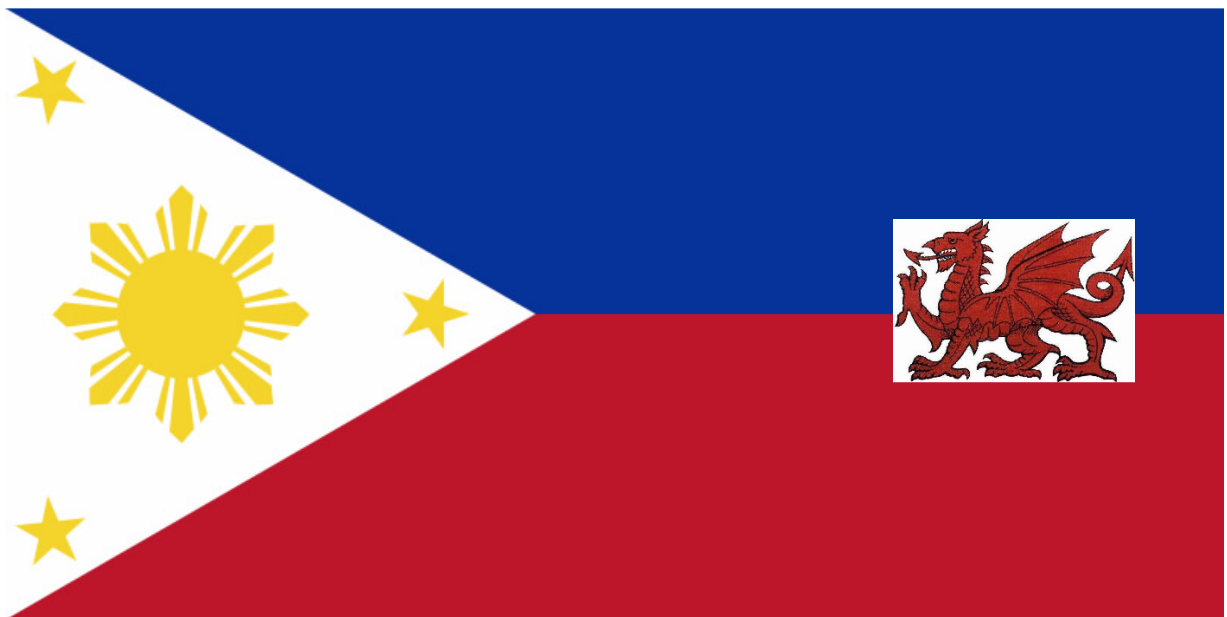


# Filipino workers in Neath Port Talbot

by Victoria Winckler

Foreword by Hywel Francis MP



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# Foreword

My constituency of Aberavon has historically received people from other countries who have made a major contribution to the local economy and to the social, cultural and religious life of the community. Most notably, a sizeable Irish community has existed for over a hundred years and is still very evident by the names of schools, churches, clubs, dance groups and indeed the names of families in the local population.



In more recent times, the Bangladeshi community has also made a positive contribution, mainly in the catering trade but also its successful Port Talbot Tigers Football Club which has done so much to bring together young people of different cultural, ethnic and religious backgrounds.

Most recent of all, the Filipino community has come in to being. I have had the privilege of attending some of their cultural and sporting festivals and I have always been made most welcome. The Filipinos have made a positive contribution to the local economy by providing hard working and committed professionals mainly in our health and social services.

The purpose of this research is to recognise, put it into the wider national and international context and identify the challenges still faced by our new arrivals, many of whom have now become fellow citizens.

I would like to thank the Bevan Foundation for undertaking this work on my behalf and I trust it will contribute to a better understanding of our diverse and vibrant local community.

Hywel Francis

**MP for Aberavon**

## **1. Introduction**

Immigration to the UK is a controversial issue, with many allegations and counter allegations made about the number, status and motivations of those who come to work here. Most of the studies of migrant workers undertaken to date have focused on workers from Eastern Europe, particularly the EU Accession countries. Significant though these migrants are, they are by no means the only workers to come to the UK to find employment.

