Surveying Ethnic Minorities and Immigrant Populations

Methodological Challenges and Research Strategies

JOAN FONT & MÓNICA MÉNDEZ (EDS.)

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edited by
Joan Font and Mónica Méndez

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published in 2013 by Amsterdam University Press Ltd.

Published 2025 by Routledge
4 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN
605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

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ISBN: 9789089645432 (pbk)
ISBN: 9781003704577 (ebk)
NUR 741 / 763

Cover illustration: Henning Janos / Shutterstock

Cover design: Studio Jan de Boer BNO, Amsterdam

For Product Safety Concerns and Information please contact our EU representative: GPSR@taylorandfrancis.com
Taylor & Francis Verlag GmbH, Kaufingerstraße 24, 80331 München, Germany

DOI:10.4324/9781003704577

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Preface

In 2006 we were working together at a well-established institution with 40 years' experience in conducting social and political surveys. Within our professional circle, the development of regular surveys of the general Spanish population posed few major challenges. At least one was conducted every month. However, an emerging development in Spanish society gradually began to demand more of our attention. This development created new challenges in survey design and, indeed, seemed to have the potential to change our professional lives.

Field reports from interviewers increasingly mentioned that dwellings where they tried to do interviews were occupied by non-Spanish people. When analysing the results it became evident that the most common surveys, covering only the Spanish population, increasingly reflected a less-than-complete picture of society. In fact, they were missing an important new part of it. The public institutions for which we developed surveys were aware of the problem too. They began to ask us to broaden the target population to include foreign and immigrant populations and, in some cases, even to focus primarily on them. However, they did not realise the greater technical difficulties and much higher cost involved in doing this!

The need to address these new issues convinced us to organise an international workshop on the methodological challenges involved in surveys of immigrants and minorities. That workshop took place in Madrid in October 2008, with participants from nine European countries. The European Science Foundation sponsored the event and also provided funding for preparation of this manuscript. The participants in the workshop presented analyses of various methodological issues (sampling, fieldwork, etc.) faced in surveys of immigrants and foreigners (or of general population surveys that include them). This book contains papers based on those presented at the workshop. A few of the Madrid papers did not evolve into chapters, but we want to thank their authors, Michael Blohm, Giancarlo Blangiardo, Dirk Jacobs, Vincent Tiberj, Orkeny Artal and Henk Stronkhorst (as the ESF's representative) for their contributions to the discussion of the issues covered here. We also include here several new contributions from European contexts (Denmark and Switzerland) and North America (United States).

We thank the three IMISCOE anonymous reviewers who made excellent suggestions for improving the manuscript.

Lise Togeby was invited to the workshop, but had to cancel due to health problems. Sadly, she died shortly after. We therefore dedicate this book to Lise Togeby's memory.

Joan Font and Mónica Méndez

1 Introduction: The methodological challenges of surveying populations of immigrant origin[1]

Joan Font and Mónica Méndez[2]

1.1 The purpose of this book

The growing importance of international migration

Migration flows around the world have increased rapidly in recent decades. The immigrant population in OECD countries has more than tripled since the 1960s. According to the United Nations (2009), some 3 per cent of the world's people lived in a country other than the one they were born in in 2010.

Geographical mobility is an old phenomenon, but international migration has grown in volume and significance since 1945, particularly since the mid-1980s. As Castles and Miller (2009: 10-12) claim, one of the most distinctive traits of the migration movements in recent decades has been their global scope. An increasing number of countries has been involved in migratory movements, and at the same time the division between migrant-sending and migrant-receiving states is blurring. Compared to previous waves of migration, the current movements of populations across countries are more diverse in terms of migrants' economic, social, cultural and political backgrounds, producing more differentiation of migration, and amplifying its potential social, cultural and political impact in receiving countries.

Immigration has become a salient issue on the political agenda in many countries. This has led to an increasing demand for data, not only regarding flows of populations between countries, but also related to the characteristics and living conditions of migrants within countries (as well as their integration). This need to monitor population settlements is not new. As Reeger and Sievers (2009: 297) point out, the desire to have control over the population residing in a given territory and even the word 'statistics' are very much linked to the development of the nation-state in the nineteenth century, though some of the tools used by statisticians, such as censuses, were already in use in ancient civilisations. However, censuses cannot satisfy the current demand for information, and surveys have become the most widely used data-collection tool. This book deals with the technical and methodological challenges that surveying immigrant populations entails and how to confront them. Before addressing these challenges, the

DOI: 10.4324/9781003704577_CH01

next section looks in more detail at the demand for data with which these surveys are trying to comply.

