UK, which also proves our hard work and achievements in the work force. (Kurdish Turkish female focus group participant)

Despite this, the Kurdish Turkish focus group members also saw that some businesses had not developed and that younger second-generation people were not necessarily building on them.

The Somalis also saw that a small part of their community had been able to set up businesses, but cautioned that the benefits of this activity were not widespread. They commented on the growth of telecommunications and money transfer services run by Somali people to largely meet their own community needs. Business support schemes were perceived to not be accessible. A male Somali expressed the wish that the Council could be more helpful:

There is a lot of money that Haringey gives out to help small businesses. If people were called to a meeting and a project was opened up for this purpose, then a lot of people would benefit. [Somalis are unable to access this support because] we don't have the keys to do so. How can you get in? All of these agencies come under the Council, so if the council does not come down to our level and ask us, like this (meeting) and discuss issues and problems, it will always be like this. Even to the extent that people may view Somalis as not wanting to work, it is possible.

10. Barriers to the Labour Market

Accessing work was often experienced like an obstacle race. There were issues about proper documentation, language skills, qualifications, references and previous experience and discrimination.

10.1 Getting the right documents

It was clear that the legislation still left a degree of uncertainty about migrant and refugee rights to work, and that getting the right documents was a big obstacle. The negative media coverage of asylum seekers and the government drive to crack down on undocumented workers was also thought to have an impact on refugees because some employers could assume that they did not have the right to work. During the research, some confusion was expressed even by those working for training and employment support organisations about the different statuses of refugees and asylum seekers, assuming wrongly that neither were permitted to work in the UK.

Most of the A8 migrants had managed to sort out necessary papers in the UK such as their NI number and WRS registration. They had generally relied on newspapers in their own languages for information on what was necessary. Some confessed to uncertainties, for instance one Polish migrant had not registered at the time of the interview and said that she and other colleagues had feared the implications. Having worked in the UK already for two years, she was still unsure about whether it was necessary and seemed reluctant to pay for the cost of registration.

The lack of clarity about their employment status and entitlements was also a worry for refugees. Several key respondents also considered how long-term unemployed people such as many refugees perceived the relative incentives of entering employment versus staying on the benefits system. They saw that people in this situation were often fearful of coming off benefits because they judged that they would be worse off because they would not be able to pay for bills without the rebates. It was commented that many did not know about or understand how the working tax credit systems could top up low earnings. This was also a problem for several Polish migrants who had been in the UK for over two years were interviewed. Some had applied for Child Benefit and Working Tax Credit, which they had invariably found a complex process.

Such uncertainties were even more present amongst A2 migrants. The Romanian migrant interviewed and several of his compatriots from the A2 were not clear about their status as either self-employed or undocumented workers in the UK. He had made considerable efforts to get advice from Job Centre Plus with no success.

In the Job Centre office they gave me a number, I called it and they gave me another number and then finally the last number. I was told to go to Job Centre. Again and again and again, same thing, nothing.

Another A2 migrant reported that he had phoned around government offices to enquire about the sector-based schemes for food and agricultural work (which are potential work permit routes), but also was frustrated with the lack of information. One of his compatriots showed a letter confirming registration as a self-employed worker under the Construction Industry Scheme (CIS), but was still unsure about what this entailed.

Working with or without documents was a key issue in construction jobs for A8 migrants as well. This related to either registration for National Insurance and/or self-employment under the CIS. A few A8 migrants did not have these documents and indicated that it was easier for themselves as well as for employers, who preferred to have them work cash in hand and off the books. One Polish man felt that arranging work documents with Job Centre Plus was too much of a hassle:

There are many barriers [at Job Centre Plus], like NI number, Home Office documents, and other papers. And the treatment that foreigners get in there is appalling.

Two of the Kurdish Turkish migrants had work permit visas when they first came to the UK but were waiting for extensions when they were interviewed. Their work status was therefore undecided, which was causing them considerable problems in looking for work beyond informal jobs in restaurants. They had hoped that the Home Office would be better in advising them and quicker in granting them the right to stay, instead of leaving in limbo as was currently the case.

Several employers told us that they had encountered undocumented and semi-compliant workers trying to take on jobs, and that these may have included asylum seekers. They all reported that they had rigorous processes to check that applicants had valid and current work visas; some had found this an increasingly onerous task. They harboured suspicions that other companies and agencies may not be so vigilant, especially in small businesses that pay workers cash in hand to operate 'off the books'.

A source of discontent for all asylum seekers was their lack of rights to work while they were waiting. None of the interviewees had a work permit. One person believed that his solicitor had applied for this but that it had been refused; the others had no knowledge that this was possible although most had been in the UK for more than two years. One refugee, who had only been granted leave to remain after nearly seven years in the UK, talked about the constant stress of never knowing what could happen and fearing detention on the spot when reporting every week at the immigration office. The restrictions on asylum seekers' rights were perceived to contribute to future problems. A Kurdish Turkish man believed this helped encourage crime:

Even today when new arrivals come into the UK they are not allowed to work or gain an education, then how are they going to survive? This leads to psychological problems and criminal activities.

10.2 Language skills

The main skills shortage that several businesses reflected on was the lack of English communication skills among the labour force applying for their jobs. A representative of the North London Chamber of Commerce also reported that this was the most frequent problem raised in their consultation with local businesses. Employers found that lack of language skills was one of the most common barriers to recruitment and suggested that migrants and refugees needed more testing and classes in English. With regard to refugees, it was also suggested that they needed more help to understand the work culture in the UK. At a more general level adequate provision of ESOL classes can promote and enable integration to the local community while enhancing the individual's knowledge of society's structure and various organisations and how to access advice on legal and other issues and for parents to follow up the progress of their children. Wider

provision of language classes would be beneficial for all members of the groups in the study as highlighted in the recommendations of the present report.

The majority of migrants interviewed said that they spoke little English when they first came to the UK. Lack of adequate English was also identified as one of the most important of several barriers to employment and integration into the community and society by the refugee interviewees. Most learnt English in classes, but some had picked up more on the job and in the community. Some people commented that solely working and socialising with others who spoke the same language meant that they had little opportunity to develop their English, however. For instance, an Angolan Portuguese speaker and a Colombian Spanish speaker working in office cleaning reported that their supervisors and teams were all from the same linguistic backgrounds. Some employer and key respondents also discussed how workplaces have organised their recruitment and supervision to avoid the need for English.

Most people had accessed ESOL classes, although difficulties combining working and studying had stopped a couple of others. Concerns over how to pay for the classes when earning only the minimum wage or thereabouts were also raised. A Polish woman described the problem:

I dream about finding time for English classes but first I have to see what time I will work. I know where the college is but it's quite bad that I have to pay for the Basic English course.

Those people who had attended classes were generally complimentary about them, although there were also some comments about lack of progress. There were a couple of suggestions that some classes were too mixed or too low level, and slowed down faster learners as a result. A Polish focus group participant commented:

I think that ESOL is not for Poles because it's not just English it's also some sort of background information. People even learn to count there. So it's not for the level of education that Poles have. And if the person next to you is studying what the tube is and how to use it...

Combining ESOL courses with childcare was a particular issue for parents with younger children, one Polish woman explained:

The language courses were nice... It was good because it was a course for people with children so I would leave my daughter in a nursery. I also wanted to attend another course here but they didn't provide a nursery and it was at 6 pm twice a week. My husband comes home at different times so I wouldn't have anyone to leave my daughter with. So I didn't go.

The refugees we spoke to were generally appreciative of the classes, although some had found it difficult to make progress. A Somali woman explained:

I think what was difficult was the classes themselves, [there were] all types of people from different countries and backgrounds. The teacher didn't know my language and for a year I sat there like a deaf person and used my hands to understand... it was very difficult at first. But I have benefited a lot from it, as I did not know anything when I started. (Somali female interviewee)

Most had not had any particular difficulty finding and accessing courses, although waiting lists and inconvenient timetables were problems mentioned by some people, in particular women with children to look after. Most of the asylum seekers interviewed had been able to attend ESOL classes provided through the EQUAL-funded programme with CONEL. All of them were appreciative of this opportunity and looked forward to continuing. Some had improved their English considerably from a basic level but others found progress difficult.

With the odd exception, the interviewees also mainly praised their ESOL teachers. An Angolan woman had had mixed experiences and had changed courses:

There were problems because the classes were full, I was on a waiting list and they didn't call me. Just in April they called me for one month course. Then in November, I finished and passed my exams. But I left there because I did not like the college... I also did not like my teacher, he was so rude and did not know how to teach well. He did not respect me. So I changed the college, I like it. The teachers are conscientious.

It was suggested in one of the focus groups that the community ESOL classes could be more focused on learning language that would be useful for work. Another issue raised was that it would be better to have continuity among the teachers, who currently changed too often. There were also suggestions by refugees that more English schools should be opened in the area with a greater range of classes to progress through. Different times and childcare provision were recommended to facilitate participation. There were recommendations that there should be more focus on classes and tests for people when they first came to the UK. At the same time some Somali and Turkish Kurdish participants could see how many people in their communities had managed to get by without learning English.

The key respondents we interviewed also stressed the importance of ESOL classes to recent migrants, refugees and asylum seekers. Besides the major providers such as CONEL and HALS, a variety of other community and voluntary sector ESOL providers were identified. Across them, several thousand people were taking part in courses at different levels and sites. Overall, refugees and their extended families were reported to constitute a large proportion of students. However, recent East European migrants were evidently an increasing number. It was suggested that fewer asylum seekers were joining ESOL than in the past, probably due to the decreasing numbers entering the UK and their dispersal across the country. Free ESOL for asylum seekers waiting over six months had been provided under the EU-funded EQUAL programme⁶. These had been fully subscribed with some people coming from other boroughs.

The key respondents generally felt that the level of provision of ESOL had not kept pace with the demand. Major ESOL providers indicated that they received a high level of enquiries per place and that they were heavily over-subscribed. There was no monitoring system of number of enquiries or set waiting list for some of the major providers, so it was difficult to gauge the overall level of need. Other training, voluntary work and support providers also saw that the shortfall in ESOL places was a problem for the participants in their courses or programmes. Waiting times were perceived to put off some people, in particular refugees who tended to find it difficult to engage with mainstream services.

⁶ For more information see http://www.haringey.gov.uk/index/jobs_and_training/hals/courses/skillsforlife.htm#englishforspeakersofotherlanguagesesolielts

Some form of greater co-ordination and information sharing system between providers was suggested to identify needs and direct students better. In the past it was reported that there used to be an ESOL network for Haringey but this had lapsed.

Cuts and changes in funding were further reasons why it was suggested that there might be a need for more strategic co-ordination of different providers. Due to changing government funding directives, several key respondents had concerns about the future provision of ESOL. It was indicated that entry level 1 and 2 classes were being phased out since they are not subject to government targets, while greater emphasis was being placed on entry level 3 and above. The implication of this change was that a section of the community would be losing the first stepping-stone into learning English, which would also have negative impacts on their access and entry into other training and employment opportunities. The fear of more than one key respondent was also that attempts to engage refugee parents in their children's education might suffer due to their lack of access to English classes.

Changes from 2007/08 also meant that many ESOL students would face higher fees for courses. Funding from the GLA was bridging the costs of some of the provision for recent migrants for the coming year, but there were concerns that more people dependent on benefits or others for support would find the course fees prohibitive.

Another funding issue raised was that frequent changes in government programmes and allocations meant that providers did not have a secure base for recruiting ESOL teachers. Consequently, they had tended to take staff on a seasonal basis rather than in permanent positions, but this had contributed to a higher turnover of teachers as people looked for better opportunities. The implication was that teachers and students would not always have the chance to build up a relationship that was conducive to learning.

With regard to improving English, some ESOL provider interviewees acknowledged that there could be better progression rates through the entry classes and on to higher-level courses. Another commented that refugees in particular seemed to struggle compared with recent migrants. His experience was that recent migrants were often in the 20s and 30s, accustomed to studying and actively seeking work and business opportunities. Due to these characteristics, they were often highly motivated to learn English as quickly as possible and higher-level classes were therefore becoming increasingly made up of migrants. In contrast, he found that refugees tended to be either younger or older (i.e. in their late teens or aged over 40), limited by family commitments and lacking study skills. After having little option but to rely on benefits and/or their own community for support they could get, his impression was refugees often had little contact with wider society and poor English pronunciation and grammar was reinforced as a result. An issue raised by other key respondents was that there are also some people who are not literate in their own language and so therefore faced additional problems with learning that would take many years to overcome. While some community providers of basic literacy courses were referenced, overall it was felt that these places were very limited relative to the level of need. Other barriers to participation in ESOL that key respondents cited were lack of crèche provision, long travel distances and insufficient classes around work hours.