Arrangements for workers to come to the UK from non-European Economic Area countries have been in place for many years. Indeed, successive UK governments have often actively encouraged recruitment from certain countries and entered agreements with the government of specific countries of origin. The Philippines have been one such country, yet the immigration of Filipinos to the UK has received very little attention.<sup>1</sup>

This small scale study considers the recruitment, employment and integration of Filipino workers in one local authority area in Wales, Neath Port Talbot. It involved interviews with six Filipinos, two employers, and three staff from local bodies (the local authority, Job Centre Plus, and the further education college). Interviews were undertaken in December 2007 by an independent, freelance researcher.

The conclusions from such a small scale study are not necessarily representative of the wider Filipino community in Neath Port Talbot, let alone that of Wales, but nevertheless the findings are useful to understanding the nature of migration from non-EU countries to a small community.

The project was funded by Dr Hywel Francis, MP. However the conduct of the research and the preparation of the report were entirely independent, and do not necessarily reflect Dr Francis' views.

## **2. Emigration from the Philippines**

Since the 1970s, the Philippines have supplied workers, both skilled and unskilled, to developed countries on a large scale. Initially a response to the economic crisis in the Philippines and the demand for labour from Middle Eastern countries, the 'export' of workers has continued for decades. Over the years, the numbers of workers leaving the Philippines has steadily risen, to 933,588 in 2004.<sup>2</sup>

Migration from the Philippines is facilitated by the Philippines' government, which has set a target of deploying a million workers overseas every year. Such is the importance of migrants to the Philippine administration that it terms overseas Filipino workers 'the country's "modern-day heroes"' and celebrates Migrant Workers' Day.<sup>3</sup> It also provides a legal and administrative framework to support migration. The 1995 Migrant Workers and Overseas Filipinos Act sets out a framework of protection for migrant workers, which

includes support for Filipino workers overseas, stiff penalties for illegal recruitment activity and help for victims of illegal recruitment. However the Act has been criticised by some non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and church groups as being insufficient.

In addition, three government agencies facilitate migration. One (the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration - POEA) processes workers' contracts and pre-deployment checks and regulates private recruitment agencies; another (Overseas Workers Welfare Administration - OWWA) provides support and assistance to migrants and their families whilst abroad, whilst a third agency (the Commission on Filipinos Overseas – CFO) provides programs and services to permanent emigrants.

Health care has been a particularly important sector for migrant workers. According to a recent study, the Philippines is 'one of the top exporters of health personnel in the world'<sup>4</sup> whilst the ILO comments that the Philippines is the largest source of registered nurses working overseas.<sup>5</sup> The scale of health worker migration has been driven by the large number of schools of nursing in the Philippines – in 1998 there were 198 schools producing 300,000 registered nurses, 70 per cent of whom worked elsewhere.<sup>6</sup>

The impact of migration on the Philippines is substantial. Approximately one in ten of the population lived and / or worked elsewhere (some 8.1 million people), in 2004.<sup>7</sup> Unusually, women migrants outnumber men, both as permanent and temporary migrants. In 2000, 70 per cent of Philippine migrants were female, in large part because of the dominance of the health and care sector.<sup>8</sup>

Remittances – money sent by migrants to their families – have become a central part of the Philippines economy. In 2004, an estimated 8.5 billion US dollars was remitted via banks, and was used mostly to help families to meet their basic living costs.

Large scale migration has not been without some concerns, which include the welfare of migrant workers themselves, the destabilising effect of migration on families, and the lack of benefit to the development to the Philippine economy.

### **3. Immigration to the UK**

In global terms, the UK is not particularly prominent as a destination for Filipino migrants, with by far the most important destinations being Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates which together accounted for almost half (44.3 per cent) of Filipino migrants in 2007.<sup>9</sup> The Philippine government estimates that only 2.4 per cent of migrants from the Philippines enter the UK.<sup>10</sup>

## **Entry to the UK**

Entry into the UK from the Philippines in order to work is, like other non-EU migration to the UK, tightly regulated. Until 2008, the principal route of entry to UK employment was a work permit. Work permits were only applied for and obtained by employers on behalf of the foreign worker they wished to employ, having demonstrated that they had advertised widely for the post and that there were no suitable resident workers to fill the vacancy (or that it was a 'shortage occupation'), that the post required highly skilled workers and that the pay and conditions were commensurate with those of a UK worker in an equivalent position.<sup>11</sup> Work permits were specific to the job for which they were granted and were issued for a fixed period but could be extended if required. After five years, migrants could apply for 'residency'.