The greater demand for data on immigrants

In European countries, the realisation that new waves of migrants who had arrived in the post-World War II period intended to remain permanently in the host countries increased the need to know more about these populations. As Schmitter (1980) points out, it was soon clear that these migrant workers would become part of the host countries and societies. Thus, what had started as a temporary system of recruiting workers to satisfy demand for low-skilled labour was turning into permanent settlement. Even in the 1970s, after the economic crisis became apparent, the number of immigrants did not decline but increased, due, for example, to the process of family reunification.

There has been a shift both in the political and in the academic realm from focusing mainly on migration flows to paying more attention to the consequences of the permanent presence of immigrant populations in host countries. In the political sphere this has meant a greater emphasis on policies of integration (accommodation or assimilation, depending on the cases concerned). The transition from interest in studying flows to knowing more about the conditions for integration in different realms of the host society has increased the need for reliable data about the trajectories and characteristics of immigrants; the ways they live and think, their plans for the future and so on. All of these data, most of which is collected through surveys, are crucial to devising and evaluating public policies for fostering integration and adaptation. To be sure, empirical research about immigration also uses other data-collection tools apart from surveys, but in this book we focus only on the latter.

The greater diversity of recent migration movements has enhanced the need for data as well. Though information on immigrants may be needed regardless of this diversity, the need may be more pressing because of the greater differences between the new population and the 'autochthonous' one. Additionally, there is greater diversity among the newly arrived groups. Public policy and public services aimed at these populations need to be based on accurate information about them in order to plan and achieve successful outcomes.

Diversity is not only greater as far as the background of immigrants is concerned, but also regarding the reasons behind migration. People migrate for different reasons and under different conditions: as manual workers, highly skilled workers, entrepreneurs, refugees or to reunite with relatives who had previously migrated. While the potential impact of migration is linked to its magnitude, it is amplified by the great diversity of migrants, which can bring about changes in the demographic, economic and social

structures of host countries and even question national identity through cultural diversity (Castles & Miller 2009: 15). Survey data from both autochthonous and migrant populations is needed to assess the extent to which these changes are actually taking place.

This interest in gathering information is not restricted to newly arrived immigrants. Both in the traditional immigration countries such as the United States (Portes & Rumbaut 2001, 2005) and in European countries there is a need for reliable data regarding the descendants of immigrants (second and even third generations), as pointed out by several EU reports (Ramb 2007). Though in a different situation from their parents, second (and further) generations of immigrants potentially face similar challenges and difficulties in terms of social, economic and political integration (Bonifazi, Okólski, Schoorl & Simon 2008).

Stimuli to obtain information about migration dynamics and migrants' characteristics come from international bodies as well. The United Nations and organisations such as the OECD and the World Bank have pointed out the need for better and more harmonised data on migrants, and they have engaged in a range of activities to achieve this goal. The European Union, particularly its statistical office Eurostat, has been moving in this direction as well. An example of such an initiative is the Task Force on Improving Migration and Migrant Data Using Surveys and Other Data, also referred to as the 'Suitland Working Group'.

The Suitland Working Group stemmed from a collaborative effort of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE), the World Bank, the US Census Bureau and the Conference of European Statisticians. Part of a work plan to improve migration statistics, its primary objective is to enhance the use of household surveys to measure levels and outcomes of migration.

In March 2009, the US Census Bureau, along with Eurostat, UNECE, the United Nations Population Division, and the UK Office of National Statistics, sponsored a conference on using household surveys to measure migration and the size, distribution, and characteristics of migrant populations. This conference was held at US Census Bureau headquarters in Suitland, Maryland.

Since its first meeting the group has had several meetings and developed several papers to facilitate international collaboration, formulating a research agenda focused on methodological issues and creating reports accessible to a wide audience and especially addressed to statistical agencies. Their 2010 meeting showed an enhanced interest in cooperation and discussed several projects developed in this framework.

www.unece.org/stats/groups/suitland/suitland.html

Within the European Union, regulation (EC) 862/2007 on community statistics on migration and international protection in 2007 was a major step forward in reaching common definitions and standards regarding

migration statistics. Later, the Declaration of Zaragoza (2010) stressed the need to have common indicators to shed light on the different aspects of the living conditions of migrants and to monitor the integration policies carried out by member states. There are two major survey data sources for European migration statistics: 1) the European Labour Force Survey (LFS) conducted in the 27 EU member states and three candidate countries as well as three states of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) (all except Liechtenstein) and 2) the EU Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC) conducted in the EU-27 (Kraler & Reichel 2010: 28). Beyond those efforts to homogenise statistical data, the European Union has actively facilitated development of comparative research in the field, funding major projects like Promoting Comparative Quantitative Research in the Field of Migration and Integration in Europe (PROMINSTAT).