There were several suggestions that ESOL classes could be linked better to work-related skills and pathways to employment. Some vocational courses were already combined with ESOL and there was interest in developing more tailored short courses for migrants in different types of work. This was seen as the direction of the future and 'ESOL for Work' courses have been funded from 2007/08 to help people into employment. It was

suggested that another barrier to people such as refugees and migrants was the extent to which IT and computer applications are now part and parcel of work, which they may not have experienced in their home countries. As a result, computer use was being incorporated into some ESOL classes. While these directions were seen to be useful, a couple of key respondents also stressed the importance of ESOL for general socialisation and community integration of some people such as refugees, and cautioned against too great a shift.

Attempts were being made to engage employers in ESOL, but one provider reported that this was difficult and that employers tended not to want to pay for courses for workers. One ESOL manager indicated that even major chains were reluctant to contribute to ESOL for their staff. Greater involvement through trade unions was suggested. However, the manager of the TUC Learning Centre connected to CONEL reported that few union stewards had been able to broker ESOL for workers at their sites (and hardly any of them were in Haringey). It was hoped that the example set by another borough to provide ESOL for their cleaning and other service staff would be picked up more widely.

10.3 Qualifications, references and experience

Another group of obstacles to finding appropriate employment shared by both the refugees and the migrants we interviewed were linked to having their home country skills and experiences undervalued. This arose partly through problems in having qualifications recognised; but also through employer requirements that applicants produce references to prove they have had experience – something very difficult to secure from distant countries.

Although some refugees we interviewed had had only a basic primary education and worked in relatively unskilled jobs, others had been in university education and were professionals. Several talked about the difficulties that they had faced in converting qualifications and experience from their country of origin. A teacher from the Congo had gone through teacher training in the UK and was now doing volunteer school assistant work with the hope of gaining a paid position in the future. He acknowledged that the teaching in his home country is very different to the UK and was therefore happy to undertake training in the UK. However, this had been a quite laborious and largely unsupported process and it was still proving difficult to get back into his profession. This was not a problem unique to Francophone Africans. The difficulties professional people from refugee backgrounds found in applying their skills and experience in the UK were also reported by a Somali man:

There are some with good experience, who have been qualified for 10 or more years. I remember a surgeon who worked voluntarily in a hospital. His role was to hand over the equipment during surgery... He now works (as a doctor). But the keys are missing to the path that you could take... It should be easier for people, to welcome them, to do training with an exam at the end.

A Kurdish Turkish woman raised the same issue:

Other than the language problem, people coming here from Turkey who are either qualified teachers or doctors have not had the chance to pursue their occupations; there were always bureaucratic restrictions. I think Turkey is viewed as a third world country... For example the diplomas you get in Turkey cannot be used here or are not regarded as sufficient enough so therefore must study extra years, and this puts off many people because they have already

studied for many years back in their home countries and needs immediate jobs here to live

Another Kurdish Turkish woman said that she had two different diplomas, each of which had required four years' study, but that neither was recognised in the UK. Like others, she felt that the Turkish education system was not being fairly regarded.

Without their country of origin qualifications and experience being recognised, many refugees felt that they had to start again from scratch. Having to first wait for their asylum request to be granted often for some years was seen to compound the difficulties. One Somali accountancy graduate pointed out how during the wait for an outcome, people like her could not make moves to start understanding the system and re-train for qualifications that were not recognised from their homeland. As one focus group participant observed, people become despondent without the opportunity to use their skills. More streamlined ways of testing refugees and helping them to apply their prior learning were recommended so that they could then use this to their advantage.

Most of the migrants interviewed had relatively high levels of skills and education. Seven of the 16 had completed higher education degrees in their homelands and another two were hoping to return to finish courses; these degrees were in a range of subjects including engineering, chemistry, management, business and marketing. Another three A8 male workers had taken courses in skilled trades, which one explained was commonly provided by the government for three years in his country. The remaining four migrants had completed secondary school education.

Despite these backgrounds, the A8 migrants suggested that employers tended not to consider their skills and instead just see them as willing labour. The men with skilled trades backgrounds had used their skills in construction jobs, although also not necessarily to their full abilities. Some of the Polish focus group participants had been able to apply their qualifications; for instance one person was surprised that her certificate in computing was accepted in the UK. But others elaborated on the need they felt in the workplace both to prove their capability and to acquire UK certificates. Two Polish focus group participants gave these accounts:

I studied architecture in Poland. Thanks to this I understand technical drawings and construction documents. And I didn't have any problems, it took me one week to get used to the job that a friend offered me and I could work on my own. It's not a complicated job but it requires knowledge.

But a diploma from Poland cannot be compared with anything received here in the UK. Before they employ us here they want to know that we did something here, that we finished a course and have some British papers. It doesn't matter what kind of papers. If it's possible at all, do this, do volunteering and ask for recommendations.

Another major barrier to work was that advertised vacancies in the mainstream economy usually required experience of working in the UK, even when they were only basic routine jobs. A Somali man complained:

People take other people [they know]. For example, you have a friend who works somewhere e.g. a hotel or the airport - he will then let you know when there is a vacancy. That is the way. The other way is very difficult, requesting experience,

have you worked for five years, have you worked here, there? You can't satisfy this. No one will give you that experience.

A Somali woman felt this was a vicious circle:

I have been to the Job Centre and they asked me immediately, 'do you speak the language (English) for work, have you worked before and do you have any proof?' When I say 'No,' there is no one at all that calls me back or follows up on me. I have been to shops like Tesco, McDonalds and many agencies within Haringey. When I go, they say have you worked before and I say 'No,' they tell me to leave, or they say we will call you. They say leave your number and they don't get back to you. The reason I am refused is because I don't know anything. If somebody has knowledge, it is likely they will get the job.

Lack of references was a further problem raised. Security jobs were a problem in that they now needed records for 10 years but many people could not provide this. For example, one job broker reported that a Somali client had been turned away on this basis. Several interviewees reported that their applications often received no feedback, even in some cases despite having received help with presentation of CVs and cover letters.

10.4 Discrimination

Another obstacle to employment was seen by several interviewees as discrimination on the basis of race and/or religion. A male Francophone African reported:

The truth is if they see that you are Black, to take you on is difficult. The form that you fill in, you write your name and where you have come from, this in itself makes you stand out.

Muslim participants in different focus groups commented on how they suspected that their names were a factor in why their job applications would not be considered. Another Francophone man reported:

[I applied to work] in the airport as an assistant, because I speak many languages and it is an international place. And because I was really interested in that job, I even went to the airport and said my name is Mohamed. So you know [why I didn't get the job]!!! (Laughter)

Some migrants had looked for work by going to every shop or restaurant in the area and asking about vacancies. The Kurdish Turkish migrant interviewees had relied largely upon opportunities in small businesses run by people in their community. While this method worked for them due to their shared ethnicity, an Angolan Portuguese woman complained about how she was discriminated against:

I have tried to apply in restaurants and cafes in Haringey but most here are for Turkish people and they do not accept someone from another part of the world. I think that there is discrimination. One time I went to a shop that had an advert in the window and asked them about the job but the manager said that vacancy gone. But I saw someone else just later give her CV.

Haringey Council itself was not considered by some to be a genuinely equal opportunity employer. One Somali woman reported:

In Haringey Council out of 100 employees there are maybe 2 or 3 Somali employees, Somali people don't find work there. When I ask my children 'why do you not apply to Haringey Council? They say 'How do I do that?' And when they do they are told that the post has been filled, [the Council] will say, that job is no longer available or it is closed.

Several of the key respondents we interviewed also considered that prejudice and discrimination on the part of employers were barriers to recent migrants and refugees. There were suspicions that employers held racial stereotypes about some groups. One reeled off several stereotypical views about the activities of different minority groups in the area.

10.5 Human resource processes

While the human resources function in larger organisations was supposed to ensure compliance with full equal opportunities, there were some suggestions that this was not happening in the way it should. One barrier raised, for example, by employment agency interviewees was that large retailers in particular were now using on-line application processes. This presented particular problems to recent migrants and refugees who had limited computer skills and/or access.

With regard to the public sector, the rigorous human resources policies and procedures in place were seen to act as a barrier at times. An agency co-ordinating the supply of workers from second tier agencies to the public sector said that this involved verifying that they had the necessary abilities, a current valid work permit and two written references. While there was no shortage in people fulfilling these requirements, it was recognised that they could present barriers to groups like refugees who may lack references and experience. Emphasis on recruiting only into permanent positions also meant that students and people with limited visas could not be taken on temporarily with fixed-term contracts. This had resulted in a bottleneck for the public sector cleaning contractor. Relaxing some of the requirements for references and permanent work permits was recommended.

For those wishing to work in health and social care sectors, CRB checks were often required and agreements were in place with some countries to share information. But it was suggested that the necessary information was often difficult for people from some countries to obtain – in particular refugees. An agency also commented that security jobs, which in the past tended to employ some people from refugee backgrounds, were now also limited by enhanced security checks going back 10 years that many people could not fulfil.

Most of the businesses interviewed used agencies to supply temporary workers. There was some evidence to suggest that a growing range of agencies have become active, as has been observed across the UK. Over the last 10 years one agency manager had seen a marked increase in other agencies starting up and supplying to different sectors in the area. While her company had managed to maintain a steady business with established clients, she speculated that other agencies had come and gone due to competition.

The extent to which businesses vetted temporary workers' abilities or agency's procedures in supplying labour varied. One private sector firm did not need workers with any experience and evidently had little knowledge or interest in what terms and conditions the temporary workers received. An agency supplying workers to basic repetitive jobs also indicated that the clients had no set requirements for skills and experience and just needed people at short notice willing to work long shifts on the minimum wage.

11. Training and Job Brokerage Experiences

Successful training requires both suitable and well-delivered courses and employers who want to either enhance the skills of their existing workforce or to take on workers who have acquired new skills. Our interviews suggested there were several problems in providing training that matched the needs and expectations of both local businesses and of the actual or potential trainees.

11.1 Employer experience

The businesses interviewed did generally offer some training, at least at induction, but further staff development was limited for workers in routine and manual jobs. The employment agencies commented that many client businesses tended not to want to invest in training when their emphasis was on finding staff for as low a wage rate as possible. Two managers commented that the pressures of competition were putting them in this position. One suggested that her firm would like to provide basic skills training, ESOL classes and development opportunities for its process operative and warehouse staff, but could not support the costs due to the tight margins in its sector. The public sector employers differed in that they had established training programmes for their staff. The construction firm interviewed also helped workers to obtain the CSCS card and convert qualifications, and had a development programme open not only to its direct employees but also to the wider workforce of sub-contractors that it engaged.

With regard to work experience and placements to help people to access the labour market, several of the businesses interviewed had supported such schemes but acknowledged that they were probably in the minority. This was also the view of an agency funded to support disadvantaged groups. The construction company interviewed had taken on six people from JCP on work experience placements from the last year, of whom four had successfully secured employment. The wider view was that many other construction contractors did not support young people in apprenticeships and work experience when they could source sufficient migrant workers. Small businesses were also seen to be unlikely to support work experience and support schemes. One restaurant owner had taken on two local young people with the view to train them as bakers, and the owner of a hairdressers' took on students from colleges for work placements. At the time of the interview there was a Kurdish girl from college working at the latter's shop; since she had struggled with limited English he was also trying to help her look for ESOL classes. While he was happy with the arrangements from the college, he suspected that the majority of other small businesses would not support such initiatives. More personal outreach targeted at businesses was recommended, as opposed to mail-outs of generic information.