The immigration system changed during 2008 to a points based system and different categories of worker. 'Sponsored skilled workers' are defined as 'people coming to the United Kingdom with a skilled job offer to fill a gap in the workforce that cannot be filled by a settled worker'. Applicants are then awarded points based on their attributes (i.e. qualifications, future expected earnings, and occupation), sponsorship, English language skills, and available maintenance (i.e. funds). Non-EU migrant workers who are already in the UK with a work permit may apply for 'leave to remain', but they must meet the new criteria. The maximum period for which permission is granted to stay is five years.

The points system is constructed in such a way that working in a shortage occupation is virtually the only way in which an applicant can score sufficient points to be eligible for entry to the UK. The list of designated shortage occupations was set out following a detailed analysis of the UK labour market,<sup>12</sup> and is much narrower and more specific than the previous definition of shortage occupations. For example, only specific types of nurse and skilled, senior care workers (defined as those earning more than £8.80 an hour) are classed as shortage occupations (see Table 1) whereas almost all nursing and caring jobs were shortage occupations under the previous system.

**Table 1 List of Shortage Occupations in Health and Care 2008**

<p><b>Medical and Dental practitioners</b></p>	<p>Consultants in:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• psychiatry;</li> <li>• anaesthetics;</li> <li>• intensive care;</li> <li>• chemical pathology;</li> <li>• clinical neurophysiology;</li> <li>• clinical oncology,</li> <li>• dermatology,</li> <li>• genito-urinary medicine,</li> <li>• haematology,</li> <li>• immunology,</li> <li>• neurology,</li> <li>• occupational medicine,</li> <li>• oral and maxillo-facial surgery,</li> <li>• orthodontics,</li> <li>• paediatrics,</li> <li>• paediatric dentistry,</li> <li>• plastic surgery,</li> <li>• renal medicine.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Nurses</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Registered nurse employed or engaged at band 7 or 8 of the Agenda for Change scale or their independent sector equivalents;</li> <li>Registered nurse at band 5 or above employed or engaged in the following specialties:</li> <li>• operating theatre nurse,</li> <li>• anaesthetic nurse,</li> <li>• operating department practitioner,</li> <li>• scrub nurse,</li> <li>• theatre nurse,</li> <li>• critical care nurse.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Care Assistants and Home Carers</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• skilled senior care worker</li> </ul> <p>‘Skilled’ requires that the individual is earning at least £8.80 per hour after deductions for accommodation, meals, etc. OR there is a requirement for senior care workers to be qualified at National Qualifications Framework level 3 or above.</p>
<p><b>Other health professionals</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• audiological scientist;</li> <li>• band 6 and above biomedical scientist;</li> <li>• state registered scientist in cytogenetics;</li> <li>• clinical psychologist;</li> <li>• pharmacist;</li> <li>• ultrasonographer;</li> <li>• HPC registered radiographer;</li> <li>• pharmacy technician;</li> <li>• audiologist;</li> <li>• occupational therapist engaged at band 7 or 8 of the Agenda for Change scale or their independent sector equivalents;</li> <li>• speech and language therapist employed or engaged at band 7 or 8 or their independent sector equivalents;</li> <li>• orthoptist;</li> <li>• band 7 dietician.</li> </ul>

Source: Migration Advisory Committee (2008)

As a result of the changes (as well as changes in the supply of UK workers), many fewer workers from the Philippines are likely to enter the UK in the future, whilst those currently in the UK in non-shortage occupations are most unlikely to be granted leave to remain when their current work permit expires. UNISON has estimated that as many as 10,000 Filipino workers could be forced to leave the UK as a result of the changes<sup>13</sup> and there have also been media reports of Filipino workers being forced to leave.<sup>14</sup>

### ***In-migration trends***

The first wave of migration from the Philippines began in the 1970s to meet the shortage of workers in the UK during that period. However, the most significant increase in in-migration occurred in the second half of the 1990s: in 1995, just 66 work permits were issued but by 2000 the number of permits had risen to 6,772. Migration has since declined considerably, and stood at 4,650 in 2005.<sup>15</sup> As well as entering the UK via work permits, some Filipinos enter as students or visitors, via marriage bureaux, or as domestic servants accompanying their employers.