PROMINSTAT is an EU-funded project to promote comparative quantitative research about migration and integration. It provides useful information about censuses, surveys, counts and registers in a fully searchable database that covers the 27 EU member states plus Norway and Switzerland. The database includes hundreds of microdata sources on numerous topics, from population to discrimination, employment and health care. It is primarily addressed to researchers, helping them to locate sources of data on these topics, providing information on data limitations and suggesting potential avenues for comparative research using the data.

The project has also produced a series of country reports and thematic studies (e.g. on migration flows and on citizenship). These reports review the available comparative data for the different areas.

www.prominstat.eu

As pointed out by Kraler and Reichel in the PROMINSTAT final report (2010: 33-34), data-collection policies and historical development have influenced countries' choices among registers, counts and surveys as tools for collecting information on migration issues. For example, the Nordic countries make extensive use of registers, whereas countries like France, the Netherlands, Spain and Germany rely to a greater extent on surveys. Poland, Ireland, the United Kingdom and Estonia tend to rely more on statistical counts than on surveys.

Preference for one data-collection method over others is also influenced by the topic being examined. For instance, information about the social and political attitudes of migrants cannot really be obtained through registers; surveys are clearly the best candidate means of getting these types of data. In other topic areas, such as the participation of migrants in the labour market, while there might be good register data in many countries, a survey might be a useful complementary data source when looking for

potential explanations of different patterns of participation in the labour market or when new variables that are not present in registers need to be introduced as central explanatory factors.

Surveys tend to be a versatile means of data collection in terms of both the array of topics that can be covered and the adaptability of questionnaire and sample designs to address a particular research question in a particular setting. Whereas censuses and registers tend to be data-collection operations organised regularly by national statistical institutes, sometimes specific information on a topic can be achieved only by designing an ad hoc survey.

To sum up, the demand for more data (or for any data in some countries where no alternatives exist) has given surveys a major role among data-collection tools in obtaining the information needed. This pressing demand occurs at a time when survey methodology is well developed. But practitioners have nonetheless found that methodology has to be adapted and specific strategies developed to meet the particular requirements entailed in surveying immigrants (and ethnic minorities).

The challenges involved in surveying immigrants

Researchers confront serious challenges in producing reliable data about minority groups, and particularly migrant, foreign born or ethnic minorities. To start with, many surveys of the general population or of particular groups have a sampling frame with which to build the sample, but this is often not the case in surveys addressed to immigrants. As this book will show, only in a limited number of cases will we have access to a reliable list, containing country of origin, nationality or ethnic identity as well as the other necessary information to contact the individuals in our universe. In some countries, this disaggregated information does not exist. French legislation, for example, does not allow incorporation of the ethnicity of a given individual in any statistical file. In other countries, such as Italy, this information may exist, but is rarely available to researchers. In a third group of cases, this information exists and can be made available, but contains substantial errors, due to the greater residential mobility of the group and to the illegal residential status of some members of the group.

The same logic of much greater difficulties, compared to performing these tasks in surveys addressed to the general population, applies in other phases of the survey process. Today, all social and political surveys face the problem of increasing non-response rates associated with difficulties in contacting the respondents and in obtaining their cooperation (Groves 2006, Stoop 2005). The situation when interviewing immigrants may not be radically different in its basic components, but there are additional factors that might make things even harder: if many citizens are difficult to reach because of greater residential mobility and complicated daily

agendas, these two circumstances will only be aggravated when dealing with immigrants, whose residential patterns are likely to be radically more unstable and whose lifestyles will produce even shorter periods of availability for interviewing at home. If the number of interviewees who refuse to respond because they do not like surveys, do not trust them, or simply do not have time is high among almost any social group, it is likely to be higher in groups that tend to have experienced racist attitudes or may have a limited knowledge of the official language spoken in the country of residence.

Subjects that make some respondents uneasy with survey questions exist for almost any citizen. Questions about income, intimate behaviours, voting and political opinions may evoke defensive attitudes, partial non-response or even a refusal to participate in surveys among many segments of the population. However, the list of potentially difficult themes is longer when we are talking about surveys addressed to immigrants. In some cases, this is simply due to cultural differences, whereby a topic considered uncontroversial in a given culture may be considered a sensitive one in a different setting. In other cases, the greater difficulty of surveys addressed to immigrants may be due to the questions they include, which may refer to sensitive aspects of the circumstances of the interviewee (legal status, social security affiliation and so on) which they might be reluctant to reveal to an unknown person that has just rung the doorbell.