Another larger business also reflected on why it had not supported work placement and experience initiatives for disadvantaged groups (such as refugees), although it was supportive in principle. Firstly the interviewee was unaware of such schemes, and secondly doubted whether they would support the company as necessary. Her recommendation was that the management of a work placement scheme would need to establish close and on-going personal contact with the company in order to tailor the programme to their operation, as opposed to promoting a model that may have worked in other sectors and businesses. Resources would need to put into the support of the participants to ensure that they were able to cope with working environment. On this basis, she felt that her company could welcome taking disadvantaged people on work trials provided that it did not have to bear the costs if they struggled.

The PCT had supported training initiatives aimed at supporting people to then work in the NHS. This included a programme for refugee doctors to help them get through language and professional assessments and gain clinical experience, which it had broadened it to other health care professionals. It had also supported a pre-employment programme funded through NRF and ESF over two years, involving basic skills training and help with job searching so that the participants could look to work in occupations such as administration and care assistant. These different programmes had attracted a high number of participants, including recent migrants and refugees, but had struggled to place as many in work as hoped. The frequent reforms of the NHS and the resultant ring-fencing and/or shifting of jobs was seen to cause problems in linking people to work. The experiences of an employment agency supplying workers to the public sector was also that disadvantaged groups targeted in such training and employment support initiatives rarely then went on to employment. Interviewees from the PCT and this agency both warned that training and employment support schemes needed to take care not to raise unrealistic expectations among the participants.

For the public sector, it was suggested that a more dedicated support process would be necessary to broker refugees and other disadvantaged groups into jobs. There was also suggestion that the public sector needed to take a more strategic approach to co-ordinating links between training, work experience and employment across the different providers and authorities.

11.2 Provider experience

Two of the major funding bodies and providers of training and job support programmes in Haringey are the LSC and JCP. In addition, community regeneration funding such as the SRB and ESF has focused on particular deprived areas and/or disadvantaged groups in the borough. One key respondent responsible for commissioning projects commented that the key challenge was to bring together the wide range of different training courses, job brokerage initiatives and support services around the needs of each individual.

In practice, several local government officers and other key respondents acknowledged that the wide range of training and employment support providers in Haringey, with different courses, target groups and project durations was confusing, which they felt could be even worse for the public. Greater co-ordination and better information, such as directories of projects, were suggested but it was also recognised that frequent changes in provision and funding often made such efforts redundant.

The key respondents in training and job brokerage providers raised several difficulties with planning and delivering services for disadvantaged groups under the current funding regimes. One of the strongest criticisms made by practically all of them was that project funding was often too short-term for only one or two years. This was considered inadequate for building relationships with marginalized groups and overcoming their complex and multiple barriers. For example, the manager of a one-year training project targeted at long-term unemployed refugees felt that it was difficult to make much real difference under these funding parameters. Another critique was that different courses and initiatives often tried to target specific groups, but that people could also then fall through the gaps in provision more easily. As a result of the short-term funding and the need to meet targets, key respondents commented that projects would sometimes focus on people that were relatively easy to reach and support. To achieve real change in the

labour market outcomes of disadvantaged groups, programmes need to be funded by major funders beyond 1-2 years, and which could then be subject to an annual review.

Several key respondents commented that frequent shifts in government targets and funding streams had resulted in organisational reforms, project changes and managerial turnover that was detrimental to sustained improvements. One manager described how his organisation had had to spend excessive time “re-inventing the wheel” by shifting projects around to fit the latest set of government priorities. He described the situation as a constant rat race of bidding for funding. Another key respondent also called for a reduction in bureaucracy associated with funding that he felt was a waste of time and resources. Furthermore, despite the rhetoric about the need for a joined-up approach, in practice there was no coordination or strategic focus in the view of some key respondents. One felt that the wider political direction of New Labour since 1997 had meant that a lot of the additional funding pumped into deprived areas and communities had not been effective. More than one key respondent also commented that it was difficult to judge whether the various projects and initiatives were making an impact on groups like refugees since there was no over-arching strategy.

A wide variety of training and job brokerage projects were focused on disadvantaged groups such as refugees in the area. The merits of project delivery by ethnic minority organisations for their own particular communities versus delivery by provider organisations that specialise in training and job brokerage for the different groups were debated. Some key respondents could see that the former would have closer links to their communities, but others felt that they tended to be more wasteful and focused more on local politics than meeting needs as effectively as possible. General training and job brokerage providers pointed out that they now make efforts to employ advisers from different ethnic minority backgrounds including the main refugee groups in Haringey.

Several schemes were focused on making participants better able to access the labour market by helping them to search for vacancies, prepare their CVs, submit applications and give a good impression in interviews. Various officers provided support to unemployed people through job fairs and other events to connect workers to employers. For groups like refugees in particular, it was also suggested that guidance on workplace culture and etiquette was important since they were often not accustomed to working in the UK. Numerous courses of varying durations were also targeted at improving the qualifications and skills of participants to find work in particular occupations, such as food hygiene courses for catering jobs and computing and office skills courses for administration and reception jobs.

It was widely recognised that many participants in short training courses struggled to find work and needed that better links to job brokerage following the completion of courses. It was also suggested that too many training courses narrowed their students into a box to work in one occupation or another, when what they really needed was more multi-skilling to help them access broader opportunities in the labour market. The potential for short six-month training courses to help long-term unemployed groups into sustainable employment was also limited in the view of more than one key respondent. While they needed to receive positive support to develop their confidence, it was also cautioned that participants should not have their expectations raised to unrealistic levels. Sending some long-term unemployed people too soon into full employment without further support was also found to be counter-productive when they then failed to hold down the job. So-called ‘soft skills’ built up through community integration programmes were also seen to be valuable in building confidence of disadvantaged people.

Checking on the various immigration visa conditions was found difficult for one training organisation, which had a lot of people registering for courses and only later being found to be ineligible for public funding. This raised an ethical dilemma because the service could see the need and did not want to turn people away, but was dependent on drawing down funding and not limiting the opportunities for eligible people.

Engaging employers in job placements and work experience for disadvantaged groups was a problem raised by several key respondents. Overall, it was suggested that there were relatively few placements available. One provider was supporting people on NVQs linked to the Train to Gain⁷ initiative, through which it was getting to know employers and their needs better. However there was also a recommendation that there needed to be greater incentives to employers, particularly SMEs, to take on people such as refugees who may have skills from overseas but needed help to apply them. This could take the form of tax breaks or supported training. It was suggested that Haringey Council and other public sector bodies needed to make more placements available in their own organisations and take steps to promote greater responsibility on the part of private sector employers.

11.3 Migrant and refugee experience

Many of the focus group participants had taken part in short courses to improve their skills and help them search for jobs, prepare CVs and present themselves in interviews. One or two had found this useful to help them understand how the job market works and feel more confident about expressing themselves. But the majority opinion was one of scepticism about the quality of these courses and the motivation of the agencies providing them, which several people suspected of being more interested in securing funding rather than outcomes for the participants. Three Francophone Africans had the following exchange:

There are lots of places to get training. But I think these places only take money from the government, and train the people quick, quick, and then leave, leave.

That's true what she says. I had a training of five hours, and then got a diploma. Not even that long, two hours was food and tea. And after that bye-bye. Some people left earlier, had to get kids from school, only four stayed. Everybody got a diploma! What kind of training is that?

I was the same; I have a diploma for five hours.

Well done! (All clapping and laughter)

At the end of such courses, unfortunately, many refugees felt that they had achieved little and were back at square one at the Job Centre. A Somali man commented:

⁷ The Train to Gain programme targets employees aged 19 years and over, who do not have NVQ level 2 qualifications and is delivered from leading learning centres. Training is offered at the workplace, or one of training facilities, at suitable during the day, evening or weekends. For more information see: http://www.haringey.gov.uk/index/jobs_and_training/hals/workbasedlearning/train_to_gain.htm

You are kept there all day and it goes on for six months. You expect them to teach you something, either computing, electrical, something that you can use practically. Even forklift driving. But they don't. They say that this is what we have been asked to provide, and then they watch the clock all day.

Several interviewees proposed that the training could be monitored better and made more practical. Another suggestion was that training providers should provide a reference attesting to completion of a course and skills gained, which would be more useful to show employers when someone found a job. One Somali woman added:

What would also be better is if the training that is provided is regulated in some way i.e. if there was an overall monitoring body. I think these training bodies get paid on the basis of how many people use their services and for how long. It would be so much better if the training participants were told exactly how they could get jobs in the field that they have been trained in, and this information was prepared beforehand and then you are told to go to this place or that. Also a letter of recommendation should be prepared on his behalf stating that the person has completed this training course.

Some refugees had taken more skill-specific courses, but had also struggled to find work in the end in line with their expectations. One Francophone African woman was left disappointed:

I did a ten-week training course; it was in administration and reception work. They sent us to get a bit of experience for a week, and we were supposed to get work after that, but this didn't happen. Because the training centre needs to be more qualified, and they need to train the people but they also need to have vacancies, so that if people finish the training they get work directly!!!

A Kurdish Turkish woman appealed for more guidance in choosing courses and help subsequently to find jobs.

I attended a one year 'Engineering for Women' course in Middlesex University, but after completing it I have not seen the benefits. [They should have] informed or guided me before or after I had attended the course in how to find a job, or whether this course would help. Because of this I now don't want to go to any more courses.

Many felt that better information and support before and after courses was necessary on job opportunities. However some interviewees also recognised that people needed to make better plans for themselves about what they wanted to do. One commented, 'Sorry to say this, but our people are lacking in the 'practical' side... Why do we want it all to come to us'.

Besides ESOL, there was little other training that the asylum seekers had been able to access. Two had been able to short computer classes, but one of them reported that the course had just stopped after a few days and no more information had been given. Another had attended Learn Direct courses at the Selby Centre in literacy, numeracy and IT (which had also been stopped short) but was very complimentary of the courses and tutors.

Reports of private sector training provision were, by comparison, minimal. Exceptionally, two interviewees in the cleaning and kitchen occupations reported having received basic instruction in areas such as food hygiene, first aid and emergency procedures, but most had not. One participant in the Polish focus group also explained how, when they really cared about quality, certain construction companies were prepared to invest in training for East Europeans.

Competition is so great that big companies have a choice of people and they are not afraid that they may not find a worker. But if the company cares about quality they send you to different trainings. I attended several courses paid by my employer to do suspended ceilings. It's quite an expensive course and it takes a long time because those who issue the certificate come to your workplace and watch you working.

But across the interviewees and focus groups participants, this experience of private firms voluntarily providing training was exceptional.

12. Employment conditions

Most recent migrants and refugees in Haringey described low pay and often quite hard working conditions. This picture was confirmed by the employment agency and employer interviews we conducted.

12.1 Migrant experience

Most of the migrant interviewees had worked at some point or were still working in low-paid, low-skilled jobs in sectors such as restaurants, cleaning and/or construction. Levels of pay were the subjects of considerable discussion. Many earned in the region of the minimum wage, although some had managed to reach higher wages. Some also commented that they knew other migrants who would work for less than the minimum wage. Several migrants believed that British employers appreciated them because they worked hard in low paid jobs that long-term residents would no longer be willing to accept. With time though, they felt that they were less and less willing to accept this situation.

Immigration status was obviously important to pay levels: when a worker was undocumented they were often paid very low wages indeed. One of the Polish migrants had come to the UK before 2004 and had worked then for as little as £2 an hour in cleaning jobs. Another said that her husband had worked for £90 a week in the informal economy. One Kurdish Turkish migrant waiting for visa confirmation commented on how the owners of restaurants could exploit him in this situation:

I got jobs in restaurants because they only asked for basic English and the owners were Turkish. The working conditions were awful as I worked for nearly 14 hours a day and had to stay extra to do the cleaning, the pay rate was very low and I could not ask for the legal rate due to my short term visa.

Whether documented or not, the pay and conditions in service jobs in restaurants and cleaning were low and some migrants felt that employers were taking advantage of them. The two migrants who had worked as au pairs in the past also commented on how their pay was only just enough to meet basic costs and how the families would demand additional hours from them. Looking over her prior experience in domestic and service sector jobs, one Kurdish Turkish woman said:

The level of payments in every service job was not good. There were no fixed or agreed contracts and I was working very long hours more than the legal requirements. But as I had no other choice I had to work under these tough conditions. I believe that all these employers generally practise the same sort of politics and are still continue doing it, by exploiting their employees (through low wages and long hours).