Recruitment by the UK's health and care sectors has driven much of Filipino immigration. UK employers in public and private sectors alike have actively sought labour from the Philippines following the expansion of NHS medical and nursing staff from the late 1990s onwards.<sup>16</sup> International recruitment to the NHS has been codified in various guidelines: the first were issued in 1999, followed by a 'Code of Practice of International Recruitment for NHS employers' issued in 2001 and then updated in 2004. These guidelines permitted recruitment only where there were bi-lateral agreements between governments, with only India, China and the Philippines having such agreements in place. Such was the UK's enthusiasm to recruit Filipino staff that the UK Department for Health established regional international recruitment organisers, a dedicated recruitment website, and provided funding to visit the Philippines for NHS employers.

The influx of Filipino workers into health care is clearly evident from the statistics. Of the 4,650 work permits issued to Philippine nationals between 2000 and 2004, 70.8 per cent were for 'health and social welfare associate professions' and a further 14.6 per cent were for 'caring personal service occupations'.<sup>17</sup> Filipinos accounted for 17.6 per cent of all work permits issued to health and social welfare associate professions and 26.5 per cent of permits issued to caring personal service occupations during this period.<sup>18</sup>

The trends in work permits are reflected in registrations with the Nursing and Midwifery Council. Table 2 shows that the numbers of Filipinos registering peaked in 2002, when they accounted for almost half of new registrations, before declining to just 673 registrations (13.9 per cent of the total).<sup>19</sup>



**Table 2 Philippines Trained Nurses Registered per year 1999 - 2007**

	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Philippines	52	1,052	3,396	7,235	5,593	4,338	2,521	1,541	673
Total non-EEA registrations	3621	5945	8403	15,064	12,730	14,122	11,477	8,709	4,830
<b>Percentage Philippine trained</b>	<b>1.4</b>	<b>17.7</b>	<b>40.4</b>	<b>48.0</b>	<b>43.9</b>	<b>30.7</b>	<b>22.0</b>	<b>17.7</b>	<b>13.9</b>

Source: Bach (2008) p. 27

Further evidence of the impact of active recruitment to health occupations comes in a survey of Filipino nurses working in London.<sup>20</sup> Nearly all had been recruited by agencies, and nearly three-quarters had had to pay the agency for at least some of their services (e.g. travel to London, securing a visa).

### ***The UK Filipino Population***

The total number of Filipinos in the UK is not clear. The Philippines government estimates that in 2007 there were 203,035 Filipinos in the UK.<sup>21</sup> However the UK's Annual Population Survey makes a very much lower estimate of 99,000 Philippine-born people resident in the UK in 2007-08. Although this estimate is lower than that of the Philippine government, Filipinos are nevertheless the 16<sup>th</sup> most common non-UK born residents of the UK.<sup>22</sup>

Because of the emphasis on nursing and caring occupations, which are typically filled by women, a very high proportion of Filipino migrant workers are female. It is estimated that three-quarters (4,202) of Filipino migrant workers in the UK in 2001 were women.<sup>23</sup>

There are few figures on the number of Filipinos in Wales. The only source is data on the allocation of National Insurance numbers. These suggest that 2,630 National Insurance numbers were allocated to adult Philippine nationals living in Wales between January 2002 and June 2008. This is just under 5 per cent of the total number allocated in the UK as a whole. However, some of those allocated NI numbers may have since left the country, whilst there may be other Filipinos living in Wales but without an NI number because they are not working, e.g. accompanying a spouse.

## **4. Filipinos in Neath Port Talbot**

Neath Port Talbot is not noted as a destination for migrant workers. It has one of the lowest proportions of migrant workers from EU accession countries in Wales,<sup>24</sup> and even when migrants from other parts of the world are included there were only 1,000 National Insurance number registrations to foreign nationals in the borough in the period 2002 – 2008. Only Torfaen, Anglesey

and Blaenau Gwent had fewer NI registrations. The statistics suggest an even smaller number of Filipinos in Neath Port Talbot – just 70 are recorded in the National Insurance statistics. This may be because the workers were allocated their NI numbers when recruited by an agency and are therefore recorded at the agency's location.

