

Making the City Work: Low Paid Employment in London

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- The research team interviewed 341 low paid workers in four sectors of the London economy: contract cleaning on the London Underground and in offices and other services; hospitality work; home care; and the food processing industry.
- Of 341 randomly selected low paid workers, an overwhelming 90% were migrants, a far higher proportion than has been found in previous research, and evidence of the very significant reliance of the London economy on migrant workers. Half were recent migrants having moved to the UK in the last 5 years.
- Half of the respondents were born in Sub-Saharan Africa (notably, Ghana and Nigeria), 13% in Latin America and 9% in Eastern Europe. A total of 56 countries of origin were recorded, evidence of the 'super diversity' that is a characteristic of London's migrant population. 92% of people had migrated directly to London, rather than other parts of the UK, underlining the importance of London as a major centre for migration.
- London's low paid migrant workers had experienced high levels of de-skilling and downward social mobility, with almost half (49%) having acquired tertiary level qualifications before moving to the UK. Nor were all migrants young, or at the start of their working lives, with almost half in their 30s or older.
- Although the search for work was the single most common reason for moving to the UK, a quarter moved to be with family, or to join friends and acquaintances, suggesting a process of 'chain migration'. For many, the UK was the most attractive destination because of its reputation as a tolerant and multicultural society.
- Levels of pay were extremely low, with 90% of workers earning less than the Greater London Authority's Living Wage for London (£6.70 an hour). Average earnings were just £5.45 an hour - the equivalent of an average annual salary of £10,200 a year before tax and National Insurance. This is less than half the national average annual salary (£22,411) and less than one third of average earnings in London (£30,984).
- People's conditions of employment were extremely poor. Over half the respondents worked unsociable hours (the early, late or nightshift), with two-fifths working overtime in an effort to increase their earnings. Three quarters of those working overtime were paid the same rate as for their other work.
- Only a minority of workers received benefits. Three-fifths of workers received no maternity or paternity leave from their employers, half had no annual pay rise and a third had never had a pay rise. Half of all workers lost pay for taking time off for emergencies, and just over half (52%) did not receive sick pay. As many as 67% of respondents received only the statutory minimum number, or fewer, of paid holiday days. Over two thirds (70%) had no access to a company pension scheme.

- Extremely high levels of turnover were in evidence in London's low paid job market with two-fifths of workers having been with their current employer for 12 months or less.
- In contrast to the image of migrant workers as 'benefit scroungers' and working 'off the books', 94% of people paid tax and National Insurance, whilst fewer than 1 in 5 (16%) claimed any kind of state benefits (Working Tax Credits, Child Benefit etc).
- Contrary to stereotypes of lone male migrant workers, the majority of people lived with other members of their family - whether partners, parents or children. A third were responsible for dependent children (children under the age of 16) in the UK. A third also had dependants living abroad, and two thirds regularly sent money overseas.
- In half of the worker's households, other members also worked, suggesting that more than one salary was needed to survive in London. In most cases, the second earner also worked in low paid service work.
- London's low paid labour market is clearly segmented by ethnicity and gender. Although almost half (47%) of those interviewed were women, men and women often did quite different jobs. Typically, women worked in 'semi-private' spaces such as hotels, and in the case of care work, the houses of clients, whilst men worked in 'semi-public' spaces such as office cleaning or on the Underground.
- Different parts of London's low paid economy are dominated by particular migrant groups in terms of nationality and region. Over half of those employed as contract cleaners on London Underground were from Ghana or Nigeria (58%), with a quarter employed in office cleaning from Latin America (26%), and just over a quarter of those employed in hotel and hospitality work from Eastern Europe (27%).
- Such concentrations seem to be at least partly the result of strong migrant networks. Nearly two thirds of people had found their current job through friends and family.
- The highest rates of pay and best conditions of work were found in the home care sector. The lowest rates of pay were in London's hotel and catering industry.
- The research indicates that there is an increasing trend towards subcontracted employment in the low paid economy. This increases the costs borne by those doing the work as workers who remain or used to be 'in house' have better pay and conditions than those taken on directly by subcontracted service providers.
- There is an urgent need for public and private organisations to take responsibility for their employees' conditions of work.

SECTION 1

Introduction: Low paid work in London

This report is about the low paid workers who keep London ‘working’: the city’s cleaners, hotel workers, and care assistants. Such workers provide vital services. Without them, London would grind to a halt. Yet very little is known about the people who do such jobs, or about the conditions in which they work. For example, London’s Underground system relies on the labour of thousands of people who clean the trains each night ready for the morning rush hour. In every top West End hotel an army of cleaners, porters, kitchen staff and maids ensure the smooth and efficient service for which such hotels are famed. Although vital to the continued functioning of London’s economy, these workers are rarely seen by the public or the customers who take such services for granted.

Recent research by the Greater London Authority reveals that 1 in 7 of London’s workers earns less than £5.80 an hour. As well as low wages, such workers often endure extremely poor conditions of employment, working long or unsociable hours and without the benefits that many take for granted: access to a pension scheme, sick pay or maternity leave. These are London’s ‘working poor’. Although unemployment remains the single most important cause of poverty in the capital, as many as 37% of the children living in poverty in London reside in households where at least one person works (GLA, 2002: 23).

A very significant proportion of London’s working poor are migrants. The number of people coming to London from overseas has increased rapidly in recent years such that the city is now home to a little over 2 million people born outside the UK. Taken as a whole, migrants account for 35% of London’s population and 29% of its working age population. Especially striking is the high proportion of recent migrants (45% of the total number of migrants) who have arrived in the city since 1990 (Spence, 2005).

People from different countries fare differently in London’s labour market. Broadly speaking, people coming to London from high-income countries are more likely than those born in Britain to work in professional and managerial occupations. For example, around a third (36%) of migrants from Japan, and a little under a quarter (23.1%) of migrants from Germany are employed in managerial positions: far higher than the figure for British born Londoners (17.6%). At the other end of the spectrum, people coming to London from the Global South are much more likely to find only low paid work (although migrants from countries like India and South Africa may end up at either end of the occupational spectrum) (*ibid.*).

Migrants make up a disproportionate number of London’s low paid workers and as many as 46% of all of London’s ‘elementary’ jobs (labourers, postal workers, catering staff and cleaners) are filled by migrants. People from Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, Eastern Europe and South Asia often find it especially hard to secure well-paid work, even if arriving in the UK with good skills and qualifications. For example, a significant proportion of working age migrants who currently live and work in London but were born in Ghana (50.3%), Ecuador (59.5%), Serbia and Montenegro (45.6%) and Bangladesh (45.2%) are found in the lowest paid occupational groupings. This includes jobs in personal services, sales and customer

services, processing and plant operatives, and elementary occupations. These figures are particularly striking when compared with the much lower proportion of British born Londoners in these jobs (24.8%). Specific migrant groups also concentrate in particular occupations at the bottom end of the labour market. For example, 40.5% of working age people born in Slovakia now living in London work in personal service occupations (as nursery nurses, housekeepers and care assistants) and 23.2% of people from Ghana and 38.9% of people from Ecuador are found in elementary occupations (many working as cleaners) (*ibid.*).

The British media often paint a very negative picture of London's migrants, constructing them as 'benefit scroungers'. The reality couldn't be more different. Migrants take on the jobs that keep London 'working'. Crucially, despite having to pay tax and National Insurance, many are in fact ineligible for Income Support or Unemployment Benefit. Nor are they always able to claim the 'top up' benefits designed to supplement the wages of low paid workers and 'make work pay' (for example, Working Tax Credits).