In short, to produce good survey data is always difficult. But these difficulties increase enormously when dealing with population segments that do not always appear on official statistics, that are more difficult to reach, that have good reasons to distrust surveys and that are not fluent in the host country's main language.

As the next section will show, much effort has been devoted to producing data on numerous aspects related to immigration and the social and political challenges that ethnically plural societies face. Explaining the usual survey process, its contents, problems and strategies to produce quality results has also been the goal of dozens of extraordinarily good books. However, we still lack a systematic account of the existing challenges and strategies to produce reliable survey data on immigrants and ethnic minorities. This book looks at these different strategies and the specific challenges involved in surveying migrants. It does not look at other relevant issues regarding the overall data quality, comparability of data or issues regarding data analysis.

The need to produce data, given the importance of the social problems to be addressed, has resulted in most efforts being focused on creating and interpreting results, at the expense of discussing how data have been produced and their quality. When we have dozens of weekly polls in a pre-election context, a debate may arise about whether some of the data are more reliable than others and why. However, in a context of scarce

information (e.g. about the social and political integration of immigrants), any new data is likely to be received as crucial input and limited attention given to how the dataset has been generated.[3]

In most cases, previous literature using surveys of immigrants does not provide in-depth accounts of the particular strategies followed to carry out the surveys and their effects.[4] As far as we know, there is only one book fully devoted to explaining the methodological details of a survey addressed to immigrants (DaVanzo, Hower, Burciaga & Vernez 1995). This book is a rich and suggestive account of a survey of immigrants, yet it deals with a single pilot experience developed more than ten years ago in a city in the United States. Lessons derived from this experience may be useful, but they hardly cover the diversity of situations that immigrant surveys may face concerning the local or national realities they aim to describe, the organisations and the resources available to develop the survey and the legal and statistical frameworks, to mention just a few examples. Two more recent books in the IMISCOE series make interesting contributions to the field, respectively, presenting migration-related data by country (Fassmann, Reeger & Sievers 2009) and offering a methodological discussion of various aspects of migration research (Bonifazi et al. 2008).[5]

Our goal is to take a decisive step towards filling this gap in the literature. This book provides methodological analyses, results and discussions dealing with more than a dozen different surveys with extremely different scopes, subjects and budgets. The surveys are from different countries, but all have one thing in common: they deal with immigrants or ethnic minorities (see next section). Each of these surveys is primarily focused on a given subject (health, social and economic situation, political participation, etc.), but the difference between this book and others is that here the reader will not find much information about those topics. Contrary to most of the previous literature, we will not deal with the substantive results of these surveys, but with the methodologies followed, the difficulties faced and the strategies undertaken to (try to) solve them. Our aim is to describe, to document and to discuss how immigrant survey data are produced, what special difficulties are faced and what the results are of adopting particular research strategies. Into how many languages is it worth translating a questionnaire? Is interviewer ethnic matching the best strategy in all cases? Are purely random sampling strategies the best possible ones in all circumstances? The presentation and discussion of the diverse set of immigrant surveys covered in this book will help produce answers to these and other questions that anyone having to deal with immigrant surveys has to face.

Surveys dealing with immigrants and with ethnic minorities are the focus of this book. Many of the difficulties one confronts when carrying out this type of survey are shared by other surveys, particularly those that are mainly addressed to any kind of minority or difficult-to-reach group. What are the implications of choosing a particular target population for sampling

design? Sampling the general population or sampling a specific group for which we have a sampling frame (e.g. doctors or judges) is a relatively simple task. However, if we are in France, for example, and we want to do a survey of Algerians or if we want to do a survey of 'Greens', we suddenly face certain difficulties. In both cases, we know that the target population represents a sizeable part of the population and we may even know that they live more in certain areas than in others. But, in both cases, we first need an operational definition of who the target population is, who is an 'Algerian' (someone born in Algeria? whose parents were born in Algeria? who feels Algerian?) and who is a 'Green' (someone who voted for them in the last presidential election? someone who is a party member? who identifies as a Green?). Secondly, we need a strategy to build a sample frame, to stratify it and to choose the final interviewees in a rigorous, but feasible way.