Officials at Neath Port Talbot County Borough Council and Job Centre Plus confirmed that there are few migrant workers in the area, and cited only a small number of employers who they believed employed migrants, principally from Poland. There seemed to be relatively little awareness of Filipino workers in the area.

### ***Recruitment***

Two local employers which do employ workers from the Philippines are a care home and the NHS trust. The NHS Trust estimated that it employed a total of approximately 200 Filipinos, because at the time it simply could not fill nursing vacancies. Most Filipinos were recruited directly from the Philippines, in four cohorts each of about 30 nurses. The Trust favoured the Philippines as a recruitment area because of the good level of English skills of Filipinos and because the standards of nursing offered were assured by the Nursing and Midwifery Council, as well as falling within the Department for Health Code. The Trust contracted with a recruitment agency with experience in the area, with Trust personnel actually undertaking the selection of nurses. The nurses were appointed to 2 year, fixed term contracts following completion of an adaptation course.

The care home, in contrast, employed 15 Filipino staff out of a total of 70, but had not directly recruited any of them. Instead, they had attracted nurses who had not completed their British adaptation courses and so were employed as senior care workers, or had recruited Filipino men who had accompanied their wives coming to the UK to work as nurses.

'We haven't gone over [to the Philippines] with a shopping list, they just applied, word of mouth. The NHS did. The first Filipinos [came] about 3 years ago.

*Care home manager*

The care home did not use recruitment agencies, either in Britain or abroad, and instead relied on the local job centre (about which they were very complimentary).

Both the NHS Trust and care home recognised that there were cultural differences between the UK and Philippines, e.g. in some aspects of nursing practice (such as the feeding, washing and dressing of patients) as well as nuances of language. NHS nurses undergo a period of 3 – 4 months adaptation training, before they can register as nurses and take up a post. The care home also organised a period of adaptation, with a large handbook and mentoring for new recruits.

Of the six Filipinos interviewed, one male had been recruited directly by the NHS, three males had accompanied their wives who had been directly recruited to NHS posts outside Wales and had since taken up posts at NHS hospitals in Neath Port Talbot, and two females had entered the UK with British husbands.

A high proportion of Filipino staff had stayed in their posts. The care home manager noted that there was very little turnover of Filipino staff, although there were some issues about sickness absences because of stress or personal circumstances (although the respondent noted that this was also the case with UK-born workers).

The Filipinos have all stayed, apart from two senior carers who wanted to do their adaptation. We don't have a big turnover.  
*Care home manager.*

The NHS Trust stated that only 5 per cent of their Filipino staff had subsequently left the Trust, a high retention rate.

As the NHS now has sufficient nurses in post, it no longer actively recruits from overseas.

### ***Terms and Conditions***

The employers and employees interviewed all stressed that Filipino workers had the same terms and conditions as UK workers – indeed this requirement is a part of the UK – Philippines Code. But even though on a par with UK residents, pay rates for some care workers is low – typically at or slightly above the National Minimum Wage. British workers are able to 'top up' their incomes through certain benefits such as Working Tax Credits and Housing Benefit (if they are eligible). However migrant workers are not entitled to receive public funding, including benefits, and agree to this on entry to the UK, so low pay particularly impacts on them.

It's quite hard. You have to be patient. The pay is a bit lower for minorities like us. We don't have any family tax credits and benefits to supplement the low wages. [We have the] same wages as the co-Welsh workers.

*Care home worker (male)*

The first four years in a country are really hard. We both work full time around our kids. We don't have any access to benefits but pay full tax, but don't have access to child tax credit, we don't have anything in return for paying full tax.

*Male, care home*

Two of the male workers interviewed reported that they maximised their household incomes by working long hours, as did their wives. Both alternated shifts with their spouses, one spouse working days and one spouse working nights.

### ***Experience at Work***

Both the employers interviewed held their Filipino workers in high regard. The care home manager commented on the willingness of the Filipino staff to work hard and to learn, and felt that they had a culture of caring and patience.