In a bid to improve the pay and conditions of London's low paid, including migrant workers, the East London Communities Organisation (now part of London Citizens) launched its Living Wage Campaign in 2001. The campaign has secured major improvements in the terms and conditions of contracted workers employed at a number of East London hospitals and some financial companies in Canary Wharf. The campaign has involved the unionisation of more than a thousand low paid workers, the identification and development of new leaders, and increased the political profile of this neglected group (see Wills, 2004). Responding to the campaign, the Mayor of London has recently set up a Living Wage Unit at the Greater London Authority. Recognising the very high cost of living in London, the Unit has called for the introduction of a 'Living Wage' of £6.70 an hour: some way above the National Minimum Wage of £5.05 (GLA, 2005). The GLA estimates that 1 in 5 workers (400,000 full-time and 300,000 part-time workers) in the capital continue to earn less than the Living Wage (GLA, 2005).

The research discussed here was conceived by London Citizens as part of their Living Wage Campaign but was designed and managed by the Global Cities at Work research team at Queen Mary, University of London. A questionnaire survey was used to explore the pay and conditions, background and experiences of 341 low paid workers in four sectors that are vital to the functioning of the London economy and known to employ high numbers of low paid workers: contract cleaning; hospitality and catering; home care; and the food processing industry (see Appendix 1). As a result of the research, London Citizens is now endeavouring to extend its Living Wage Campaign and improve the pay and conditions of at least some of the workers whose experiences are outlined in this report.

The report is organised in three parts. After describing our methodology in the rest of Section 1, we go on to outline the key findings of the questionnaire survey, reporting on the experiences of all 341 workers. In Section 3 we offer more detailed profiles of work in three sectors: contract cleaning (divided between those cleaning London's offices, and those cleaning London's Underground); hospitality; and home care.

Methodology

As low paid migrant workers, the respondents represented a ‘hard to reach population’. Access to workers was facilitated by trade union representatives and, in some cases, known workers were contacted as a means to then snowball to other respondents. In addition, it was possible to ‘cold-call’ some workers outside their places of work. For example, respondents working on the Underground were approached at work in over 40 stations as well as at one line depot in North London. For the other sectors, respondents were approached at or near their workplaces or employment agencies, whilst others completed the questionnaire in agreed locations, such as cafes, outside working hours. Within the home care sector, some questionnaires were conducted by telephone and, in one instance, through self completion in a focus group.

The vast majority of these interviews were face-to-face and interviewers sought to gather the required data through a genuine discussion with respondents. Most of the interviewers were fluent in languages other than English, including Polish, Spanish and French and this proved vital in accessing and communicating with the respondents. Using a questionnaire, interviewers collected data outlining the pay, conditions, household circumstances, migration histories and experiences of 341 low paid workers (see Appendix 1). Some open ended questions were included to capture the respondents’ attitudes and feelings towards their employment and the interviewers also kept a diary of fieldwork notes to record any comments made by the respondents. The questionnaire was compiled by the research team at Queen Mary, University of London, vetted by London Citizens and the interview team, and then piloted prior to the start of the survey.

The distribution of the population surveyed by sector is shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Sample of Respondents by Sector

Employment Sector	No	%
Cleaning and other services ¹	129	37.8
Underground (cleaning)	81	23.8
Care Work	59	17.3
Hotel and Hospitality ²	58	17.0
Food Processing	14	4.1
Total	341	100

¹ In the category ‘cleaning and other services’ office cleaners were the most significant group. Porters, waste operatives and service assistants employed as subcontracted labour in hospitals in South London made up a considerable proportion of the workers in ‘other services’.

² The sector comprised a variety of job types. Chambermaids/housekeepers accounted for about half of all workers. Chefs and cleaners (14%) and caterers (5%) made up other clearly defined positions, whilst a great diversity of job types (e.g. electricians and decorators working in hotels) accounted for nearly one third of all jobs.

The largest proportion of respondents worked in general office cleaning and other services. Cleaners with the Underground constituted the second largest share, followed by a nearly equal proportion of care workers and workers in hotel and hospitality. Workers in food processing made up the smallest share of the whole sample. Research here is in its early stages and we are not yet in a position to provide a sectoral overview of working conditions in the food processing sector.

The questionnaire data was processed using SPSS. Field notes and quotes were handled separately, and where cited here, the names of respondents have been changed in order to protect anonymity.

SECTION 2: KEY FINDINGS

Part 1: London's low paid workers

The research highlighted a number of key findings about the people employed in low paid work in London. Most notably, the vast majority of workers were migrants. Whilst earlier research has estimated that some 46% of London's 'elementary' jobs are filled by migrants (Spence, 2005), the current study suggests that the figure might in fact be far higher. Here, an overwhelming 90% of the low paid workers interviewed were born outside the UK, illustrating a very heavy reliance of this part of London's economy on migrant labour.

Furthermore, a significant proportion of these migrants were recent arrivals. This strongly suggests a hierarchy amongst migrants such that the most recent newcomers are concentrated in the lowest paid sectors of the labour market. One half of the respondents had arrived in the UK in the last five years (since 2001), while a further one-third (36%) migrated to the UK between 1991 and 2000. As such, three quarters of the workers had arrived in the UK in the last fifteen years. The overwhelming majority (92%) had migrated directly to London, rather than other parts of the UK, underlining the importance of London as an attractive location for migrant populations.

Country of birth has been noted as a key factor influencing labour market outcomes (GLA, 2005) and distinct patterns in relation to the migrants' country of origin and ethnicity emerged. As shown in Table 2, Africa was by far the most common region of origin with one half of the respondents originating from African countries. Nigerians and Ghanaians, who form the two largest African communities in the UK, represented the highest proportion of workers, with 18% of respondents originating from Nigeria and 16% from Ghana. Other significant groups were from Latin America and the Caribbean (14%) (such as Colombia, Brazil and Jamaica), Eastern Europe (10%) (such as Bulgaria, Poland and Lithuania), and Asia and South East Asia (6.5%) (such as Sri Lanka and Mauritius).

Table 2: Respondents' Region of Origin

Regions of Origin	No	%
Africa	169	50.1
Europe	65	19.3
Latin America and the Caribbean	46	13.6
Eastern Europe	32	9.5
Asia/South East Asia	22	6.5
Other	3	0.9
No response = 4	Total	337
		100
Nigeria	62	18
Ghana	55	16
Britain	34	10

Otherwise, people's countries of origin were extremely diverse, encompassing 56 different countries, providing evidence of the 'super diversity' that has recently been identified as a defining feature of London's migrant population (Vertovec, 2005).

With regards to ethnicity, the majority of respondents defined themselves as of Black Minority ethnic origin. Black Africans were the dominant ethnic group and accounted for over two-fifths of all workers (44%). White British workers made up only 8.5% of the sample, although there were other non-Irish white workers (20%), originating mainly in Eastern Europe. The remaining workers were spread across the ethnic spectrum and some 11% of workers chose the 'other' category, which included a variety of categories such as 'Hispanic.'

People's occupations were clearly influenced by gender and ethnicity, with specific ethnic groups being over represented in certain sectors. Most noticeably, Black Africans made up over three-quarters of the surveyed workforce in cleaning on the London Underground. They also represented the largest share of all workers in care work (44%) and in cleaning and other services (37%). Non British Whites, in turn, comprised two-fifths of surveyed workers in hotel and hospitality, and one-fifth of workers in cleaning and other services.

The sample of respondents was almost equally divided between men (53%) and women (47%). However, men and women often did quite different jobs, or at least worked in different places. Women typically worked in 'semi-private' spaces: that is, in hotels (with 58.5% of hotel workers being women), and in the case of care work, the houses of clients (81.5% of workers). In contrast, men were more likely to work in 'semi-public' spaces - such as cleaning in offices (with 70% of workers being men) or on the Underground (64% of workers).

Generally, respondents were fairly well educated. As a result, many had experienced de-skilling and downward social mobility on entering the British labour market. One half of all the workers interviewed had attended primary or secondary school, and 49% had acquired tertiary level qualifications. Of the latter, half held vocational or professional qualifications and half had academic qualifications. The respondents often expressed their frustration that they were unable to secure jobs that utilised their skills and some had considered gaining British qualifications to improve their position in the labour market. Despite these aims, they also stressed the restrictions that made this very difficult for them to achieve. Over half of respondents were in their 30s or older. Only a very small proportion (one-fifth) were students at the time of interview.