A similar thing can happen with languages. The United Kingdom, Spain and Lithuania (to mention just a few) are Western countries with important linguistic minorities. In these countries surveys are often carried out only in the most important official language of the country, the language which most citizens are able to understand and to speak. If we are only interested in aggregated national figures, it may not be worth translating questionnaires into 'minority' languages, as these populations will very often speak the main national language: the likelihood of finding a Scottish citizen who has trouble with English or a Catalan citizen who has difficulties with answering a questionnaire in Spanish is relatively small. But, for example, given their limited number among the general population, Chinese immigrants who do not understand the official language are likely to make up only a very small proportion of any individual survey, but they are likely to constitute a large proportion of the total Chinese community living in the country. The dilemma whether it is worth translating a questionnaire into one of these languages (e.g. Scottish or Chinese), how to do it, using what procedures and with which interviewers is similar in both cases. Whether the two groups are migrants, or cultural minorities, does not have significant implications in this regard.

As a consequence, when dealing with surveys addressed to immigrants one faces specific dilemmas common also to other types of surveys, especially those designed to study any kind of minority population.[6] The main characteristic of immigrant surveys is that most of the problems and difficulties associated in general with surveys are more likely to occur and in a more severe way. Thus, looking again at the example of a survey whose target is the Scottish population (a minority in the context of the whole of the United Kingdom), the fact that this population is geographically concentrated facilitates the fieldwork being carried out and organised in a culturally sensitive manner. In contrast, with immigrant populations territorial dispersion and social exclusion (and some associated effects like high

residential mobility and lack of trust) are likely to be higher than among the autochthonous Scottish population, increasing the difficulties usually associated with different phases of the survey process.

This introduction has two additional sections. The next one looks more closely at the objective of the book: surveys of migrants and minorities and general surveys that aim to include these populations. The final section deals with the logic, structure and content of the book.

1.2 Surveys of immigrants and immigrants in general population surveys: A diverse landscape

Defining the universe: Immigrants, foreigners and ethnic minorities

Surveys that we are interested in might be addressed to authorised or to unauthorised immigrants, to foreigners or to ethnic minorities, just to mention a few potential target populations. The definition of who constitutes the target group of a survey has to be made by the team in charge of its design and organisation, depending on the research goals. That said, the decision may also be linked to the data available. This, in turn, may be associated with the historical characteristics of immigration in a given country. For example, in the United Kingdom the term most widely used when designing surveys is 'ethnic minorities'. Ethnicity is thus the main concept driving both the research goals and the definition of target groups. This may have to do with the fact that the United Kingdom is a longstanding immigration country, so looking at recent immigrants would not allow researchers to focus on the sociological issues regarding integration that they are interested in. As chapter 2 in this volume recalls, in contrast to other countries, the UK statistics on ethnic minorities are gathered on the basis of self-identification among pre-established categories in the population census that is carried out once every ten years (Jacobs et al. 2009: 80-82).

France is similarly a 'traditional' country of immigration, but ethnicity is hardly ever the defining trait of a target group;[7] rather, migrant origin is most widely used so as to include not only recent immigrants, but also their descendants (Cusset 2006). This has been primarily the case since the 1990s. Earlier, most statistics gathered and empirical research carried out was on the basis of nationality (the distinction being made between those that had nationality by birth or by acquisition) (Tribalat 1989).

In the Netherlands, a new term, *allochtoon*, has even been coined to refer to persons who come from other countries and have settled permanently in the country, as well as to their descendants. The definition of the term has undergone several changes in official statistics. It is currently used to refer to people born abroad of whom at least one parent was also born abroad and also to people who were born in the Netherlands but had two parents born abroad (Jacobs et al. 2009: 79).

In the 'new' countries of immigration, there is still no great difference between addressing surveys to immigrants or to foreigners, though in some cases the rapid process of naturalisation (and the different citizenship regimes depending on the origin of migrants) makes it necessary to be precise regarding the goals of the research and the way to define the target population in order to attain them.

In short, the target group for this type of survey may vary in name (and this usually reflects different research goals and even 'immigration' traditions), but the methodological challenges that these surveys face are similar and for the purpose of this book can be treated interchangeably.

A dual theme: Surveys of immigrants, immigrants in surveys

This book deals with two quite different kinds of realities. Whether we are, for example, conducting a survey of the Senegalese community that resides in Paris or developing a survey that has as its target population all residents in Paris (and consequently, also including the Senegalese living in Paris) the challenge of surveying immigrants arises. In both cases we need to decide whether our response categories will accurately reflect the meanings and concepts used by the respondents and, in both cases, we will have to decide whether it is better to use interviewers of Senegalese origin to increase the participation of Senegalese in the survey. However, many of the most important problems will be different: in surveys addressed exclusively to Senegalese residents, for example, one of the main challenges will be how to sample in order to achieve a good representation of the group, whereas the second type of survey (that of Paris residents, including Senegalese) does not need to represent the group fully but only that they appear in the global picture of Paris society. Thus, the problem in the latter example is whether it is worth paying any special attention to covering the Senegalese population, or whether they constitute so small a part of the Paris population that no special considerations should be adopted and their presence will thus depend solely on random selection.