The Filipinos are willing to work and learn. They will learn anything, and they're enthusiastic about it as well, they're just happy to be here. It's so refreshing. ... They'll do anything and work any hours just to earn a wage to support their families.

Care home manager

Our colleagues accepted them well, were glad to have enough staff and welcomed them into the team

NHS employer

On the whole, the Philippine workers interviewed were also happy in their jobs. They regarded their treatment as 'fair', and one commented that she was 'lucky' to have her job and that her employer was flexible.

They are treating us fairly.

*Care home worker (male)*

In my case I'm quite lucky as I'm on par with my colleagues. My employers are very much an equal employer really.

*Nurse (male)*

In terms of negative comments, one interviewee who worked at the care home felt that there was sometimes friction over the allocation of duties at work, but that this was not a major issue. Two others were disappointed that Filipinos' experience in the Philippines was not taken into account in the UK, and that they were therefore appointed at basic grades. One was a qualified teacher and also held a masters degree, but her degree had not been held to be comparable and consequently she had not even been able to secure a teaching assistant post. She had found a job as a care worker.

I've worked as a care assistant since April and that was my first job. When I came here I applied for an office or a teaching job, but I couldn't get one, so I got a job as a care assistant in a care home. I worked as a teacher in the Philippines, but here I can't get this type of work because my qualifications aren't recognised.

Another had also been a teacher in the Philippines and was a care worker in the care home when he discovered that his degree was not comparable with UK qualifications.

One Filipino worker felt that he had not progressed as quickly as UK workers. However, the NHS Trust pointed to the rapid progression of some of the Filipino intake, including one who had become a ward manager.

The only thing I've noticed is that if I apply for promotion it takes a long time, they might say that there's someone else there before me, it's seniority. But I think to myself I'm willing to do the job and she's not applying so why can't I have it, I'm willing to push myself.

*Nurse (male)*

The Filipinos interviewed reported a small number of minor incidents of racial tension or abuse at work. The nurse and the care home manager interviewed both referred to abuse being an integral part of their work: all the staff, irrespective of their ethnicity, were verbally abused.

If you work in the dementia house upstairs you could be kicked, punched, poo-ed on wee-ed on ... We all get called a lot of names, but the overseas staff get called worse names.

*Care home manager*

### ***Trade Union membership***

Several of those interviewed were members of a trade union, not least because union membership is the norm in the NHS whilst at the care home the manager was a former union shop steward and had encouraged the workers to join. The interviewees did not offer any views about unions, positive or negative.

### ***Training***

Training emerged as an area of particular concern. The workers and employers alike were keen for their staff to undertake training, whether of additional language skills or job-related training (e.g. NVQs). Unfortunately, there seemed to be a great deal of confusion about whether Filipinos were entitled to receive free training because of the restriction on the receipt of public funding. Not only was lack of access to training a cause for concern because it hindered their access to or progression within a job in the UK, but it also affected their ability to find alternative work if they returned to the Philippines in future.

### ***Integration with the community***

A mixed picture emerged on the extent to which the Filipinos were integrated into the local community.

In terms of housing, all those interviewed had bought a house or flat in the area. Relationships with neighbours were varied, from one Filipino who reported that his neighbours were friendly and often offered him freshly caught fish (a Filipino favourite) to another who said that because of difficulties such as abuse and noise they were trying to sell their flat.

When I was washing the car [the neighbour] said to me “talk in English, talk in English”. ... On one occasion the neighbour said she had a gun.  
*Male, care home*

This latter experience of racism was the only one mentioned, although racism was said to have been much worse 15 or 20 years ago.

Discrimination was really bad about 10 years ago. ... Now it's 75% better. There's a little discrimination but it's minimal.  
*Female, self employed*

Slowly but surely the general public are becoming more aware, and the barriers are coming down, because there's so many of them. They're such nice people, happy and smiley.  
*Care home manager*

Those who had children sent them to the local school or nursery and were generally very happy with their child's education and integration with their peers. One Filipino described how well his child had settled in school and was invited to birthday parties and other activities. Another child was growing up unable to speak their family's Philippine dialect, which was a source of disappointment to their families.

However, there was little evidence of Filipino workers socialising with the local community. Most of those we interviewed reported that they had little leisure time, and that they preferred to spend what time free they had with their family. If they did socialise, they mainly sought the company of other Filipinos, including one of the local Filipino groups. The groups meet regularly and provide a range of different activities from day trips to social events.