Part 2: Pay and conditions

Overall, the respondents reported very low rates of pay (Table 3). The majority of workers interviewed (more than 90%) were found to earn below the London Living Wage (£6.70/hr). Indeed, while representing a very small minority of the sample, a dozen workers reported that they earned below the National Minimum Wage (NMW, set at £4.85/hr at the time of the research), which is in breach of the law. One in every five workers earned the NMW.

The average earnings for the whole sample was £5.45 an hour. With respondents working on average 36 hours a week this translates into an average annual salary of just £10,200 a year *before* tax and National Insurance deductions. Such a figure is less than half the national average annual salary (£22,411) and less than a third of the London average annual salary (£30,984) (Guardian Unlimited, 2005).

Table 3: Respondents' Hourly Rates of Pay

Hourly Rate	No	%
< £4.85 ³	12	3.7
£4.85	65	19.9
Between £4.86 and £5.50	137	41.9
Between £5.51 and £6.69	84	25.7
£6.70 and over	29	8.9
No response = 14 Total	327	100

Despite a widespread perception that migrant workers often work 'informally' or 'off the books', the vast majority of respondents across all sectors reported formalised working relations. For example, the majority claimed they had formalised written work contracts (86%), paid tax and National Insurance (94%) and received pay slips from their employers (95%).

Previous research has shown that the poorest groups in Britain depend very heavily on means tested benefits (Berthoud, 1998). However, despite being on very low wages and paying tax and National Insurance, very few respondents actually claimed benefits to help supplement their income. Indeed, only a very small minority of workers or their partners (16%) claimed any kind of state benefits. Of those who did claim, over one quarter claimed Working Tax Credits, which are specifically designed to top up the earnings of working people on low earnings, including those without children.

The very low uptake of benefits may be attributed to legislation which currently makes it very difficult for migrant workers to claim these benefits. For instance,

³ Ten of those workers who earned below the National Minimum Wage worked in hospitality. The majority of these comprised chambermaids who were paid piece-rates of around £2 per cleaned room. According to them, the pay rate was based on the management's assumption that two rooms can be cleaned in one hour, on average. The remaining two workers who earned below the NMW were found in the 'cleaning and other services' category.

respondents may not have been eligible for Working Tax Credits if their Leave to Remain is subject to the condition that they must not have recourse to public funds. Claimants must also prove that they are 'habitually resident' and 'ordinarily resident' in the UK.⁴ The very low uptake of benefits is in clear contrast to the popular discourse that presents London's migrants as 'benefit scroungers'.

Despite formalised working relations, and paying tax and National Insurance, workers endured very poor working conditions and enjoyed few work-related benefits. For example, three-fifths of workers received no maternity or paternity leave from their employers, half had no annual pay rise and a third had never had a pay rise. Half of all workers lost pay if taking time off for emergencies, and just over half (52%) did not receive sick pay. As many as 67% of respondents received only the statutory minimum number, or fewer, of paid holiday days (20 days including bank holidays). Over two thirds (70%) did not have access to a company pension scheme.

Unsociable hours were also a key aspect of the respondents working arrangements. Over half of the respondents (55%) worked unsociable hours, with 28% employed on an early shift, 16% working in the evenings, and 12% the night shift.

Although people worked an average of 36 hours a week, about two-fifths of respondents worked overtime. Of these, most worked up to an additional 8 hours a week, but nearly one third worked up to a maximum of 16 hours overtime. Importantly, however, only a minority of these workers (just over one-quarter) received a higher rate of pay for this overtime; and of these, one-half received between £5 and £7 per hour.

The research also found very high rates of labour turnover amongst workers doing these low paid jobs. About 60% of our sample had been working for their employer for less than 2 years, and most of these had been in their current job for less than a year (89%). However, over one-fifth of workers were also found to have been working for their current employers for between two and five years and a smaller number had worked for the same company for more than 5 years, indicating a degree of stability in this work. Moreover, this was particularly true for the care sector which also tended to have better pay and conditions, and less worker dissatisfaction, than other fields of employment (see Section 3). While this requires further research, it would suggest that turnover rates fall as wages and conditions improve. This will accrue cost savings to employers in recruitment and training expenses (see also Brown et al., 2001).

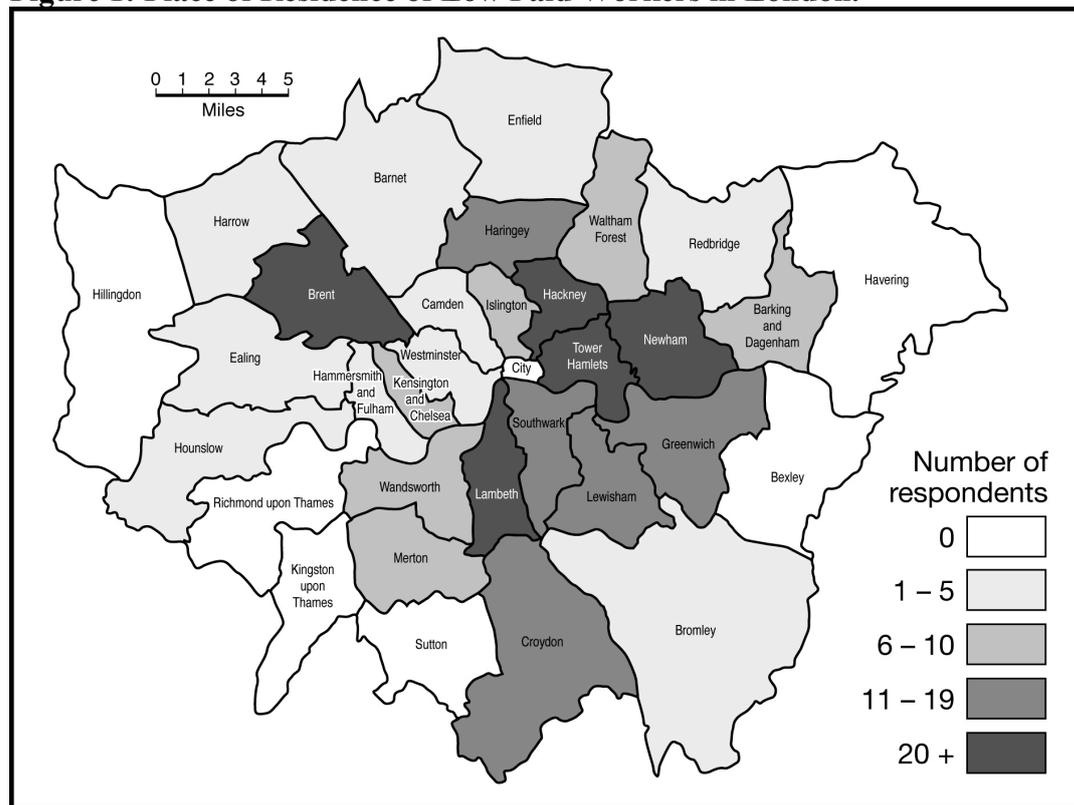
Despite such poor pay and conditions, the research showed little evidence of traditional, work place collective organisation. Even though a number of respondents were contacted via trade union representatives (leading to a likely inflation in the proportion of respondents reporting union membership) less than one quarter of respondents were members of a trade union (22%). By way of contrast, two-fifths claimed they were active in faith-based organisations of various denominations (such as Christian, Muslim, and Hindu).

⁴ 'Ordinarily resident' means a person is here voluntarily and intends to settle. This is based on factors such as whether they intend to stay in the UK for the next 3 years, whether they have children in the UK, and how long they have lived in the UK. The habitual residence test is a complicated investigation that looks into where the normal place of living is considered to be.