In the next two sections we want to present these two different realities. First, we will deal with surveys addressed basically to immigrants and minorities, for example, surveys created to measure and capture their realities. Second, we will address the presence of immigrants in surveys that are designed to cover the general population.

Surveys of immigrants: A general mapping

Surveys of immigrant communities have probably grown as fast as the size and the social, economic and political relevance of the groups they aim to represent. For example, in the consumer sector there are products for which immigrants constitute important markets and, as a result,

quantitative and qualitative studies have been carried out to identify marketing strategies.

Initial research efforts to capture the social reality of immigrants were often based on ad hoc local studies, which sampled the immigrant population through non-random selection and made intense use of qualitative approaches. However, the last decade of the twentieth century and the first decade of the twenty-first century saw a boom in the study of immigrants, with a second generation of approaches being developed, including several quantitative surveys using random sampling procedures aiming to adequately represent immigrant communities and capture specific facets of their social realities.

Reasons for conducting surveys that are exclusively addressed to immigrants may be to answer specific questions that relate primarily to these populations (e.g. on migration trajectories) or because too few migrants are included in general population surveys to allow a proper analysis (Kraler & Reichel 2010).

Most of the surveys are cross-section done in a particular country (region or city) with the aim of gaining knowledge of the characteristics of migrants or a subgroup of them. There are many examples of this type of survey in different countries, such as the *Latino National Political Survey* in the United States.

> The *Latino National Political Survey* was developed for the first time in 1989-1990, with a second edition in 2006 (Latino National Survey). The main goal of the survey was to study the political attitudes and policy preferences of the self-identified Latino population with a sufficiently large sample size (8,634 interviews) to allow for a state-level treatment of the data.
>
> This major study now co-exists with several others, with important differences in their scope and objectives. First, the Latino Ethnic Attitude Survey has a shared interest in the (subjectively defined) Latino population, but is much more focused in its goals and sampling objectives: its explicit goal is to examine the content and meaning of Latino identity.
>
> www.icpsr.umich.edu/icpsrweb/ICPSR/studies/6841/detail

Similar surveys exist in other countries. For example, the *British National Survey of Ethnic Minorities* has already reached its fourth edition. This was carried out between 1993 and 1994 with a sample of 5,196 adults (16 years of age and older) who had Caribbean, Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi or Chinese family origins and also with a white comparison sample group made up of 2,867 individuals.

Special attention is warranted for longitudinal surveys of new (recent) immigrants. Such research is considered to be particularly suited to monitoring the process of integration of immigrants in the host societies (Jacobs

2010). The pioneer study of this type is the *Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia* (LSIA) launched in 1994 and later replicated in 2000 and 2005. A similar survey design was used in the *Canadian Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants* (2001), the *US New Immigrant Survey* (2003) and the *Longitudinal Immigration Survey: New Zealand* (LisNZ), which started in 2004. In the European context a recent survey of similar characteristics was started in France in 2010.[8]

ELIPA (*Longitudinal Survey of the Integration of First-Time Arrivals*)[9] is a panel survey project developed by the French government to monitor a group of 6,000 people who had received a first residence permit and wished to settle permanently in France. These people were first interviewed in 2010. The project involves re-interviewing the same individuals again in 2011 and in 2013.

The goal of the survey is to gain reliable data on immigrant integration in France. The questionnaire includes questions about their migration, life and working conditions, educational and professional trajectories and other personal and social issues. Interviews are performed in thirteen languages by a private company (TNS-Sofres). Partial funding for the project comes from the European Union.

www.immigration.gouv.fr

These longitudinal surveys of immigrants all share similar goals: to obtain data about the settlement experiences of recently arrived immigrants and to understand how they adapt to life in each of these countries (Table 1.1). Having a longitudinal design to collect data about the same individuals over time, these studies provide a better picture of the settlement process than would be captured with a survey done at one point in time. They all have shortcomings, too. For example, since the definition of the target population in most of them refers to immigrants who have obtained a visa or some kind of residence permit to stay in the country, they exclude the irregular and undocumented immigrants, who precisely for this reason might experience a much tougher process of settlement. Other longitudinal panel studies, such as the *Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study*, have focused not on new immigrants but on the descendants of immigrants (Portes, Fernández-Kelly & Haller 2009).