### ***Long term plans***

Two of the six Filipinos interviewed were married to UK citizens and were already long term UK residents. All of the other four said they would like to stay in the UK either until they retired or until their child was an adult.

My long term plans are to stay as I have two kids here who have basically grown up here in this culture, and I have to basically wait until they can fend for themselves.  
*Nurse, male*

We plan to stay here to work and make money for the benefit of our child.  
*Male, care home*

Complying with the UK's requirements for permission to stay was costly, as visas, residency applications and citizenship exams all had to be paid for. The care home manager commented:

They pay their taxes but don't get anything in return. They get education and can go to college like anyone else. They have to pay to be here. They have to pay for a visa for their children when they're born, then they have to pay to be a resident, and they have to pay for the residency exam, then they have to pay to be a citizen.

She felt that the arrangements were unfair as they had been invited to come to the UK to work:

If you invite people in you have to be fair. I don't know what can be done.

It is not clear what the impact of the new arrangements for entering and remaining in the UK will have on Filipinos plans.

## **5. Conclusions**

This small scale study has highlighted the experiences of Filipino migrants in Neath Port Talbot. It demonstrates that migrant labour is present even in an area not stereotypically associated with in-migration, and also demonstrates the role of employers seeking out recruits and facilitating their employment in the UK. A number of key points then emerge.

First, it is clear that in Neath Port Talbot, as elsewhere, people were actively brought from the Philippines to Wales in order to meet UK skill shortages. The regime governing their entry was already tight and is now even tighter.

Second, migrants working in the NHS and some of those working in care homes are employed on the same terms and conditions as UK workers, in contrast to the experiences of many migrant workers in other industries. Notwithstanding the long hours done by Filipino workers, their conditions appear to compare extremely favourably to their Polish counterparts, although there were some issues about access to benefits to top up wages, recognition of qualifications and previous experience, and access to training.

Third, the small Filipino community seems to be less than fully engaged in local life, not least because of work and family demands. Although all who entered the UK wished to settle and had made long term commitments through for example house purchase, the adults who had been in Wales only a few years had relatively little contact with Welsh people.

Lastly, there were, perhaps surprisingly, relatively few reports of racism or racist abuse, although reports of general abuse, endured by workers of all ethnic origins, were more common.

At the time of writing this report, the new points based immigration system had only been in place a matter of weeks. Although it has been lauded in

some quarters, the author of one of the analyses which underpins the new system is more cautious. Crucially, he asks:

‘what responsibilities does the UK have towards those health professionals that it has actively recruited in recent years?’<sup>25</sup>

He notes that Filipino (and other) health workers on the sharp end of the new policy often perceive the changes as ‘unfair and politically expedient’. These are very real issues for the Filipino workers who have made their homes in Neath Port Talbot, as well as for the employers who have come to appreciate their labour.



## END NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> A study at the Centre on Migration Policy and Society (COMPAS) at Oxford University began a major study of Filipino migration to the UK in 2004 but it has not reported its findings yet. See <http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/research/filipino%20study/home.shtml> for details.
- <sup>2</sup> Republic of the Philippines Department of Labor and Employment (2005) Eight million OFWs worldwide honored on Migrant Workers Day, Press Notice June 7<sup>th</sup>. Available at: <http://www.dole.gov.ph/news/details.asp?id=N000000574>
- <sup>3</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>4</sup> COMPAS (n.d.) *Investigating the Impact of Health Care Recruitment from the Philippines*, Research Briefing, available at <http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/publications/Briefings/Briefing-1206-Philippines.pdf> accessed 3rd December 2008
- <sup>5</sup> Stephen Bach (2003) *Migrant health workers: Is one country's gain another's pain?* Available at: [http://www.ilo.org/global/About\\_the\\_ILO/Media\\_and\\_public\\_information/Feature\\_stories/lang--en/WCMS\\_075617/index.htm](http://www.ilo.org/global/About_the_ILO/Media_and_public_information/Feature_stories/lang--en/WCMS_075617/index.htm) accessed 3rd December 2008
- <sup>6</sup> Ibid.
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