Part 3: Living in London

Figure 1 shows the geographical distribution of workers across the capital by residence. The map shows the heavy concentration of low paid workers in the London Boroughs known for socio-economic deprivation and concentrations of minority ethnic populations, such as Hackney, Tower Hamlets and Newham. Few, if any, workers were found in the wealthier boroughs and suburbs.

Figure 1: Place of Residence of Low Paid Workers in London.



To gain a more rounded picture of their lives, the researchers asked people why they had come to London. It showed that work and perceived opportunities to earn an income was the single most important reason that people had migrated to London/UK (Table 4). However, a significant proportion (25%) also reported that they had come to London to be with their family, or to join friends and acquaintances. This reinforces a picture of 'chain migration' with many of London's newest migrants following in the footsteps of family and friends who have already moved to the UK. Only 16% of respondents reported that they had come to the UK for educational purposes and a remarkably small minority reported moving for political reasons (such as fleeing war or persecution in their home countries).

It appears that those same networks that enable people to move to the UK are also crucial in helping migrants find work. Indeed, nearly two thirds (63%) of respondents had found their current jobs through family or friends. Whilst aiding the search for employment, such networks may also buttress ethnic and gender segregation within the labour market as people follow their family or friends into particular jobs (Hagan, 1998).

Table 4: Respondents' Reasons for Migrating to the UK

Why did you come to the UK	No	%
Work/income opportunities	81	26.4
Be with family/join support networks	77	25.1
Education	51	16.6
For a better life	26	8.5
Likes the UK/speaks English	19	6.2
Political reasons	17	5.5
Other	10	3.3
No Response	26	8.1
Total	307	100

Respondents were also asked why they had specifically chosen to move to the UK rather than another country. A much smaller proportion answered this question (58%) than the previous one (83%), but their responses largely replicate those shown in Table 4. However, an important distinction is that some answers revealed very positive perceptions about the UK as a host country. Amongst these were the following responses: 'openness to people'; 'England is not as racist as other countries'; 'the UK is the best country to live in'; and 'UK safer than other countries'. This suggests that respondents did not come to Britain because it was simply easier to access than other countries, as is often suggested in the media. Rather, expectations and perceptions of Britain as a tolerant and multicultural country played an important role in their decision to migrate.

The configuration of households in which respondents lived emerged as somewhat surprising and certainly contrary to existing stereotypes of lone migrant workers (Table 5). Rather than living alone (22%), the majority of respondents (78%) shared their home with others. Almost half (40%) lived with a partner, and just over a third (34%) with other family members or friends.

Table 5: Respondents' Household Composition

Whom do you share your home with?	Count¹	%
Spouse and Partner	130	40.1
Children	81	25.0
Non-family	44	13.6
Other family	42	13.0
Parents	27	8.3
No-response = 86	Total	324
		100

¹ A total of 251 workers answered this question and some chose more than one answer to reflect their personal circumstances. The results shown here reflect multiple choice.

A third of respondents had dependent children (defined here as children aged 16 or under) in the UK, although only 25% lived with their children.

A significant proportion of people (over one third) also had dependants (whether children or other relatives) living abroad. Indeed, over two thirds of respondents made financial remittances to other countries. Such remittances are evidence of the strong and ongoing transnational links that many of the UK's migrant workers have with other countries, but may also be a potentially significant drain on people's income.

Thus, contrary to the popular image of the lone male migrant, almost half of all respondents were women, and the majority lived in family units. This is important not least because the very low wages reported here are often needed to support families both in the UK and abroad.

Half of all respondents had other members of their households in work and in the majority of cases, the second earner was the respondent's spouse or partner, but also included family members other than children and parents. The majority of other household members in employment also worked in low paid service work, such as cleaners (25%) customer service assistants at supermarkets, security guards and bus drivers. This evidence suggests that low paid work is concentrated in particular households, often where there are dependent children at home. In order to survive, such households have two or more adults in work each earning very low rates of pay.

Finally, it is striking that of those with dependent children under 16 at home, only a small proportion (one third) claimed Child Benefit and/or Child Tax Credits. Whether because they were ineligible, or eligible but not claiming, this suggests that benefits designed to contribute to the income of Britain's poorer families are not reaching their target in London. The uptake of other benefits was also low, with just over 1 in 10 households receiving Housing Benefit or a reduction in Council Tax.

SECTION 3: SECTORS

Part 1: Cleaning London's Underground

Box 1: A Worker's Profile

Kobena is a 37 year old Ghanaian. In his home country he had acquired a first degree and worked in state housing. He came to the UK in 2003, and has since been a cleaner with the Underground. He has a long working week of 54 hours, and although it includes overtime, he earns the flat rate of £4.85 per hour. He has only 12 days of paid holiday a year, does not receive any sick pay, nor any additional pay (e.g. London Weighting) or other benefits from his employer. He supports four children in the UK, and also sends money to family abroad. He dislikes having to pay for travelling on the Underground to do his job. In his view, his employer does not care about workers: 'They just want us to work.'

A striking finding of the survey was the very heavy concentration of African migrants on the London Underground, particularly those from Nigeria and Ghana, who made up 39% and 19% of the Underground cleaners respectively. Consequently, Black Africans comprised the largest ethnic group in this sector. Eastern Europe contributed the second, but much smaller, proportion of migrants (15%), which accounts for the fact that Non-British Whites made up the second highest ethnic group in this sector.

Such ethnic concentration may be attributable to the tendency to use social networks to gain access to jobs on the Underground. Nearly three out of four workers relied on family and friends to find out about their current job. Agencies provided the second but far less important source of information about job opportunities (11%).

A key finding in relation to the Underground was evidence of subcontracting. The three main employers in this sector are shown in Table 6, although up to ten smaller companies were also identified. Some workers reported that they had transferred from one employer to another in the past, and some had had three different employers despite doing the same kind of work on the tube. Whilst transferred workers tended to retain their current rate of pay and conditions, being covered by TUPE, new employees were taken on at lower rates with poorer conditions of work.⁵ This consequently created a pay disparity within the workforce employed by any one company and served to fuel discontent.

Table 6: Main Employers in Cleaning London's Underground

Employer	No	%
ISS	43	53.1
Blue Diamond	19	23.5
GBM	13	16.0
Other	6	7.4
Total	81	100

⁵ TUPE refers to the Transfer of Undertakings (protection of employment) regulations that cover those workers being transferred from one employer to another in the process of contracting out, or when contracts are re-tendered and work moves from one contractor to another and workers move too.

The workers also revealed that an established practice was for firms to further subcontract the work they were required to do, thus lengthening the contract chain so that the initial client and the actual cleaner were separated by several layers of subcontractors or ‘middlemen’, with each taking their cut. This was a key concern for the workers in this sector and respondents reported how the initial £12 that they understood Transport for London were paying for an hour of cleaning, only £4.85 per hour would eventually reach the worker as each subcontractor took their profit from the contracts involved.

We also came across one case of a migrant worker from Eastern Europe who was on a business visa and was therefore classed as self-employed. This transferred the employers’ obligation to pay tax and National Insurance to the worker, and made it easier to violate the conditions that employers are expected to provide to all employed staff (such as the NMW).

High labour turnover was also an important feature of cleaning on the Underground. Many workers (two-fifths) had taken up their job in the previous 12 months and ISS alone employed one out of two of these recent recruits. Just under one-quarter had been with their current employer for between one and two years, and another quarter for between two and five years. Of the latter, 5% were supervisors.

The prevalence of low pay was also a crucial finding. The Underground cleaners had a higher proportion of workers on the NMW (37%) than any other sector surveyed (see Table 7).

Table 7: Hourly Rates of Pay for Cleaning London’s Underground

Hourly Rate	No	%
£4.85	30	37.0
Between £4.86 and £5.50	43	53.1
Between £5.51 and £6.69	6	7.4
£6.70 and over	2	2.5
Total	81	100

More than half earned somewhere between the NMW and the LLW (60%) although most were at the lower end of the scale, the equivalent of between £9,097 and £10,296 a year before tax and National Insurance for someone working 36 hours a week.