Finding out about causes and consequences of international migration requires a special type of survey. In order to understand the reasons for migrating and to analyse the factors that facilitate this decision it is important to investigate both migrants (in destination countries) and non-migrants (in origin countries), thereby carrying out what Rallu (2008) refers to as 'both-way' surveys (also called bi-national/multi-site surveys) in origin and destination countries.

Among the surveys carried out with this type of design we can mention the 1987 survey done within the *Mexican Migration Project* developed in

Table 1.1 *Some of the most important longitudinal surveys of (new) immigrants*

Acronym and country	*Year the survey started*	*Target population*	*Initial sample size*	*Waves*	*Languages used*	*Mode of administration*
LSIA Australia	LSIA1: 1994 LSIA2: 2000 LSIA3: 2005	Age 15 and older (18 in LSIA3) and primary applicants for visas from overseas. LSIA3 included applicants from Australia	LSIA1: 5,192 LSIA2: 3,124 LSIA3: 9,835	LSIA 1: Three waves (6, 18 and 42 months after migration) LSIA 2 and 3: Two waves (6 months and 18 months after migration)	English and other languages through assistance of family and friends of the respondent, accredited interpreters or bilingual interviewers. LSIA 3 (wave 2) had bilingual phone interviews	Face-to-face interviews in LSIA1 and LSIA 2 Mail questionnaire for wave 1 of LSIA3 and telephone interview for wave 2
LSIC Canada	2001	Age 15 and older among immigrants who came from overseas	20,300	Interviews of immigrants 6 months, 2 years and 4 years after landing in Canada	Interviews in the 15 languages most frequently spoken by new immigrants (including English and French)	Mostly face-to-face interviews. Telephone interviews (for interviewees living in geographically isolated areas)
NIS United States	2003 (pilot in 1996)	Adult immigrants admitted to legal permanent residence. Child sample	12,500 (adult sample) 1,250 (child sample)	6 months, 3 years and 5 years after being granted a visa	Interviews conducted in the preferred language of interviewee (English, Spanish and some 18 other languages)	Face-to-face
LisNZ New Zealand	2004	Age 16 years and older immigrants approved for permanent residence	12,202	6, 18 and 36 months after being granted residence	English, Mandarin, Cantonese, Samoan, Korean, Hindi and Punjabi	Face-to-face
ELIPA France	2010	Immigrants who signed a reception and integration contract from September through December 2009	14,682 (6,107 achieved interviews)	First interview a few months after signing contract (January-February 2010), re-interviews in 2011 and planned for 2013	French and 14 other languages	Face-to-face

Sources: Authors' own elaboration. Data about each survey obtained from www.immi.gov.au/media/research/lsia (Australia); www.statcan.gc.ca/cgi-bin/imdb/p2SV.pl?Function=getSurvey&SDDS=4422&lang=en&db=imdb&adm=8&dis=2 (Canada); http://nis.princeton.edu/ (US); www. stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/population/Migration/lisnz-survey-information.aspx (New Zealand); www.immigration.gouv.fr/spip.php?page=dossiers_them_res&numrubrique=317 (France)

the United States and in Mexico (Massey 1987), the 1993 REMUAO survey[10] that covered eight sending and receiving countries in Africa and the survey *Push and Pull Factors in International Migration*, carried out between 1994 and 1999 under the leadership of the Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute (NIDI), which covered five sending countries in Africa and three host countries in Europe (Rallu 2008: 275). Some of these surveys are done as 'parallel' studies in origin and destination countries. Others attempt to provide a link between the samples at the origin and destination. This means that, for example, a Mexican migrant will be interviewed in the United States and some of his/her relatives (and friends) will also be interviewed in Mexico. These types of surveys provide interesting information, but they entail methodological difficulties, especially in regard to the sampling process, fieldwork organisation and the challenge of achieving representativeness of migrants in the destination country (Beauchemin & González-Ferrer 2011).

MAFE is a research project launched in 2008 that focuses on migration between sub-Saharan Africa and Europe. It covers the flows between Senegal and France, Spain and Italy, between the Democratic Republic of Congo and Belgium and the United Kingdom, and between Ghana and the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. Issues investigated include the changing migration patterns from Africa to Europe, the reasons for emigration and return, the impact of international migration on work and the lives of migrants and non-migrants and their families. The sampling design and fieldwork organisation have faced several challenges, due to the different sample frames (or lack thereof) in the various countries considered.