One Colombian interviewee had an overview of aspects of the service industry from his time working as a supervisor for a cleaning company. He was certain of evidence of corruption and incorrect payment of workers, including undocumented migrants who were taken advantage of through intimidation and payments in arrears. Due to his personal convictions, he raised these issues with more senior management but found himself moved to another site and was then suspended.

Working in restaurants and cleaning in poor conditions was often frustrating for those who felt that they were never given the chance in jobs they were qualified for. To their chagrin,

some migrants could see that they had considerably more education than their managers. For instance an experienced manager from Poland was working in street cleaning, where he felt that the managers were relatively uneducated and only related to migrant workers as willing labour. He was ready to accept the situation temporarily because he was confident and had clear plans for the future. A Kurdish Turkish migrant had also found herself in such a position but had successfully moved on to better work. She commented that:

This [situation] makes you either feel useless and down or stronger and eager to succeed and prove yourself.

Several migrants gave the impression that their service sector employers did not care greatly for their staff. For instance, one Angolan Portuguese migrant felt that the management at the major café chain where she used to work had put unreasonable demands on her when she had had an operation for a health problem and was still unwell.

My area manager was forcing me to take a course, but I didn't want to because at the time I was sick and working 40 hours a week plus extra for the course without getting paid. Then he told me to leave.

Not all of the stories about working in restaurants and cafes were negative, however. One Polish migrant worked in a Greek restaurant with her mother and brother, where her family had seemingly struck up a more positive relationship with the owners.

The chef taught me how to make salads and now I can do it – when he goes on holiday I can cover on my own. So I don't have to compete with others for the job.

Most others interviewees, though, had received little or no training in their service sector jobs. They also tended not to have fixed contracts or other protection. The notable exception was one Polish migrant working in a public sector cleaning contractor, who did have a contract, training and set hours. A few interviewees suggested that employers should tell them more about their rights and entitlements, such as holiday, maternity/paternity and sick leave.

Competition due to the increase in recent migrants was also reported to have driven down rates of pay. One participant in the Polish focus group explained she knew of others doing cleaning jobs for £3.50 an hour where in the past she had earned more for similar jobs. The area where competition between groups of recent migrants was most apparent was in construction. On one hand, A8 migrants reported how they had under-cut long-term resident workers. One Polish man described:

A good Polish carpenter can easily get £80 a day if he works without papers, where for the same job an English carpenter would expect £130-£140. Also for example laying tiles, an English worker take £40 per square meter while Polish guys do the same for £12.

But they were also now facing competition from new A2 migrants in particular. One Hungarian man complained:

The Romanians are working very cheap. If you approach first and ask for £50, then they come in and say £30. This is not good for the regular people.

Sometimes they even fight with each other; there is a lot of competition. I am not happy. But if I don't accept this money then that's it.

A Romanian worker without documents confirmed that he would accept whatever work he could find, sometimes £30 or £40 for up to 12-hour days. But he reasoned that he could not report the employers because they were his only option:

The employers are taking advantage of us, I'm sure of that. That is why they come here. But I cannot report them because I need these employers, you know. The only way that they will treat us better is if they let us work with papers.

The competition had had affects on some earlier migrants working in construction. One Polish woman talked about how her family had felt the pinch of decreasing pay after having established themselves in a flat:

When we started earning good money he lost his job [as a plumber] because there was no more work there. So he looked for a job that would pay the same or more. But there was nothing. And so we got into a vicious circle; he didn't want to work for less and also knew that if he did then he would not be able to support us.

Both A8 and A2 recent migrants reported that health and safety conditions in some of the informal construction sector jobs they worked on were very bad, with no safety harnesses, no protective hats or gloves, no proper equipment at times. Another issue was that they had less protection from unscrupulous employers not paying them properly. A Polish focus group participant recalled:

I didn't get paid for 6 months. And of course one needs to live on something. And it's a problem to get money back because the company vanishes. (Polish focus group participant)

Another Polish man commented on the benefits of more formal work arrangements:

I work as self-employed and have signed many contracts. There were many cases of delayed payment but this is normal in construction. If a person doesn't get paid for a month or two, I think they should leave and don't go back. A contract is good because we are safe, we are protected by trade unions and we can fight for our rights.

It was notable that this was a rare reference across all of the interviews and focus groups to the role of trade unions.

12.2 Refugee experience

Many of the refugee interviewees with work experience had worked in low-paid routine jobs in London. Few had been able to progress into better-paid employment opportunities. Work in restaurants was common, often in local places owned by people from the same ethnic background. As well as the benefits of shared language, a couple of interviewees felt that they were better respected in this environment. Office cleaning was another area where some interviewees had worked, and companies had evidently organised contracts so that supervisors and workers shared a common language. For instance, an Angolan

refugee said that all of the cleaners and the supervisor who she worked with were from Portuguese-speaking backgrounds like her, and as a consequence she did not have much opportunity to practise her English at work.

The pay rates in restaurant kitchen and cleaning work were normally at minimum wage hourly levels - irrespective of what shifts or how many hours a week were worked. Some of the Francophone African focus group participants reported that informal sector jobs often paid even less than the minimum wage, as little as £2 to £3 an hour. They thought it was not worth taking on such jobs given the cost of rent and living. Some of the Kurdish Turkish focus group participants also acknowledged that other people in their community would work 'illegally' for low pay.

The refugees in these jobs tended not to have written contracts. An Angolan woman explained:

Actually they don't give us [a contract], just say the time and pay and you have tell them two weeks before leaving, because they take two weeks when we start and that money they give you when you leave the job. Like a deposit. If you do not give notice then will not give you money.

The anti-social nature of work hours was also difficult for some. An Albanian Kosovan reported:

The pay rate was low and the working hours were difficult [when I worked in restaurants]. Sometimes it was impossible for me to arrive home after my late shift until 2 am in the morning because of the long travelling distance.

This work was also very hard. One Kurdish Turkish man in his 40s complained of leg and back pain from one and half years working in a restaurant as a cleaner, as a result of which he had had to leave the job and was now unemployed. The problem for refugees like him was that the most accessible jobs carried the greatest health and safety risks such as repetitive strain injuries, fatigue and back pain, which are more liable to have a negative impact on older people.

Interviewees tended to do this type of work because it was all that was available, but for some it was also the easiest to combine with their studies. They were willing to bear it under the circumstances while studying, but another younger interviewee complained about how boring the café and customer service work was that he had done. He saw that it was not taking him forward. This related to some of the problems discussed in the Kurdish Turkish focus group about the employment problems faced by young people. One Kurdish Turkish woman commented:

[They are working in] very simple jobs I think, because I see young girls and boys that have grown up here but are doing very basic jobs, although they know English very well, I just don't understand why they work in restaurants or shops. They are working in jobs that make their bodies tired but not their minds!

Several interviewees also expressed concerns about how criminal activities were becoming more attractive to young men compared with the very low paid service sector work on offer.

12.3 Employer experience

Two businesses and agencies indicated that the wages in basic routine and manual jobs where migrants and refugee groups tended to be employed were typically at the National Minimum Wage (NMW) or thereabouts. An employment agency manager supplying temporary workers to the warehouse and distribution sector was under no illusion about the desirability of this low paid work, which involved tiring, repetitive tasks, often standing over long shift hours. Many recent migrants only took these jobs for short periods while looking for better opportunities, however some people including refugees might continue in such temporary work perhaps due to lack of English and other opportunities. A large employer also reported high turnover of migrant workers in its process operative and warehouse jobs, who despite being directly employed would still frequently move on to other opportunities or return home. This employer saw the costs of high turnover to itself of repeatedly recruiting and inducting new workers and having an unstable workforce, as well as the wider costs across the sector of lack of development of the workforce that could add value to the economy, but in the current competitive environment felt that it could not make changes to its terms and conditions. Due to the ample supply of workers, this mode of operation was sustainable at the moment.

Two employment agency managers agreed that working on the NMW was very difficult for workers considering the costs of living in London. It was recognised that recent migrants often survived by sharing rooms in the cheapest rental housing that they could find. One agency manager felt that relative disadvantage was increasing for some groups, such as refugees who were trapped in the cycle of having to take insecure jobs on levels of pay that were not keeping pace with inflation. In this situation he could see that people who were entitled to claim benefits might perceive them to be preferable. He also speculated that the large supply of migrant workers in sectors like catering and retail might have contributed to the ability of companies to keep wage levels down. Similarly, the view from one manufacturing company was that only recent migrants would be willing to take on the minimum wage jobs that it offered, whereas longer-term residents would prefer other work or benefits if they could access them. His view was that the government would need to subsidise the company to hire London workers at higher rates. Another agency manager however considered how an increase in minimum wage levels for basic operative and service jobs may result in more migrant workers being attracted to the UK and displacing young residents entering the labour market.

Looking at the prevailing terms and conditions offered for basic service sector jobs, an exception amongst the employers interviewed was the public sector cleaning contractor, which offered £7.30 an hour as the basic starting wage and also provided relatively attractive terms and conditions that were harmonised across the authority. This contractor was concerned, however, that despite being able to prove better staff training and quality records, the public authorities who determined who won the contract through compulsory competitive tendering, would largely do so on the basis of cost. On this ground, he felt that he might be losing contracts to private sector contractors who were cheaper but offer worse terms and conditions and less training to their staff.

In the informal sector, a few business interviewees recognised that workers may be employed at less than the NMW. One agency was surprised at how some restaurants would try and specify lower pay rates and other also commented that some small retailers and caterers would probably pay people cash in hand at a lower rate that was off the

books. Cleaning and domestic services was another area where recent migrants were known to be active in cash only jobs.

Several of the businesses commented on how they had diverse workforces. This was largely welcomed, but there were some problems raised. Lack of English was sometimes found difficult to manage. One interviewee overcame this through ensuring that an experienced and/or bilingual supervisor was responsible. Another interviewee commented on how recent migrants and refugees sometimes conducted themselves at work in a way that hampered their integration. There were also some impressions that people from different backgrounds did not work well together. Specific examples were cited of tensions between Black workers and White East European workers and between Black Caribbean workers and Black African workers, but overall it was difficult to judge the extent of these issues.

With regard to worker organisation, most of the businesses interviewed had no union representation. This was not surprising. One employment agency manager argued that sectors like catering and retail, and smaller businesses in general, were unlikely to have union coverage. He felt that unions probably did not approach such firms because they would not generate much in terms of membership fees and would be difficult to represent. The likelihood was that many employers would resist such an approach in the first place. Little sense was gained from the interviews about their opinion of unions but it was evident that a couple would not countenance them becoming active with their workforce.

12.4 Unemployment, Studying and Benefits

Government restrictions in relation to combining study and benefits were considered by several interviewees to be a problem for some younger people in particular. Some of the views expressed during the interviews indicated that it was preferable to be able to continue with full time studies and ESOL classes than having to go to JobCentre Plus and reduce study time to six hours a week.

The requirement to go on New Deal training on job searching was also seen as detrimental to some longer-term career options. Interviewees felt that New Deal courses were not as good as college attendance in terms of career progression but also for the individual's morale and would prefer to be allowed to continue with their studies.

Claiming benefits versus working in minimum wage jobs was also a difficult trade-off for some refugees. There were concerns expressed about how taking a job would mean that rebates in Council tax and other benefits would be lost. Some of the key respondents expressed concern that some of the refugees were becoming over-dependent upon benefits. Yet being unemployed and claiming benefits was still a negative experience for the refugees interviewed. As one said; "No-one would claim benefits if there was work." A Kurdish Turkish male believed that the way that the system works made the experience even worse:

I have also claimed for benefits but trust me this has to be the worst position one can ever be in, it is depressing and very humiliating. They tend to treat you very rudely and see you low, which makes you feel ashamed because you cannot express yourself properly, due to lack of knowing English fluently... I was given the impression that I was a second-class citizen and should just accept what we give you and not ask for more, as if I'm a beggar.