Overtime was a routine practice for nearly half of cleaners (46%), who put in anything up to 16 extra hours per week. The majority (86%) did not receive a higher hourly rate of pay for this work. A minority (less than one-fifth) also had other jobs, mainly cleaning, in which they also worked anything up to 16 hours a week. For instance, Anaya from Nigeria had three cleaning jobs. One paid £4.85 per hour, the second £4.55 per hour, while she earned £5.25 per hour as an Underground cleaner. She emphasised that she had ‘no choice’, and that ‘one job wages are too low.’

Conditions of work were particularly poor in this sector. 83% of workers had no annual pay rise, and one in every two had never had a pay rise. One respondent from Nigeria complained that his employers had given him false hopes of a pay rise. He claimed: ‘They said they will increase [pay] for about 18 months, but I have not had a

pay rise yet.’ 73% of workers lost income if they took time off to attend to emergencies, 60% did not receive sick pay, and 73% claimed they did not receive other benefits from employers such as maternity and paternity leave. A large majority did not contribute to a company pension scheme (71%) and a small proportion of workers took no paid holidays (14%).

The respondents were asked about the aspects of their job that they liked and as many as two-fifths noted only that the job gave them an opportunity to earn an income. The possibility of social contact was also mentioned as a positive feature, whilst a number of workers gave answers such as ‘have time to do other stuff in the morning’ or ‘no language [English] requirement’. However, one quarter of workers found nothing in particular that they liked about their job, considering it to be ‘just a job’.

The negative features of their jobs were also identified (Table 8). Low pay was the principal aspect that the respondents disliked (32%), although many also complained about their employers’ policies and practices (28%). An equal share of workers (13%) were unhappy with the nature and demands of their jobs and disliked the treatment they received from the public (reporting, for example, that they were ‘looked down on’).

Table 8: Dislikes about the Job: London Underground Cleaners

What don’t you like about your job?	No	%
Low pay	22	31.9
Employer’s policies /practices	19	27.5
Work nature/demands	9	13
Treatment by Customers/the public	9	13
Other	6	8.7
No complaints	4	5.8
No response = 12	Total	69
		100

In particular, unfair treatment by employers was a recurrent theme highlighted by the research. Some workers, for instance, were made to pay for their own training before starting the job. Others had to pay a deposit of £130 for a fire safety card. Cleaners also had to pay for their own Travelcards in order to be able to move on the Underground whilst at work and then ask the employer for a reimbursement, whilst staff employed directly by Transport for London receive a free yearly travel pass. One worker stated that he lost four hours worth of wages if he was 30 minutes late.

Inadequate facilities were frequently mentioned. As Badu from Ghana claimed ‘We can’t use the mess room because there are rats in there’, while another described their room as ‘dark and dingy.’ One station had no staff mess room at all, and cleaners had no option but to sit on the train platform to eat their lunch, even in the winter months. Inadequate clothing was also a source of discomfort. Ashaki from Nigeria claimed ‘We haven’t had any new uniforms for two years. In summer we are still wearing thick jumpers in the sweltering heat. They had to give us proper work shoes because so many people were falling over, but no new trousers or t-shirts.’ Workers were, therefore, most critical of their employers and many argued that their employers showed no concern for their welfare. Comments included: ‘They [employer] ignore

advice about working conditions.... They take no notice of us.' 'They treat us like animals', 'We just work like slaves', '[They] do not treat us as human beings.'

Only a small minority of workers (16%) were members of a trade union (most of them with the RMT), but 58% reported that they were active in faith organisations.

Part 2: Office cleaning and other services ⁶

Box 2: A Worker's Profile

Li Mei was aged 32 and was born in China, where she worked as a nurse. She came to the UK in 2002 after being told there was a lack of nurses in this country. She had paid a Chinese agency £3000 to get a job here. She later paid another £3000 to an agency in the UK for a work permit and a further £4500 for an English language course in Oxford. Eventually she was sacked from her first job as a nurse because of her difficulties with speaking English. She then worked in a cosmetic surgery clinic for six months, which was then closed, as it was illegal. She found a job as a cleaner at a college in the University of London. She was paid just £4.85 per hour but believed this was a good rate, especially when compared to what her Chinese friends earned in restaurants in Chinatown. However, she also claimed that although she worked 30 hours a week, she was only paid for 20 hours. She was very unhappy about these unfair salary deductions but was afraid to 'stir up trouble.' Language was a further obstacle to improving her working conditions.

As with the other sectors, Africans contributed an important share of workers in the office cleaning and other services sector (44%), the majority of whom were from Ghana (23 respondents). However, other groups were also important with respondents from Latin Americans and the Caribbean constituting the second largest share of migrant workers (25.6%), followed closely by Europe (24%), with Portugal and Britain contributing the largest single share of European born workers (14 and 13 respondents respectively). Correspondingly, Black Africans constituted the largest ethnic group (37%), followed by Non-British Whites (21%).

Compared to cleaning on the London Underground, a smaller proportion of workers in office cleaning and other services used social networks to find their job. Even so, the majority (60%) had learnt about the availability of their current position through family and friends, although a proportion of workers used other methods including enquiring about vacancies in person (16%), visiting job agencies (11%) or, least likely, through adverts (8%).

A diversity of employers were encountered in this sector, although a considerable proportion were employed by Initial, Lancaster, KGB and Mowlem Pall Mall (see Table 9). Nearly half of all workers had been with their current employers for just 12

Table 9: Main Employers in Office Cleaning and Other Services

Employer	No	%
Initial	38	29.7
Lancaster	23	18.0
KGB	17	13.3
Mowlem Pall Mall	11	8.6
Other	39	30.5
No response = 1	Total	128
		100

⁶ In the category 'cleaning and other services' office cleaners were the most significant group. Porters, waste operatives and service assistants employed as subcontracted labour in hospitals in South London made up a considerable proportion of the workers in 'other services'.

months or less. Significantly, these new recruits made up around one half of the workforce of the three key employers: 55% of all workers employed by Initial, 54% of workers at Mowlem Pall Mall, and 52% of Lancaster’s workforce. KGB was the only exception with the largest proportion of their workers (56%) having been with them between one and five years.

The rate of pay in this sector was similar to the overall sample (Table 10). However, compared to the London Underground, fewer workers in this sector earned just the NMW and a greater proportion (52%) were earning between £4.86 and £5.50: the equivalent of between £9,097 and £10,296 a year before tax and National Insurance.

Table10: Hourly Rate of Pay for Office Cleaning and Other Services

Hourly Rate	No	%
< £4.85	2	1.6
£4.85	19	15.0
Between £4.86 and £5.50	66	52.0
Between £5.51 and £6.69	35	27.6
£6.70 and over	5	3.9
No response = 2	Total	127
		100

Working conditions were also poor in this sector, although a slightly higher proportion of respondents reported access to employment benefits than in cleaning on the Underground. For instance, compared to the Underground in which over 80% had no annual pay rise, in office cleaning and other services 50% received an annual pay rise, although nearly one third had never had a pay increase in their job. Similarly, compared to the Underground, where 73% of workers lost income if they took time off to attend to emergencies, the corresponding figure for this sector was lower with just under one half of workers being penalised for taking time off in emergencies.

However, only a minority of workers (12%) contributed to a pension scheme, whilst 10% did not actually know if they contributed or not. One respondent, Patrick from Barbados, stated explicitly that he had no pension because he ‘can’t afford it with low wages.’ A similar proportion could not confirm whether they took paid holidays, suggesting that they were not aware of their entitlements, and a significant majority (65%) claimed not to take any at all. The same proportion as in the Underground did not receive sick pay (60%), and a proportion (13%) could not tell whether they did or not. Fewer workers in this sector, compared to the Underground, claimed to receive other benefits from employers, such as maternity or paternity leave (just 15%).

A significant proportion of workers had nothing positive to say about their job (35%). Others claimed simply that it provided an income. And as with cleaning on the Underground, social contact (16%) was also mentioned as a positive aspect whilst, in contrast to the Underground sector, a small minority (6%) identified the opportunity to care for people as a positive element of their work.

In terms of the aspects of their job which respondents disliked, as with cleaners on the London Underground, low pay was the prime concern (Table 11). Significantly, more workers in this sector than anywhere else reported low pay as the thing they most disliked about their job.

Table 11: Dislikes about the Job: Office and Contract Cleaners

What don't you like about your job?	No	%
Low pay	48	40.0
Employer's policies/practices	32	26.7
Work nature/demands	26	21.7
Other	9	7.5
No complaint	4	3.3
Treatment by customers/the public	1	0.8
No response = 9	Total	120
		100

This response was followed by employer's policies/practices (such as 'rude treatment of workers' and 'pressure'), which was noted by 27% of workers. 22% of workers were also unhappy about the nature of their jobs and its demands (22%). For instance, Abeo from Nigeria revealed that she was paid £4.85 per hour and was frequently asked to do strenuous work which she felt was not a cleaner's responsibility, such as climbing tables and cleaning cobwebs. Before migrating to Britain she was employed as a teacher and she emphasised the frustration she felt with her current job.

Although the workers claimed that they were dissatisfied, several also commented that their lack of proficiency in English prevented them from improving their working conditions. Symao from Portugal revealed that he had to stop attending his English lessons as he was too tired after work. He claimed he felt trapped as English was necessary to gain a better job, yet his current work made it extremely difficult to attend language school.

Less than one tenth of all workers in the sector belonged to a trade union. And of these, workers belonged to a range of unions including the T&G, GMB and UNISON. 42% of workers were active in faith organisations.

Part 3: Hotel and hospitality work

Box 3: A Worker's Profile

Dorota was born in Poland, was aged 47 and came to the UK in 2001. Before moving to London she was employed in the army and she was motivated to migrate because, in her words, 'London is a multicultural city.' Once in London, she found accommodation in Brixton, where she lived alone and found employment through her social networks as a maid in a luxury hotel. She was not paid per hour, but per room, at £2.65 a room. On a busy day she might manage to make-up a total of 14 rooms, which pays her £37.10/day. However, on a typical day she makes up an average of only 6 rooms: paying £15.90/day. This is prior to tax and National Insurance deductions. Dorota also worked for two hours every day cleaning offices, for which she was paid £5.25 per hour. Like most respondents, Dorota contributed towards tax and National Insurance, but she only received 5 days paid holiday and had never had a pay rise. Neither did she claim any benefits that are available to help people on low incomes. She disliked the pressurised nature of the job, particularly during busy periods, yet she also felt that it was a good way to make money and claimed that she used part of her income to send remittances to relatives abroad.

In contrast to office cleaning and cleaning on the Underground, work in the hotel and hospitality sector was dominated by an equal proportion of migrants from Eastern Europe and Africa (27.5% in each case). In turn, most Eastern European workers were from Poland (11 respondents), followed by workers from Lithuania (5 respondents). From among the African countries, Ghana contributed the highest number of workers. Reflecting this distribution, and in contrast to the other sectors surveyed, the largest ethnic group was that of non-British Whites, who made up two-fifths of the sampled population, followed by nearly one quarter (24%) who were Black Africans.

Respondents primarily used their social networks of friends and relatives to find out about their job (three-quarters), whilst 13% made use of adverts.

As with office cleaning and cleaning on the Underground, subcontracting also emerged as a key theme. In particular, there were significant differences in the pay and conditions of 'in-house' staff and agency staff. For instance, one agency paid their Polish workers who were working in a luxury hotel in West London a piece rate of £1.70 per room. This was the lowest rate amongst those interviewed and was in stark contrast to the wages paid to in-house staff in similar hotels, which ranged from £4.85 to £5.20 per hour.

Agency workers in general also received no sick pay or paid holidays, nor were they paid for staying over to finish the heavy workload of up to 15 rooms that have to be cleaned in a day. Not surprisingly, then, high labour turnover was a key feature of this sector. Over one half (51%) of all workers in hotel and hospitality had been with their current employer for just 12 months or less, which is the highest proportion of all sectors. It is also likely that the increase in the use of low-paid agency workers which we identified in a number of the hotels will lead to the erosion of the benefits enjoyed by 'in house' staff over time.

Significantly, workers in this sector experienced the lowest rates of pay. Table 12 clearly shows the concentration of earnings at the lower end of the pay scale. Largely because workers were paid per cleaned room, more workers in this sector than anywhere else (17%) earned below the NMW (the equivalent of less than £9,079 a

Table 12: Hourly Rate of Pay for Hotel and Hospitality

Hourly Rate	No	%
< £4.85	10	17.5
£4.85	10	17.5
Between £4.86 and £5.50	18	31.6
Between £5.51 and £6.69	12	21.1
£6.70 and over	7	12.3
No response = 1	Total	57
		100

year before tax and National Insurance). A similar proportion earned the NMW (£4.85/hour) and a half earned above the NMW but below the Living Wage (£6.70/hour). Only a minority earned above the Living Wage.

As in the Underground and office cleaning and other services, the largest group earned between £4.86 and £5.50 an hour (the equivalent of between £9,097 and £10,296 a year before tax and National Insurance). However, the proportion of workers in this pay bracket was lower than in the other sectors. The survey results also show that the large majority of those who earned up to the NMW had only taken up their jobs in the previous 12 months, suggesting that new entrants start off at the bottom of the pay scale.

In terms of working conditions, the findings about pay increases were similar to those reported in cleaning on the London Underground. That is, only 22% of workers claimed they had received an annual pay rise, although 16% did not know if they had or not. Two-fifths stated they had never had a pay rise. By contrast, some employment benefits were slightly better in this sector compared to the Underground and office cleaning and other services. This reflects the fact that we interviewed a number of long-serving ‘in house’ workers who had better pay and working conditions than the newer staff and significantly better than those working for agencies. For example, a higher proportion of workers (nearly half) received sick pay (although 12% were unable to tell if they did or not) and fewer (45%) were penalised for taking time off in emergencies. Even so, two thirds of workers did not contribute to a pension scheme, and 63% did not receive maternity or paternity leave, or any kind of other benefits from their employer.

The most common positive feature of the job mentioned by respondents was again simply the opportunity to earn an income (two-fifths). Social contact was singled out by one third of workers, yet 17% could not find anything positive to say about their work.

Workers also revealed the features of their jobs that they did not like (Table 13). In contrast to workers in other sectors, most were concerned about their employer's policies and practices, followed by the nature and demands of the job. A very small minority also singled out the treatment received from customers and the low pay involved.

Although low pay was not often explicitly mentioned, much of the dissatisfaction arising from the employer's practices was often related to matters of wages. For instance, one respondent claimed that she worked weekends for no extra pay, often

Table 13: Dislikes about the Job: Hotel and Hospitality Workers

What don't you like about your job?	No	%
Employer's policies/practices	29	59.2
Work nature/demands	10	20.4
No complaint	5	10.2
Treatment by customers/the public	2	4.1
Low pay	2	4.1
Other	1	2.0
No response = 9	Total	49
		100

worked beyond her shift with no pay and recently had 2-hours worth of wages docked as she was late for work due to a hospital appointment.

Such dissatisfaction was often related to the worsening of working conditions that resulted from a change of employer. When the hotel for which she worked changed hands, for example, Josephine (from the Philippines) found her working conditions deteriorated. As she said: '[The new owner] is so mean ... [They are always] pushing us to do more ... They want one person to do three jobs.... [But] everyone is afraid of him'

Despite having the highest level of union membership of all the sectors (a product perhaps of the fact that some of the interviewees were contacted through union representatives), only a little over one third of respondents were members of a trade union - most commonly the T&G. Also, only 18% of respondents claimed that they were active in faith organisations.