The asylum seekers who received NASS support really struggled to survive on it (and two asylum seekers who were now appealing negative decisions indicated that they now received nothing from NASS). With limited money, there was little that they could do; just catching the bus or making a call on a mobile phone had to be weighed up on cost. Understandably they were generally critical of the support organisations they had come across. Some of the asylum seekers had made considerable efforts to find support, but had been repeatedly disappointed. For instance, one had done the rounds and waited as long as was necessary to see advisers at further education colleges, CAB, Refugee Council and other asylum seeker support organisations, but felt that none had been able to offer any real help. Others indicated that they had never heard back from community organisations that purported to help asylum seekers. Another was appreciative of the support he had received, but was also tired of empty expressions of concern and frustrated at the lack of trusting and lasting relationships.

13. Community cohesion

A range of opinions about the state of community relations in Haringey were expressed by migrants and refugees. Essentially these were positive but also cautionary.

13.1 Migrant experience

Most of our recent migrant interviewees felt that there were few problems between different ethnic groups and some enjoyed the diversity. A few A8 migrants seemed to hold negative perceptions of the Black and Asian population in the area. Interestingly, a more common issue raised by several Polish interviewees and focus group participants was the level of competition and lack of wider community trust between Poles in the UK in general. One stated strongly that:

A Pole to a Pole is like a wolf. I think that this applies more to the Polish community than any others... this is related to their mentality and maybe competition.

The 'wolf' analogy was apparently based on a Polish proverb and the overall sentiment would have been over-stated; nonetheless several Polish migrants made reference to how guarded they were discussing their work with others who they did not know. Mutual support networks for Polish parents with young children had started up in the area though and were appreciated. One Polish woman described her group:

[The group is] about integration. It's for mothers so that they don't have to stay at home with their children. We also say that people who come here very often don't know English, they come to their partners. And it is very difficult them to go out or to find anything, for example a course or anything. So that's why this group was started.

For the Kurdish Turkish migrants, the presence of an established community had offered some support but one interviewee believed that some older migrants and refugees were still living with their cultural norms and values and could not adapt to the rapid changes in society.

When considering how migrants could better integrate into UK society and use their skills in the labour market, one of the obvious recommendations was that greater support and information should be focused on ESOL classes given that lack of English was a major barrier for recent migrants, as well as a factor in why employers could take advantage of them. A Kurdish Turkish woman argued:

Generally, recent migrants are faced with discrimination and negative stereotypes. As they are new, want jobs and need to learn the English language before being part of this society... I think that Haringey Council needs to open more compulsory English learning centres and educate those people that have newly arrived and settled into their boroughs. As lack of language will always create many problems for them in whatever they do and wherever they go.

One younger Portuguese Angolan migrant recommended that the government should help people more to complete further education; she reasoned that if young people did not study then how would they be able to get the qualifications necessary for better work.

Some migrants suggested that the Council promote its translation services better for different communities. A Polish interviewee believed this would be better than using their own:

I think Poles don't know that Councils can provide a translator if they want to know more about benefits and so on. Because these Polish accountants often fill in papers for people who don't speak English, and they do mistakes on purpose. The council sends back the letter and then the accountant has to reply and of course they charge for the reply.

Some people commented on A8 and A2 migrants becoming destitute after not being able to find much work in the UK. St Ignatius church on the High Road was offering some support to several East Europeans and some interviewees were aware of compatriots sleeping rough and drinking in the street. With regard to what help they could expect, one male Polish interviewee took a very robust view:

Nobody can help them. There are many leaflets, brochures, lots of information, but this is not what they need. They come here and sleep in the streets and don't have anything to eat. They can't go to the Council and ask for help. We are still illegal here and all forms of help, all benefits are for those who have worked in this country for two years. Even the consulate can't help them. You have to get an appointment and then the appointment lasts five minutes. You can only count on yourself. I know a place where they give away food.

Another Polish migrant also pointed out that compared with the government in Poland, the UK government does far more to help people in need. One Colombian female interviewee also emphasised that there is more support in the UK than in many other parts of the world. However, other migrants differed in their view of what help was available. One Polish interviewee explained:

Everything seems to be easy but not knowing all the rules can be confusing. I am an example of this (when not paid properly by an employer). So I sought CAB advice and advice from a Polish accountant. We say that Polish bureaucracy is worse than English but I think that if anything bad happens here then it's even worse here.

Others had also found the Citizens' Advice Bureau difficult to access due to long queues and lack of advisers, to the extent that one man had decided to give up on trying. Another migrant was also under the misapprehension that the CAB could only help British citizens.

There was a widespread view that employers take advantage of migrants whenever possible. A number of people suggested that migrants needed access to more free legal advice so that they would be aware of their rights and take action to prevent exploitation or discrimination. One migrant hoped for broader government action to protect workers. A Kurdish Turkish interview argued:

The working conditions in [restaurant] jobs are very rough, as the hours are long and pay rates are very low. I hold the government responsible because it is not controlling these work premises and how they take advantage of cheap labour.

After his own futile attempts to raise concerns with the CAB, trade unions and management about widespread poor employment practices towards migrants in the cleaning company where he worked, a Colombian interviewee identified the contradiction that the UK has plenty of laws and regulation on paper but little enforcement and inspection in practice.

13.2 Refugee experience

Several refugees acknowledged that housing problems are endemic in London but are most strongly felt by marginalized and vulnerable groups such as themselves. Even subsequent to receiving 'leave to remain', housing continued to be a problem for some refugees who had had to seek temporary accommodation and/or wait for social housing provided by the Council or Housing Associations. In particular, people with children complained about the poor standard and over-crowding in the housing provided. For them the letting system offered little choice. A Kurdish Turkish woman described how she felt she was given no choice:

I now live in a council house, and only God knows what I have been through in order to get this house, which was a very tough struggle for years. They have now introduced the fast-let scheme where you only have one option to choose a house, and you wait to see what sort of house is given to you by chance. I was forced to accept my current house, which has two bedrooms and I have three children, how can this be?

Several refugees were concerned that they were looked on negatively by wider UK society instead of being viewed sympathetically. A Kurdish Turkish man commented:

[Refugees] are all wrongly stereotyped and labelled in the views of residents and this is very wrong, as everyone as a reason for coming to the UK. They did not want to leave their home country but were forced.

Some of the asylum seekers we interviewed were positive about Haringey due to it being a multi-cultural society. Others spoke of abuse, racism and lack of respect directed at them, which they had mainly experienced outside London. In Haringey and London, they felt that could move about without questions being asked and two had formed good relationships with neighbours. Yet one of the women asylum seekers, however, did have problems locally and the cumulative effects of isolation were taking their toll:

The local residents are treating us badly and I am scared and cannot trust anyone. The feeling is terrible, I feel left out and useless wherever I go. If only we were provided with free language courses and could meet other people like us then I am sure this would help greatly. I really want to change my current life condition as it is weakening me day by day.

The lack of a solid foundation, local knowledge and established connections were seen to make refugees more vulnerable to discrimination. A Somali woman explained:

When someone doesn't have a base, meaning someone who is new to the country or doesn't speak English or is not connected to any community organisation or government organisation, you feel that they are slightly tainted with a dark spot and they need someone to help them. Truthfully there is an element (of discrimination).

Some refugees believed that others in their communities were letting barriers and despondency get the better of them. A Somali woman commented:

There are a lot of people who are on Income Support and sleeping... I don't believe in that... When you work it builds up your character and emotions. There are people who don't even make an effort to learn the language (English) and have been here for 10 years.

The support and advice of community organisations for their ethnic group was often particularly crucial due to the shared language and understanding. Yet two Kurdish Turkish men presented different assessments of their community organisations to the focus group:

Our community centres used to be more useful with their supports and services in the past, but now because the councils have cut down on giving grants, these centres cannot provide adequate support as it used to.

These grants were not given any more because our community centres did not use them properly, they did not do the right projects at the right times aimed at those people in most need!

The most common feeling, however, was that ethnic minority community centres should have more capacity to help their members. The Francophone African focus group specifically wished that something similar was active in Haringey to support French speakers; despite their different nationalities, ethnicities and religions, they saw the positive potential for support and sharing with recent arrivals.

Several refugees complained about the attitudes of front-line staff delivering mainstream services and support, and they recommended better training of staff in contact with the public and the appointment of more specialists. A Kurdish Turkish woman suggested:

Basically I would want the Council to employ specialist job agents who can speak in Turkish to provide us with help and guidance on job search or recommend the appropriate courses.

The participants in the Somali and Kurdish Turkish focus groups generally thought that the Council and other organisations needed to employ more people from their ethnic backgrounds who could help the wider community. An exchange between a Somali man and woman illustrates the point:

~I would like to add that every office, whether housing, jobcentre, I would make sure there were Somali employees. Because we are suffering everywhere, if you go to the Jobcentre you do not find any Somali employees.

~There is one Somali security guard.

~And he at least tries to help you. He opens the doors for you! (laughter)

The Citizen Advice Bureaux were considered to be positive, but they too needed to have more language skills available. A Kurdish Turkish woman emphasised:

I think that they should somehow let people know of their legal and social rights, by opening more advice offices and recruiting bilingual staff. Although

there are Citizen Advice Bureaus, they are so difficult to go to and obtain information, especially when there are no Turkish-speaking staff members.

There were also suggestions that refugees need to make a greater effort to learn about their rights. A Somali woman suggested:

It is for the individuals to understand the law, go to advice bureaux first of all. Myself included. For example when I have an interview with a company and they do not fulfil my rights, then I need to know firstly what my rights are, and where I can go [for help] and what I can do about it. Then I can determine what I can do to redress any wrongdoing.

One recommendation about further support that could be provided to parents was that more schools in the area needed to have more English classes targeted at parents and at least one Turkish-speaking staff member who could communicate with parents about their children's progress and problems. Parents' problems with English were also felt to have ramifications in relating to the school system. A Kurdish Turkish woman commented:

I also think that another very important reason [for lack of progress at school] is that parents do not know English and therefore cannot follow or receive feedback from their children's tutors. This affects them being involved and participating in their child's education, or to help them with their homework.

The lack of positive role models to inspire young people was also raised in the focus groups. A Kurdish Turkish man commented on the problems in the area:

It is very important that our young people see positive role models, but mainly they don't. Who they do see for instance are their fathers working in kebab shops, friends working in supermarkets.

Without role models and without work, a Somali man argued that young people are easily attracted into crime:

I mean you can see around the streets, the area is like a ghetto. If you don't support [the young people] to work then they will be in the street, doing crime. Those kids have background problems, family problems and that is why they are getting into more violence, domestic violence. Because training is boring for them but it needs some powerful persuasive to make them agree to go there so that they can try and get a good job.

13. Conclusions

This research has identified a number of patterns and issues with regard to the labour market outcomes of recent migrants and refugees in Haringey. It has also highlighted the problems faced by asylum seekers, which are linked to the disadvantages faced by refugees. In drawing conclusions from this study, the methodology dictates that caution be applied. This was a relatively small exploratory study involving a limited number of qualitative interviews. More extensive quantitative as well as qualitative data would need to be gathered to detail the economic impacts and labour market outcomes of the target groups. But this is an inherently difficult exercise due to the high level of mobility of the population and the rapidly changing organisation of work and service provision. With these provisos, from first-hand accounts this research has collected a wealth of information on the current situation in Haringey.

The findings from this research generally reinforce those of the wider literature in the UK and London. Overall, in the UK there has been a shift away from the norm of direct employment towards a variety of more flexible, temporary, informal, self-employed and other contractual arrangements. This trend is particularly pronounced in some sectors and occupations, notably in the low-paid and low-skilled jobs that proliferate in services such as hotels and restaurants, cleaning and care homes and in the basic processing, packaging and distribution of retail and wholesale goods. It is also apparent in the construction industry, which is characterised by relationships of worker mobility, sub-contracting and self-employment that emphasise flexible employment arrangements. Recent migrants, in particular from lower income countries of the South and the new East European countries in the EU, have become an increasingly important part of the labour force for these sectors and occupations in London. This employment profile was apparent from the interviews in Haringey; where the majority of respondents had worked in cleaning, catering and/or construction. The employers also reflected upon how word of mouth within recent migrant communities had become a useful source of new applicants.

We were unable to interview enough members of the A2 group of recent migrants to compare their experiences with those of the A8 Central and Eastern European recent migrants. It was not clear whether the skills base of the A8 workers were significantly different from those from the A2 countries. There were reports, though, of A2 workers finding greater problems in gaining employment and being more ready to work for lower wages. Some A8 workers spoke of being undercut by A2 workers.