Part 4: Care work

Box 4: A Worker's Profile

Jumoke is a 34 year-old Nigerian. She came to Britain in 1997 because she already had relatives here and was also attracted by the high value of British qualifications. She lives in Hackney with her four-year-old daughter and her mother who works in catering. She had planned to study but needed to find employment in order to support her child. She has worked as a carer for the past three years as 'indigenous people do not want the job.' Compared to workers in other sectors, she is paid a higher wage, earning £6.31 per hour, but she receives no sick pay, nor any other payments. She also loses paid annual leave if she takes time off work to attend to emergencies. She implied that the training she received for the job was insufficient and she feels she's been 'dropped into the deep end' although like many other carers, she finds the job satisfying as she enjoys caring for people. However, she resented the treatment she received from some clients, feeling that they treat her differently because she is a migrant.

As was the case with cleaners on the Underground, migrants from African countries represented the highest proportion of workers in the care sector (one half), with Nigeria and Ghana accounting for the largest single shares (11 and 9 respondents respectively). Correspondingly, the largest ethnic group was that of Black Africans (44%). Nationals from Europe made up the second largest share of workers in the sector (just under one third) and in contrast to other sectors, a significant proportion of the latter were British born. As a result, British Whites (including English and Scottish) made up the second largest ethnic group (one-fifth of the total).

Compared to the other sectors, fewer workers employed in home care used social networks of family and friends to find their job, although this was still the main method (two-fifths). Adverts were an important source of information about jobs (21%), followed by agencies (10%) and personal enquiries (9%), whilst other sources, such as local authorities, were used by 18% of workers. About one third of all workers were also students, constituting the highest share of students in all sectors. Consequently, most respondents held student visas (46%).

The pay scale for care workers was also different from that observed in other sectors in that earnings were concentrated in the upper part of the pay scale (Table 14). It can be seen that only one worker earned the NMW, whilst a minority earned hourly rates above it and up to £5.50 (10%). Nearly one half of workers earned hourly rates of between £5.51 and up to £6.69 an hour (the equivalent of between £1,0314 and £12,523 a year before tax and National Insurance), whilst a further two-fifths actually earned above the Living Wage rate of £6.70 per hour. Interestingly, it is worth noting

Table 14: Hourly Rate of Pay in Care Work

Hourly Rate	No	%
£4.85	1	2.1
Between £4.86 and £5.50	5	10.4
Between £5.51 and £6.69	23	47.9
£6.70 and over	19	39.6
No response = 11	Total	48
		100

here that more workers in this sector refrained from revealing their pay than in any other sector (11 non-respondents). A number of the workers interviewed in this sector used to work for the public sector and had been transferred into the private or not-for-profit sector with contracting out. This is reflected in the data as these workers had their Local Authority terms and conditions protected by TUPE. Over time, however, these better paid workers will be replaced by those on inferior terms and conditions of work.

The working week for care workers was slightly shorter than in other sectors, comprising over 16 hours and up to 35 hours for nearly one half of workers, although one third worked over 35 and up to 48 hours per week. Only 12% of care workers held second jobs, although the majority of those with another source of employment worked more than 16 hours per week on that job (80%), with most earning hourly rates above the Living Wage (i.e. £6.70h/hour).

Overall, employment conditions were slightly better than in other sectors, probably reflecting the shadow of TUPE. For example, nearly two-fifths (38.6%) of care workers had access to a company pension scheme compared with between 10% and 19% of workers in other sectors. Likewise, care workers were less likely than other workers to be penalised for taking time off work to attend to emergencies, even though 31% did report losing pay if not present at work. Rather surprisingly, over two-fifths of workers could not tell whether they received any other benefits from their employers. One quarter could take maternity leave, but another quarter reported no other benefits at all. One final difference was that 47% of workers reported receiving an annual pay rise, the highest proportion of workers to do so in all sectors.

In contrast to other sectors, care workers were far less likely to be able to find nothing positive to say about their work (only 4% of respondents). Rather than simply the opportunity to earn a wage (29%), the feature that people most liked about care work was the opportunity it provided to care for people (47%). Social contact was also mentioned as a positive feature of the work (14%).

In fact, when examining the aspects people disliked about their work important differences emerged between care workers and workers in other sectors. Whilst the latter tended to identify issues relating directly to their own pay and conditions, care workers tended to point to frustrations that came from not being able to properly fulfil their role as they wished. Such differences suggest, perhaps, that in contrast to other low paid workers, care workers can have a strong and positive attachment to their vocation and the clients they serve. Hence, whilst an important minority (13%) did mention employer's policies and practices as a negative feature of their work, more common was for people to point to the fact that 'the centre [is] not recognised as a specialist centre', or to 'carers letting [patients] down'. Otherwise, workers were more discontented about the nature and demands of this type of work than about low pay or treatment by customers.

Table 15: Dislikes about the Job: Care Workers

What don't you like about your job?	No	%
No complaint	9	19.6
Other	9	19.6
Work nature/demands	8	17.4
Treatment by clients	7	15.2
Low pay	7	15.2
Employer's policies/practices	6	13.0
No response = 13	Total	46
		100

The reasons workers gave for moving to the UK also differed from the other sectors, with most reporting a desire to pursue education or to be with family or friends. Indeed, workers in this sector were the most highly educated. All had received an education in their home countries and in contrast to other sectors, a majority (63%) had received a tertiary level academic education, with one quarter holding vocational or professional qualifications, and a over a third (39%) having formal academic qualifications, acquired prior to coming to the UK. 45% of respondents had also acquired further qualifications since arriving in Britain. For instance, Mawuli claimed he had received a first degree in Nigeria, but had also received many qualifications in the UK, including an MA and MBA.

As a result, perhaps, care workers were especially likely to express frustration that their current job did not reflect their level of qualifications. For example, Eyi from Nigeria claimed she had acquired a philosophy degree and stated, 'It can be disgusting. Helping people to go to the toilet and most people insult you and devalue you. With my degree I feel I shouldn't be doing this kind of work.'

One in four workers were unionised in this sector with UNISON accounting for the highest proportion of union members. Again, however, these figures are likely to be inflated by the fact that UNISON provided some of the access to workers in this sector. 45% of respondents stated they were active in faith organisations.

CONCLUSIONS

Among the most striking findings of this research are first, that recent migrants, mainly from the Global South, dominate the low paid sectors of London's labour market; and second, that these workers earn very low wages barely above the legal minimum, receiving few benefits despite contributing considerably to the UK tax base. These largely unrecognised workers are vital to the reproduction of urban life, yet remain invisible to most city dwellers and public policy makers. Indeed, these conditions of work do not feature in policy debates about poverty alleviation, or economic and social exclusion, and there is an urgent need to look at this now.

There are also signs that London's reliance on migrant labour is growing. Our research highlighted the large numbers of such workers involved in core activities such as cleaning, caring and hospitality but anecdotally, we know this pattern is replicated in sectors such as low paid manufacturing and construction. There are also significant numbers within the retail services and postal sectors in London (as indicated in Spence, 2005). Major developments such as the 2012 Olympics and Thames Gateway will also require very large numbers of workers and many of these will be new migrants to the UK.

Our research indicates that much of the low paid economy in London is now characterised by subcontracted service provision. Rather than working directly for Transport for London, the Local Authorities, major corporations or top hotels, the cleaners, carers and chambermaids we encountered were usually employed by a subcontracted service provider. Moreover, in the hospitality and care sectors, the research found that this form of employment was growing. Increasing numbers of the top hotels and Local Authorities are outsourcing their cleaning, catering and caring services. This form of employment is well-known as being a way to cut costs for employers, but it increases the costs borne by those doing the work. As was clear from the findings in the hospitality and home care sectors, workers who remain or used to be 'in house' have better pay and conditions than those taken on directly by subcontracted service providers (be they large companies, small agencies or even not-for-profit providers). A number of the workers we interviewed highlighted the problem caused by the structure of employment in these low paying sectors: workers expressed the view that subcontractors are mainly interested in making money rather than the quality of the job done and they have little interest in the loyalty or career development paths of those they employ. This kind of employment depends for its very success on the poor quality of jobs and disrespect for the labour process and the skills on which it depends. Not surprisingly, it is those workers with the poorest labour market options and no opportunity to claim benefits who are taking up such positions. Migrant workers are now literally 'making our city work'. They are earning major profits for their employers, providing key services for the city, and allowing large public and private sector organisations to ignore their responsibility for the conditions of work.