However, Haringey's migration experience is set within the context of overall jobs growth in the UK. There were reports of access to construction placements and training being less available as a result of the presence of Eastern European recent migrants, and this sectoral impact could also be experienced in hotel and catering industry. But overall this research found little evidence for the argument that migrant workers may be being used as substitutes replacing longer-standing residents of the borough.

What the government more broadly needs to consider is the quality of work in low-skilled jobs paid at the National Minimum Wage. It was apparent again from the interviews in Haringey that this level of pay is barely able to cover basic living costs in London. Affording anything extra is virtually impossible.

This research confirms the occupational segregation characterised by May et al (2006) as the 'migrant division of labour' in London, wherein people from the lower income countries of the South and the former socialist East Europe states are filling many of the low-skilled

and low-paid jobs in the capital. As opposed to the displacements of resident workers feared in media and government discourse, what seems to be happening in some sectors and occupations at the lowest end of socio-economic scale is a pattern of competition between a succession of migrant groups. The starkest example was the impression given by A8 workers looking for informal construction sector jobs that they are now losing out to the more recent A2 workers willing to work well below the National Minimum Wage.

The challenge is that a lot of this job creation has been in demanding, routine, manual minimum wage level work. Yet the low pay and insecurity of this often hard, intense or monotonous work with little or no opportunity for progression is hardly appealing. Longer-standing residents with better access and labour market knowledge will understandably look for better options or see more reason to claim benefits. In refugees' positions, the multiple disadvantages and discrimination that they often face are compounded by the limited job prospects. Many of the participants spoken to in this research were unemployed and claiming benefits; none of them liked being in this position. The sense of disempowerment and frustration was strongly communicated. But without the chance to find fulfilling work, they saw little or no other option.

At the same time proposals to integrate the recent migrants and refugees more tightly within the UK labour market and society are ambiguous. On one hand the government is rationalising access to ESOL and raising fees for courses, on the other it places more and more emphasis of everyone's duty to learn English.

A major problem for Haringey is that its economic structure has a much higher proportion than the London average of low skilled, low paid jobs, with a housing stock to match. The Borough Council needs to consider how it can contribute to bringing higher skilled and higher paid jobs to the area. In the longer term such a structural evolution can have a major positive impact on the local labour market.

In Haringey, while our research was largely focused on the 'problems' of the areas of greater deprivation in the East of the Borough, there is wider evidence of increasing inequality and polarisation of work between professionals and managers at one end of the spectrum and the mass of routine and manual workers at the other end.

It is clear that a significant proportion of the recent migrants and refugees are workers with much higher qualifications than the jobs they have been able to find require; at the same time there is some evidence of a 'drain' of higher skilled professional residents from Haringey to other richer London boroughs, leaving a potential gap to be filled locally.

With sharper and more effective policies, some of this gap could be filled. But still more important is the need to develop policies that engage higher proportions of all residents (longer-term and recent) in fulfilling labour market activities. To this end the following section proposes a range variety of recommendations aimed at the Borough Council, other public authorities, the government and training bodies as well as at private companies and individual citizens.

If Haringey is to successfully navigate the continuing changes that will take place over the next twenty years, it has to develop policies that encourage active participation and strong social cohesion amongst all - old, young, refugees, recent migrants and long-standing residents.

14. Recommendations

The public sector is a major employer in Haringey – with the Borough Council itself, the Health Service and Education Service. The public sector also contracts services from the private sector such as cleaning and projects such as construction, so it can have an even greater influence through this work. Therefore, there is potential both for the public sector to directly influence employment and to provide a model for the private sector.

There is also a wider economic issue for Haringey. The evidence suggests that the greater prevalence of low paid and low status jobs in the Borough is itself an obstacle to making full use of local people's talents – whether long-term residents or refugees or recent migrants. If the middle and top ends of the labour market expanded, there would be greater opportunity for occupational mobility and the matching of the local skill base to the local economy.

One contextual recommendation, therefore, is that local economic development and restructuring agencies and joint bodies actively consider ways of shifting the local economy up a gear – possibly through development of the Olympics legacy. If there is a higher proportion of office, technical and skilled as well as managerial and professional jobs in Haringey then the benefits will be spread throughout the whole community.

Further and continuous research is needed to assess the living and working conditions and educational needs of the three groups and to explore future challenges in the borough in terms of economic development and demographic distribution.

Some of the more detailed suggestions made below relate to actions Haringey could take on its own initiative, others are issues that need discussing within a London and even national policy context.

Public sector contracting

- Service and construction contracts could include suggestions/requirements around policy promotion of employment opportunities for refugee groups i.e. require them to show how they will make recruitment more accessible to refugees, how they will work with local communities, training providers and job brokerage agencies etc.
- Employers to ensure training on management, equality and diversity issues at workplace for all their existing personnel in order to reduce any potential inter-ethnic tension at workplace and promote a more integrating environment.
- Service and construction contracts should include adequate cost coverage to provide staff training and pay rates in line with London living wage and public sector levels (e.g. £7.30 an hour for cleaning workers).

Public sector recruitment

- HR contracts with employment agencies supplying workers for temporary and permanent posts could include measures requiring them to outreach to refugee communities through job fairs, links with training providers and community groups etc.
- Building on the Haringey Guarantee, develop a linked programme of job placements and employment vacancies to be targeted at refugee groups.
- Promote further awareness about the benefits of voluntary work as a means of acquiring work experience in UK, especially within organisations that work with young people. Funders to work closely with HAVCO and develop specifically designed

projects as first step of accessing employment that will lead to a full or part time sustainable employment.

- Job Centre Plus to try and engage further with the groups in the study by doing more outreach work, setting less strict criteria for recruiting in particular job brokerage projects and making greater effort to match the individual's skills with various job requirements.
- JCP should adopt a more sympathetic approach when liaising with members of the three groups taking into consideration that sometimes individuals have very traumatic past experiences of war and displacement or immense poverty. If centres are regularly used by families to provide a child-friendly waiting room.
- Job Centre Plus as a body should also try to attract a range of vacancies that reflect a variety of skills, and liaise more closely with the Borough Council and other public bodies in the area.

Public sector campaigning

There is also a need for a wider awareness campaign on the skills and experience that recent migrants and refugees in Haringey can offer to employers as at the moment, negative media about immigration and asylum dominates and influences employers.

- Awareness campaigns through bodies such as HAVCO, LORECA or local refugee associations and supported, where possible, by the Council are needed to stress the potential benefits of recent migrants and refugees' skills and experience that employers may be missing out on
- Continuous support and information should be provided to each individual before and after the completion of courses for further encouragement and flexibility to enter the labour market and for better monitoring of publicly-funded training

More dedicated support by Haringey Council with tailored employment and skills projects under schemes such as the Haringey Guarantee is necessary for recent migrants and refugees to help them convert their qualifications from overseas. Further provision of Information, Advice and Guidance (IAG) is needed for the groups to understand better their previous experience and relevant qualifications and to direct them towards flexible ways of applying in the UK labour market.

The current processes for converting qualifications are lengthy and some people may have to restart their educations. A consistent credit system for overseas qualifications is necessary, but it is beyond Haringey's influence to introduce so the Council needs to lobby the UK government. For refugees looking to rebuild their careers, the costs of education in the UK can be prohibitive when they have no asset base.

- The Council should appoint a small qualifications advice team to work closely with recent migrant and refugee groups as well as other organisations such as NHS, which may have identified skills shortages. Bodies with wider activity on refugee issues such as LORECA or GLA could participate in this task.
- Funding should be provided for grants for refugees to take conversion courses with dedicated links between provider organisations in Haringey and further and higher education institutions in London. Funding bodies such as the LDA and/or the LSC could take into consideration the recognition of qualifications when designing projects.
- Under the current situation prolonged unemployment brings frustration with sometimes severe psychological effects and poor living conditions, and this impacts particularly heavily on areas like Haringey with higher than average numbers of asylum seekers who are being denied work. The Home Office should review its

current regulations to enable asylum seekers to work while waiting to hear about their status.

Language and training strategy

A lack of English was identified as a major barrier to the labour market and there were concerns about funding and provision levels. The situation in Haringey reflects the disparity between demand and supply. Fees introduced from 2007/08 may prove prohibitive for recent migrants and refugees in minimum wage work.

- The local authority, ESOL providers (publicly and privately funded) and the LSC need to establish an ESOL strategy, which will allow greater co-ordination and information-sharing system between providers. The LDA and LORECA could also participate to the development of such strategy. This strategy would aim to:
 - identify needs and direct students better;
 - revive an ESOL network in Haringey;
 - increase the provision and quality of ESOL particularly vocational ESOL including an IT element;
 - provide flexibility in adapting to needs of different groups and English-levels of migrants, refugees, employed and unemployed, and those with children;
 - promote security and stability of funding.
- Major bodies such as the LDA, LSC and ESOL providers to cooperate for the development of work-based ESOL classes which may increase accessibility and benefit further all participants.
- A more holistic approach based on the multiple disadvantages experienced by members of the three groups should be taken into consideration when designing educational or job brokerage programmes.
- Trained volunteers should be encouraged to assist in the teaching of ESOL. Voluntary work in ESOL delivery should not be made at the expense of professionally trained ESOL tutors but rather to assist them. Bodies such as HAVCO could organise the training of volunteers.

Similar to the lack of a coordinated ESOL strategy, there were many concerns raised about the effectiveness of various short-term courses aimed at helping people to search for jobs, improve their employability (e.g. through improved applications and interviews) and gain specific qualifications. Participants felt that there was little or no outcome at the end of many courses, while employers felt that they were inadequate for making people able to cope well with the workplace.

We recommend improved links to job brokerage and temporary work placements and experience were recommended. Employers requested more personal, tailored and dedicated efforts to understand how they operate and support jobseekers placed with them.

- Targeted and tailored job brokerage could be developed to outreach to private sector;
- Greater incentives – such as tax breaks or supported training - to employers, particularly SMEs, to encourage them to take on people such as refugees who may have skills from overseas but need help to apply them.

Acronyms

APS:	Annual Population Survey
BME:	Black and Minority Ethnic
CAB:	Citizens Advice Bureau
CIS:	Construction Industry Scheme
CONEL:	College of North East London
CRF:	Community Regeneration Funding
CSCS:	Construction Skills Certificate Scheme
DWP:	Department for Work and Pensions
ELR:	Exceptional Leave to Remain
ESOL:	English for Speakers of Other Languages <i>also</i> English for Speakers of Overseas Language
GLA:	Greater London Authority
HALS:	Haringey Adult Learning Service
HAVCO	Haringey Association of Voluntary and Community Organisations
IAG:	Information Advice Guidance
ICT:	Information and Communication Technology
ILR:	Indefinite Leave to Remain
IMD:	Index of Multiple Deprivation
IPPR	Institute for Public Policy Research
IPS	International Passenger Survey
JCP	Jobcentre Plus
LDA:	London Development Agency
LFS:	Labour Force Survey
LSC:	Learning and Skills Council
NASS	National Asylum Support Service
NINO:	National Insurance Number
NMW:	National Minimum Wage
NRF:	Neighbourhood Renewal Fund
NVQ:	National Vocational Qualification
ONS:	Office of National Statistics
PLASC:	Pupil Level Annual School Census
RAISE:	Refugees Access into Sustainable Employment
SOAS:	Super Output Areas
SRB:	Single Regeneration Budget

TUC:	Trade Union Congress
WRS:	Worker Registration Scheme

Glossary of terms

A8 countries: Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia

A2: Bulgaria, Rumania

Access to Work: a scheme that supports employment of disabled people by giving advice as well as practical (financial) help to employers towards meeting any additional costs that arise from a person's disability. The scheme is administered through Jobcentre Plus.

Asylum seekers (AS): Asylum seekers are persons who have moved across borders 'due to a well-founded fear of persecution'. Asylum seekers have applied for protection as refugees and are awaiting a decision on their application. Since 2002 asylum seekers are not normally allowed to work.

Basic Skills: Basic Skills can be defined as 'the ability to read, write and speak in English and use mathematics at a level necessary to function and progress at work and in society in general' <http://www.lsc.gov.uk/Jargonbuster/Basic+Skills.htm>

BME group: Black and Minority Ethnic Group. This categorization includes, for example, White Irish, White Other

Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) – responsible for the Government's welfare reform agenda (see also Appendix 3). Aims to promote opportunity and independence for all.