The living wage campaign seeks to resolve this situation by demanding that public and private sector organisations do take responsibility for the conditions of work endured by those who clean, cater and care on their behalf. If London is to be a socially and economically *just* city, rather than just an economically successful city,

these labour market issues must be addressed. The predominance of migrants from poor countries in the Global South (and increasingly the East) in our lowest paid jobs, as identified by this research, highlights the need to think about a development policy 'at home' as well as 'away'. Global injustice is increasingly in evidence in our tube stations, in our offices, our hospitals, our banks, our restaurants and hotels. If London is to retain its reputation as a multi-cultural society that works, our politicians, business leaders and policy makers need to address the structure of the low paid labour market as outlined in this report. The GLA has made the welcome move of setting up the Living Wage Unit and publishing a figure for the London Living Wage, but we now face the harder task of implementing measures for fairer employment in London.

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APPENDIX 1

Questionnaire Survey – Living Wage Campaign

INTRODUCTION AND ANONYMITY:

- Explain the purpose of the Living Wage Campaign
- Explain the purpose of the research
- Explain that the survey will take about 15 minutes to complete
- Stress the importance of their participation in the study
- Reassure the interviewee that the survey is anonymous and confidential (no information will be released to employers or authorities)
- Make clear that respondent does not need to answer any questions they are uncomfortable with and are free to terminate the interview at any time

Date of Interview:	Place of Interview:
Interviewer:	Interviewee: 1. Male 2. Female

Employment

1. Where do you work? (name of place where interviewee works e.g. Newham General Hospital)

2. What is the name of your employer? (name of company)

3. How long have you been with this employer? _____

4. What is your job?

5. How long have you been doing this type of job for? [**e.g. cleaning**] _____

6. How did you find out about this position? [**circle all that apply**]

Advert Family/Friend Came and Asked Agency **Other (specify):** _____

7. How many hours a week do you do in this job? (without overtime) _____

8. What hours do you work? [**circle all that apply**]

Early shift Day Shift Evening Shift Night Shift

9. Do you pay tax and National Insurance? 1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't Know

10. How much do you get paid per hour (before Tax /National Insurance deductions)? _____ hr/wk

11. Do you do overtime? 1. Yes 2. No **Go to question 14**
12. How many hours of overtime do you usually do in a week on this job? _____
13. Do you get a higher rate of pay for overtime? 1. Yes £_____/hr 2.No
14. Do you get any additional payments? (London Weighting, Attendance Bonus, Unsociable Hours)
1. No 2. Yes (specify reason and amount): _____
15. Do you have a written work contract? 1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know
16. Does your employer give you payslips? 1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know
17. Do you contribute to a pension scheme? 1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know
18. How many days of paid holiday do you get a year? (including bank holidays) _____
19. Do you get sick pay from your employer? 1. Yes 2. No
3. Don't Know

20. If you take time off for family emergencies (funeral, hospital appointments, caring for sick children) do you lose:
1. paid annual leave 2. pay 3. Other (specify): _____
4. nothing

21. Do you get any other benefits from your employer?
1. None 2. Maternity Leave 3. Paternity Leave 4. Other (specify) : _____

22. Do you get an annual pay rise? 1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't Know

23. When did you last have a pay rise? 1. _____ 2. Never had one 3. Don't know

24a. What do you like about this job?	24b. What don't you like this job?
a.	a.
b.	b.
c.	c.

25. Do you have any other jobs? 1. Yes 2. No **Go to question 28**

26. What other jobs do you do?

Job:	Job:	Job:
Hourly rate/wages: (before deductions)	Hourly rate/wages: (before deductions)	Hourly rate/wages: (before deductions)
Cash-in-hand /Payslip/cheque (delete as appropriate)	Cash-in-hand /Payslip/cheque (delete as appropriate)	Cash-in-hand /Payslip/cheque (delete as appropriate)

27. How many hours in total per week do you work in **this/these other job(s)**? _____

28. Have you been unemployed in the last twelve months? 1. Yes 2. No

29. Are you a student? 1. Yes 2. No

Household

30. Do you live alone? 1. Yes [Go to question 32] 2. No

31. Who do you share your home with? [circle all that apply]

1. Parents 2. Spouse/Partner 3. Children 4. Other Family 5. Non-Family (e.g. friend)

32. Are you financially responsible for any children (16 or under) in the UK?

1. Yes 2. No Go to question 34

33. How old are the children you are responsible for in the UK? :

1. ____ year old 2. ____ year old 3. ____ year old 4. ____ year old 5. ____ year old

34. Do you have any other dependants?

1. Yes, in UK (how many) : _____ 2. Yes, elsewhere (how many): _____ 2. No

35. Do other people in your household work? 1. Yes 2. No [Go to question 37]

36. How many family members in your UK household work and what do they do?

e.g. partner= cleaner

(specify relationship) Person 1:	(specify relationship) Person 2:	(specify relationship) Person 3:	(specify relationship) Person 4:
Job:	Job:	Job:	Job:
Hours worked (weekly):	Hours worked (weekly):	Hours worked (weekly):	Hours worked (weekly):

37. What benefits do people in your household receive? (you/partner/other) [circle all that apply]

Housing Working Tax Credit None
 Child Child Tax Credit
 Council Tax Other
 Childcare (specify): _____

38. Do you send money to relatives/friends abroad? 1. Yes 2. No

Personal

39. How old are you? _____

40. Which country were you born in? _____

41. What ethnic group do you belong to? [circle one box only]

White: 1. English 2. Scottish 3. Welsh 4. Irish 5. British 6. Other

Mixed : 7. White & Black Caribbean 8. White & Black African 9. White & Asian

Asian: 10. Indian 11. Pakistani 12. Bangladeshi

Black: 13. Caribbean 14. African

15. Chinese: 16. Any other (specify): _____

42. What is your nationality? _____ [If British Go to question 51]

43. When did you first come to the UK? (year) _____

44. When you first came to the UK, where did you live? 1. London 2. Other(specify): _____

45. Why did you come to the UK? _____ _____	46. Why did you choose to come to the UK? _____ _____
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47. What type of immigration visa do you have?

1. Specify: _____ 2. Don't Know 3. Decline to answer

48. Before coming to the UK, what was you highest level of education? [only the highest]

1. Did not go to school 2. Primary 3. Secondary 4. Vocational
5. 1st Degree 6. Master's 7. PhD 8. Professional

49. Have you obtained any formal qualifications in the UK?

1. No 2. Yes (specify): _____

50. Before coming to the UK what was your main activity?

1. Employed (job title) _____ 3. Looking after home/family
2. Self-employed (occupation): _____ 4. Student
6. Other (specify): _____ 5. Unemployed

51. Where do you live? London borough: _____ Elsewhere: _____

Trade Union/Community Groups

52. Are you a member of a trade union? 1. Yes which union: _____ 2. No

53. Are you an active member of faith organisation?

1. Yes which one/where: _____ 2. No

54. Are you an active member of any other community organisation (ethnic group/club/association)?

1. Yes which one/where: _____ 2. No

Follow-up Interview

55. Would you be prepared to take part in an in-depth and paid interview?

The interview will last about one hour and we'll pay you £20 for it. 1. Yes 2. No

56. Are you interested in keeping in touch with the Living Wage Campaign? 1. Yes 2. No

Name: _____

Phone: _____ Address: _____

Thank you very much for your time and your help.