Economically inactive: people who are out of work and not seeking work or unavailable to start work; includes those who want a job and those who do not. (see office for National Statistics www.statistics.gov.uk for more information)

Employability: The ability of someone to get or keep a job. The skills required improving an individual's chances of becoming employed (this may include a wide range of skills, including vocational specific skills as well as Skills for Life or general skills)

English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL): according to the London Skills Commission Strategic Action Plan there are estimated to be 600,000 people of working age who have varying levels of ESOL needs – but only about 125,000 in ESOL learning.

Equal: Equal is a European Social Fund (ESF) Community Initiative, providing funds to projects which test and promote new means of combating discrimination and inequalities in the labour market.)

European Social Fund (ESF): one of the four European Structural Funds to help reduce differences in living standards between regions of the EU by: reducing

unemployment, improving and developing skills of employed people, investing in industrial or rural areas which are in decline.

Exceptional Leave to Remain (ELR): People uprooted by civil war fall outside the UN definition of a refugee because they have not been individually targeted for persecution. In the UK asylum seekers who do not meet the criteria of the 1951 Convention but nevertheless need protection may be granted Exceptional Leave to Remain (ELR). It may also be granted on human rights grounds, for example, if a person is likely to be 'subjected to inhuman or degrading treatment', or would not receive a fair trial if they returned home.

Humanitarian Protection: From 1st April 2003, in the UK ELR was replaced by 'Humanitarian Protection' for new asylum applicants who do not meet the criteria of the 1951 Convention yet still require protection on human rights grounds. 'Humanitarian Protection' will be granted for three years, after which it will be reviewed and, if continued protection is required, Indefinite Leave to Remain will be granted.

Indefinite Leave to Remain (ILR): after four years with ELR, a person can apply for Indefinite Leave to Remain (ILR)

Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD): has been developed to aggregate the many different economic, social and environmental indicators for a geographical area in order to produce an overall framework for ranking them by their relative level of deprivation. (see http://www.communities.gov.uk/index.asp?id=1128444#P18_329)

Learning and Skills Council (LSC): is responsible for planning and funding vocational education and training for young people and adults (with the exception of higher education). Within London there are five LSCs who increasingly co-operate at a regional level. www.lsc.gov.uk

London Development Agency (LDA): The LDA is responsible for producing the Mayor of London's Economic Development Plan. The LDA disburses funds to support regeneration and diversity initiatives. www.lda.gov.uk

LORECA: provides an on line database that provides information nationally for refugees/asylum seekers (RAS) and for organisations working with RAS, See their web side. www.loreca.org.uk

National Asylum Support Service (NASS): NASS was established by the Home Office to support arrangements for destitute asylum seekers whilst their claims are being considered by the Immigration & Nationality Directorate (IND)

New Deal for Communities (NDC): a Government programme aiming to regenerate 39 of the most deprived neighbourhoods in England over a ten year period.

National Vocational Qualification (NVQ): work-related, competence based qualifications that reflect the skills and knowledge needed to do a job effectively

Worker Registration Scheme (WRS): From May 1 2004, nationals of the A8 new member states who wish to work for more than one month for an employer in the UK need to register under the Worker Registration Scheme. once they have been

working legally for 12 months, without a break no longer need to register and can apply for a residence permit.

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Appendices: Topic Guides

1. Key Respondents Topic Guide

Organisation Details

1. What is the role of your organisation?
2. What is your position?

Overview of Haringey population and economy

3. How has the population of Haringey changed in the last five years?
 - a. Groups of migrant workers/ refugees/ asylum seekers that have become more prevalent*
 - b. Groups of the population that have moved out of the borough*
 - c. Reasons for population changes*
 - d. Geographic differences in changes*
4. How has the local economy changed in the last five years?
 - a. Industry sectors that have grown or declined*
 - b. Changes in overall employment by sector*
 - c. Extent of informal and shadow economies and their links to formal*

Local Labour Markets

5. What are the trends in labour demand and supply in Haringey?
 - a. Numbers of job vacancies*
 - b. Labour shortages by sector/ occupation*
 - c. Skills gaps by sector/ occupation*
 - d. Work experience/ training placement gaps*
 - e. Strategies adopted by employers to meet demands*
6. What are the trends in unemployment in Haringey?
 - a. Changes in claimant counts*
 - b. Whether claiming benefits or not – what types of benefits*
 - c. Reasons for increase/decrease in numbers*
 - d. Relationship to economic inactivity and informal economy*
7. What impact have migrant workers/ refugees/ asylum seekers had on the local labour market?
 - a. Employment by sector and occupation*
 - b. Effect on wage levels*
 - c. Effect on resident jobseekers*

Recruitment

8. How are recruitment methods changing in general? Are migrant workers/refugees/asylum seekers tending to be recruited through different methods to local residents?
 - a. Frequency of methods of recruitment – advertisements, job centres, agencies recruiting overseas and locally, word of mouth*

- b. Differences in recruitment of different groups*
- c. Role of agencies for temporary workers*

9. What barriers to recruitment do migrant workers/refugees/asylum seekers face?
 - a. Language*
 - b. Interview processes*
 - c. Need for referees, evidence of skills and experience*
 - d. Discrimination*
 - e. Immigration checks (e.g. even if legal right to work, may be indirect barriers due to need to prove)*
 - f. Criminal records checks*
10. To what extent have migrant workers/refugees/asylum seekers been able to use their skills and experience from their home country?
 - a. Recognition of qualifications*
 - b. Potential for conversion*
 - c. Credit for prior experience*

Employment

11. What types of industries and occupations are migrant workers/refugees/asylum seekers most commonly employed in?
 - a. Reasons for occupational differences – discrimination, stereotyping etc*
 - b. Opportunities/barriers in relation to sectors/occupations*
12. What trends are there in relation to employment in the informal economy/ shadow economy?
 - a. Whether particular sectors, areas, groups*
13. How do migrant workers/ refugees/ asylum seekers tend to be employed (i.e. contract status)?
 - a. Temporary, casual, flexible workers*
 - b. Self-employed status*
 - c. Opportunities/barriers to stable direct employment*
14. What factors influence the provision of on the job training for migrant workers/refugees/asylum seekers?
 - a. Opportunities/barriers*
15. What opportunities are there for retention and progression in employment?
 - a. Reasons for differences*
 - b. Barriers*
16. How are migrant workers/ refugees/ asylum seekers generally represented at work?
 - a. Levels of union membership*
 - b. Barriers to representation*

Haringey Training and Support Services

With all of these questions, need to explore relative merits of mainstream/generic services for whole population versus tailored/specific services for target groups.

17. What support services and information has your organisation provided directly to migrant workers/ refugees/ asylum seekers?
18. What job brokerage schemes are currently operating actively in Haringey? Have they been targeted at particular groups of migrant workers/ refugees/ asylum seekers?
 - a. *Numbers, effectiveness*
 - b. *Levels of employer engagement*
 - c. *Accessibility for different groups*
 - d. *Barriers to access*
19. What support with employability skills (e.g. job search techniques, CV writing, interviewing skills etc) is currently provided to migrant workers/ refugees/ asylum seekers?
 - a. *Numbers, effectiveness in terms of jobs obtained*
 - b. *Whether there is employer engagement*
 - c. *Accessibility for different groups (information, outreach etc)*
 - d. *Barriers to access (including financial – e.g. transport, childcare etc)*
20. What voluntary work schemes to gain experience are currently operating in Haringey? Have they been targeted at particular groups of migrant workers/ refugees/ asylum seekers?
 - a. *Numbers, effectiveness*
 - b. *Levels and types of employer engagement*
 - c. *Accessibility for different groups*
 - d. *Barriers to access*
21. What ESOL courses are currently provided in Haringey? How have they been targeted at particular groups?
 - a. *Numbers, effectiveness, timetables*
 - b. *Levels of employer engagement*
 - c. *Accessibility for different groups*
 - d. *Barriers to access*
 - e. *Which is more effective – targeted or joining mainstream ESOL provision?*
22. What IT courses are currently provided in Haringey? How have they been targeted at particular groups?
 - a. *Numbers, effectiveness, timetables*
 - b. *Levels of employer engagement*
 - c. *Accessibility for different groups*
 - d. *Barriers to access*
 - e. *Which is more effective – targeted or joining mainstream ESOL provision?*
23. What range of further education and training courses are currently provided? How have they been targeted at particular groups of migrant workers/ refugees/ asylum seekers?
 - a. *Numbers, effectiveness, timetables*
 - b. *Levels of employer engagement*
 - c. *Accessibility for different groups*
 - d. *Barriers to access*
24. What business start-up or entrepreneurial support services are provided in Haringey? How have they been targeted at supporting migrants etc?

25. Overall, what gaps in provision of skills, education and training services are there in Haringey? How can they work better for migrant workers/refugees/asylum seekers?
- a. Overall strategic direction*
 - b. Funding and length of projects*
 - c. Focus of projects*
 - d. Mainstream versus targeted support*
26. How effective are different types of provider organisations in meeting the needs of migrant workers/ refugees/ asylum seekers?
- a. Role of community organisations*

Recommendations

27. What recommendations would you make to Haringey Council on policies and services it should develop to improve access of migrant workers, refugees, asylum seekers to the labour market?
28. What recommendations would you make to Haringey Council on policies and services it should develop to improve access of migrant workers, refugees, asylum seekers to skills and training provision *and to business support*?
29. What recommendations would you make to Sector Skills Councils, Chambers of Commerce, Business Link for London and other industry on how they can work with public bodies on skills gaps, labour shortages and employment of migrant workers/ refugees/ asylum seekers?
30. What recommendations would you make to LSC/ LDA/ UK government on policies and services it should develop to improve access of migrant workers, refugees, asylum seekers to the labour market and to skills and training provision?

2. Employers Topic Guide

Organisation Details

1. What does your company do? How has it changed in the last five years?
 - a. Production*
 - b. Total workforce*
 - c. Turnover*
2. How many migrant workers/ refugees/ asylum seekers do you estimate that you currently employ? What proportion of your work force does this represent?
3. How has your employment of these groups changed in the last five years? Is this trend common to other businesses in your industry sector?

Overview of Haringey population and economy

4. How has the population of Haringey changed in the last five years?
 - a. Groups of migrant workers/ refugees/ asylum seekers that have become more prevalent*
 - b. Groups of the population that have moved out of the borough*
 - c. Reasons for population changes*
 - d. Geographic differences in changes*
5. How has the local economy changed in the last five years?
 - a. Industry sectors that have grown or declined*
 - b. Changes in overall employment by sector*
 - c. Extent of informal and shadow economies and their links to formal*
6. How has your company changed in line with these trends?

Local Labour Markets

7. What are the trends in labour demand and supply in Haringey?
 - a. Numbers of job vacancies*
 - b. Labour shortages by sector/ occupation*
 - c. Skills gaps by sector/ occupation*
 - d. Work experience/ training placement gaps*
 - e. Strategies adopted by employers to meet demands*
8. What are the trends in unemployment in Haringey?
 - a. Changes in claimant counts*
 - b. Reasons for increase/decrease in numbers*
 - c. Economic inactivity*
9. What impact have migrant workers/ refugees/ asylum seekers had on the local labour market?
 - a. Employment by sector and occupation*
 - b. Effect on wage levels*
 - c. Effect on resident jobseekers*

Recruitment

10. Have your recruitment methods changed in the last five years? Are migrant workers/refugees/asylum seekers tending to be recruited through different methods to local residents?
 - a. *Frequency of methods of recruitment – advertisements, job centres, agencies recruiting overseas and locally, word of mouth*
 - b. *Turnover of staff*
 - c. *Differences in recruitment of different groups*
 - d. *Role of agencies for temporary workers*
11. What barriers to recruitment do migrant workers/refugees/asylum seekers face?
 - a. *Language*
 - b. *Interview processes*
 - c. *Need for referees, evidence of skills and experience*
 - d. *Discrimination*
 - e. *Immigration checks (e.g. even if legal right to work, may be indirect barriers due to need to prove)*
 - f. *Criminal record checks*
12. What English language skills do you require of your employees? Do you find that applicants from migrant workers/refugees/asylum seekers have difficulty meeting these requirements?
13. To what extent have migrant workers/refugees/asylum seekers been able to use their skills and experience from their home country?
 - a. *Recognition of qualifications*
 - b. *Potential for conversion*
 - c. *Experience*

Employment

14. What types of industries and occupations are migrant workers/refugees/asylum seekers most commonly employed in?
 - a. *Reasons why/why not*
 - b. *Opportunities/barriers in relation to sectors/occupations*
15. On what contract/employment status do you tend to engage migrant workers/refugees/ asylum seekers?
 - a. *Permanent or temporary*
 - b. *Full-time or part-time*
 - b. *Self-employed status*
 - c. *Opportunities/barriers to stable direct employment*
16. What equal opportunities policies does your company currently have?
17. Why does your company employ migrant workers/ refugees/ asylum seekers? Why not? What benefits/ difficulties have you found in employing migrant workers/refugees/ asylum seekers?
18. What factors influence the provision of on the job training for migrant workers/refugees/asylum seekers?

19. What opportunities are there for retention and progression in employment?
- a. Reasons for differences*
 - b. Barriers*
20. How are migrant workers/ refugees/ asylum seekers represented at work generally?
- a. Levels of union membership*
 - b. Barriers to representation*

Haringey Training and Support Services

21. What job brokerage schemes are currently operating actively in Haringey? Have they been targeted at particular groups of migrant workers/ refugees/ asylum seekers? Do you use them?
- a. Numbers, effectiveness*
 - b. Levels of employer engagement*
 - c. Accessibility for different groups*
 - d. Barriers to access*
22. What support with employability skills is currently provided to migrant workers/ refugees/ asylum seekers?
- a. Numbers, effectiveness*
 - b. Levels of employer engagement*
 - c. Accessibility for different groups*
 - d. Barriers to access*
23. What voluntary work schemes to gain experience are currently operating in Haringey? Have they been targeted at particular groups of migrant workers/ refugees/ asylum seekers? Do you use volunteers?
- a. Numbers, effectiveness*
 - b. Levels of employer engagement*
 - c. Accessibility for different groups*
 - d. Barriers to access*
24. What ESOL courses are currently provided to migrant workers/refugees/asylum seekers? Have they been targeted at particular groups?
- a. Numbers, effectiveness, timetables*
 - b. Levels of employer engagement*
 - c. Accessibility for different groups*
 - d. Barriers to access*
25. What further education and training courses are currently provided? Have they been targeted at particular groups of migrant workers/ refugees/ asylum seekers?
- a. Numbers, effectiveness, timetables*
 - b. Levels of employer engagement*
 - c. Accessibility for different groups*
 - d. Barriers to access*
26. What gaps in provision of skills, education and training are there in Haringey? How can they be bridged?
- a. Overall strategic direction*
 - b. Funding and length of projects*

c. Focus of projects

27. How effective are different types of provider organisations in meeting the needs of employers and migrant workers/ refugees/ asylum seekers?

a. Role of community organisations

28. What other support and information do you think migrant workers/ refugees/ asylum seekers need?

a. Information, translation

Recommendations

29. What recommendations would you make to Haringey Council on policies and services it should develop to improve access of migrant workers, refugees, asylum seekers to the labour market and to skills and training provision?

30. What recommendation would you make to LSC/ LDA/ UK government on policies and services it should develop to improve access of migrant workers, refugees, asylum seekers to the labour market and to skills and training provision?

31. What recommendations would you make to Sector Skills Councils, Chambers of Commerce, Business Link for London and other industry on how they can work with public bodies on skills gaps, labour shortages and employment of migrant workers/ refugees/ asylum seekers?

3. Topic Guide for Individual Interviews with Migrant Workers and Refugees

A. REASONS FOR COMING TO THE UK AND TO HARINGEY

1. When did you first come to the UK? Why?
 - a. *Probe around reasons – work, family and personal contacts, remittances etc*
2. Why did you choose to live and/or work in Haringey?
 - a. *Probe around reasons – community contacts, work opportunities, available housing*
3. What other members of your family live in the UK? What family are you supporting in your home country?

If a refugee

4. When were you granted refugee status? How long were you staying in UK waiting for your asylum application to be decided?

B. WORK EXPERIENCE AND QUALIFICATIONS FROM HOME COUNTRY

5. What work did you used to do in your home country?
6. What qualifications did you gain in your home country?
7. How well did you speak English before coming to the UK?

C. COMMUNITY CONTACTS AND LOOKING FOR WORK IN THE UK

8. What community organisations and people in the neighbourhood are you in contact with in Haringey?
 - a. *Probe around types of organisations and what support they provide*
 - b. *Probe around whether know any local residents*
9. How have you looked for work in the UK?
 - a. *Probe around methods – recruitment agencies, Job Centre Plus, community links*
10. To what extent have you been able to apply your experience and skills from your home country to working in the UK?

D. CURRENT/PAST EMPLOYMENT

11. How long have you been in paid employment in the UK?
 - a. *Establish periods in work since first coming to the UK*

NB: If never worked in the UK then skip next questions and go to section E

12. What type of work have you done in the UK? Why?
 - a. *Types of occupations (professional, manual etc) and industry*
 - b. *Probe around reasons for choosing*
13. How have you been recruited for work?

- a. *How applied for job*
 - b. *What skills and experience required*
 - c. *How interviewed*
14. What terms and conditions have you been employed under?
- a. *What type of contract – permanent, fixed-term etc*
 - b. *What levels of pay*
 - c. *What hours/shifts worked*
15. What training have you received at work?
- a. *Induction training and further training*
 - b. *Access to ESOL classes*
16. What opportunities or limitations for promotion at work have you had?
- a. *Probe around what may have limited chances*
17. How well do you feel you have been treated at work?
- a. *Probe around whether any problems with employer or co-workers*
 - b. *Differences in how treated compared with local residents i.e. possible discrimination*
- With regard to previous work*
18. Why have you left previous jobs?
- a. *Probe around reasons – temporary work, lack of opportunities, problems with management etc*
19. Overall, what differences do you see in how recent migrants and refugees are employed compared with local residents? Why?

E. CURRENT/PAST UNEMPLOYMENT

20. When have you been unemployed since coming to the UK?
- a. *Establish periods of unemployment*
21. What benefits have you claimed when unemployed?
- a. *Information about benefits*
22. What were the main barriers that stopped you finding work when you were unemployed?
23. What volunteering or unpaid work have you done? How helpful was this work?

If a refugee

24. How did the time awaiting a decision on your asylum application affect you? What support services did you access/receive during this time?

F. TRAINING AND SUPPORT SERVICES IN HARINGEY

25. What education training and support services have you used in Haringey?
- a. *Ask specifically about ESOL, education, job brokerage*

- 26. How did you hear about these services initially? What has helped or hindered you to access them?
- 27. How satisfied were you with these services?
 - a. *Probe around what helped and what did not help*
 - b. *Difficulties in accessing services*

G. GENERAL VIEWS AND FUTURE PLANS

- 28. In general, what barriers to employment, skills and training do you think people in your community have faced?
 - a. *Return to issues raised earlier and explore how could be addressed*
- 29. How do you feel employers and society in general view recent migrants/ refugees in the UK?
 - a. *Explore possible discrimination*
- 30. What further support and information do you think migrant workers/refugees could need in Haringey?
- 31. What are your plans for the future? How long do you intend to live/work in Haringey?

4. Topic Guide for Individual Interviews with Asylum Seekers

A. REASONS FOR COMING TO THE UK AND TO HARINGEY

1. When did you first come to the UK?
2. Why did you choose to move to Haringey? Where have you lived previously in the UK?
 - a. *Probe around reasons – community contacts, available housing*
3. What other members of your family live in the UK? What family are you supporting in your home country?

B. WORK EXPERIENCE AND QUALIFICATIONS FROM HOME COUNTRY

4. What work did you used to do in your home country?
5. What qualifications did you gain in your home country?
6. How well did you speak English before coming to the UK?

C. SUPPORT DURING APPLICATION FOR ASYLUM

7. How long has your asylum application been under consideration now? At what stage in the process is it now?
8. What support have you received from the UK government while your asylum application is pending decision?
 - b. *Probe around whether this has been sufficient*
9. How else have you been able to support yourself during this time?

If have dependent children

10. What affect has the wait for a decision had on them? What support have they received?
11. What community organisations and people in the neighbourhood are you in contact with in Haringey?
 - c. *Probe around types of organisations and what support they provide*
 - d. *Probe around whether know any local residents*

D. WORKING IN THE UK

12. What ability to work in the UK have you had since first coming here?
 - e. *Depending on how long in the UK, person may have right to apply for work permit but want to see whether aware of this*
13. Under what circumstances do you believe that asylum seekers can obtain a work permit?
14. Have you carried out any volunteer work in the UK?
 - f. *If yes, how found work and what type*

g. How useful was this work experience

15. Have you ever done any paid work in the UK?

If draw out positive answer, then to explore carefully and sensitively given that may have worked in informal economy without documents

16. How have you looked for work in the UK?

h. Probe around methods – recruitment agencies, community links

17. What type of work have you done in the UK? Why?

i. Types of occupations and industry

18. How have you been recruited for work?

j. How taken on for jobs

19. What terms and conditions have you been employed under?

k. What levels of pay

l. What hours/shifts worked

20. How well do you feel you have been treated at work?

m. Probe around whether any problems with employer or co-workers

n. Differences in how treated compared with local residents i.e. possible discrimination

F. TRAINING AND SUPPORT SERVICES IN HARINGEY

21. What education training and support services have you used in Haringey?

o. Ask specifically about ESOL, education, job brokerage

22. How did you hear about these services initially? What has helped or hindered you to access them?

23. How satisfied were you with these services?

p. Probe around what helped and what did not help

q. Difficulties in accessing services

G. GENERAL VIEWS AND FUTURE PLANS

24. In general, what barriers to employment, skills and training have you faced? What rights do you think asylum seekers should have?

r. Return to issues raised earlier and explore how could be addressed

25. How do you feel society in general views asylum seekers in the UK?

s. Explore possible discrimination

26. What further support and information do you think asylum seekers need in Haringey?

27. What are your plans for the future? How long do you intend to stay in Haringey?

5. Topic Guide for Focus Groups (Somali Group example)

A. Why has a Somali community grown in this part of London? How has the community developed over the years?

- *By way of introduction, may want to say that you are new to area – ask them to give you a first impression of how life is for people here*
- Reasons why Somalis settled here
- Development of Somali-run shops, services, community organisations

B. To what extent have Somali people in Haringey been able to use their skills and experience to better their lives and the wider community?

- Opportunities and barriers to progress
- Reasons why some have succeeded and others not
- Why experience differ from other communities

C. How do Somali people look for and find work normally? What problems do they sometimes have?

- *May ask specific individuals how they have looked for work, what work they do*
- Methods of finding work
- Types of jobs
- Barriers to finding work
- Feelings whether treated differently i.e. discrimination

D. How do unemployed Somali people support themselves? What would help them to develop skills and find work?

- *May add that Somali community in general believed to have a relatively high level of unemployment, why is this and what can be done to help?*
- Access to benefits and support
- How services that may help better
- How businesses could employ more people

E. How accessible is training and education for Somali people? How can younger and older develop skills?

- *May ask individuals about what courses they have taken and what opinion of them*
 - ESOL
 - further education
 - job brokerage
- *Could add that believe that younger Somalis often struggling with education, ask why and what else necessary*
- How helpful/useful
- What further services necessary and who should deliver them

F. How are Somali people generally able to obtain information about different services, such as health and housing? What more could the Council Neighbourhood Team do?

- Where go for information – whether translated, clear etc

- *May need to explain that Council Neighbourhood Team is looking to signpost people better to essential information and services*

G. How do you think the Somali community can develop in the future? What are the opportunities and barriers?

- What general barriers to integration while maintaining culture
- How views of employers and society in general effect
- What more could government bodies do

FINAL QUESTION – IF YOU WERE THE LEADER OF THE COUNCIL, WHAT WOULD YOU SAY WAS THE MOST IMPORTANT ACTION TO TAKE TO SUPPORT THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOMALI COMMUNITY?