A biographic questionnaire, virtually identical in all countries, is administered to 5,700 individuals. In sending countries both non-migrants and returned migrants are interviewed, while in receiving countries the focus is on both documented and undocumented migrants. Data are collected from households (in the sending countries) and from individuals (both in origin and destination countries), using separate questionnaires.

www.mafeproject.com

The comparative analysis of migration processes and integration also entails carrying out co-ordinated surveys in different countries. This is the most recent trend in European-funded projects such as LOCALMULTIDEM[11] (presented in chapters 6 and 7 of this book) and TIES. The project already mentioned carried out by NIDI in the 1990s and the more recent MAFE combine a survey done both in origin and destination countries with a cross-country comparative design. In this type of endeavour the methodological challenges of surveys addressed to ethnic minorities/immigrant communities are added to the usual concerns found in designing surveys to be administered in different countries: finding equivalence in the target groups to be interviewed, achieving a common

questionnaire, translation issues, comparability of method of data collection and so on (Harkness, Braun, Edwards, Johnson, Lyberg, Mohler, Pennel & Smith 2010).

TIES (*The Integration of the European Second Generation*) is a comparative research project started in 2005, whose aim is to study the integration patterns of the descendants of immigrants from Turkey, ex-Yugoslavia and Morocco in fifteen cities across eight European countries (Germany, France, Austria, Switzerland, Belgium, Sweden, Spain and the Netherlands).

The data used to achieve this goal is gathered through a survey of the same groups in various European countries, using the same questionnaire and definition criteria of what constitutes the second generation. The groups surveyed were the target group, defined as native-born children of Turkish, Moroccan or former Yugoslavian immigrants in the age group from eighteen to thirty-five years old, while the comparison group consisted of native-born children of native-born parents in the same age group and neighbourhood as the former. As in other comparative projects, sample frames differ among the different countries.

The questionnaire includes modules on educational background, labour history, family relations, housing and neighbourhood, social relations, gender roles and child care, identity language and transnationalism, religion and other socio-demographic details of respondents.

www.tiesproject.eu

This limited set of examples is enough to show the ambitious efforts that have been developed to carry out surveys with immigrants as their target population. There are some important differences among them. The definition of the target population, the sampling sizes and strategies, the cross-sectional or panel structure, the modes of administration and the main subjects of interest differ, making them important complementary studies that explore diverse questions and help us to understand different aspects of immigrants' realities. The chapters in this book provide other examples which show how diverse research and policy-related interests stimulate the use of contrasting methodological strategies.

Immigrants in general population surveys: A general mapping

Immigrant populations not only create their own realities (that must be analysed through the specific surveys just described), but they also transform the overall societal picture. Going back to the example mentioned at the beginning of this section, the municipality of Paris may have an interest in better knowing its Senegalese community to incorporate their specific needs into local policies; but it also needs information about how a growing immigrant population is changing the social composition,

policy needs and attitudinal preferences of the general population in Paris.

We will review the incorporation of minorities in three different types of surveys: household panels, cross-sectional socio-political surveys and the major international comparative surveys, like the *World Values Survey* or the *European Social Survey.*

Large surveys used to elaborate social and economic statistical data, such as the EU *Labour Force Surveys, the International Social Survey Programme* usually incorporate migrants/non-nationals and have large samples, so it is possible to analyse them as a subgroup. For this reason, they have been considered by the European Union to be an important source of information to obtain indicators about the integration of immigrants.

A special module of questions to analyse the participation of migrants and their descendants in the labour market was carried out in the 2008 EU *Labour Force Surveys* (EU-LFS) in all member states (Ramb 2007). The evaluation report of the survey showed that the response rate among immigrants is lower than that among the autochthonous population, and non-nationals tend to be under-represented with respect to official figures from censuses and population registers, but having large samples the quantitative implications of this under representation are less severe than in other cases (Eurostat 2010).

The example of the EU-LFS 2008 ad hoc module demonstrates that adaptation of general population surveys to include migrants/non-nationals is not merely a matter of sampling design: the module carried out in 2008 dealt not only with an increase in sample sizes, but also with incorporation of a set of questions that facilitated identification of different types of migrants and descendants of migrants.

http://circa.europa.eu/irc/dsis/employment/info/data/eu_lfs/

The main panel household surveys usually incorporate immigrants in their target population, but they must also take into account demographic changes over time (such as immigration flows and changes in migrant group composition). All have adopted mechanisms to ensure an accurate representation of immigrants. Some, like the United States' Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID), take as a point of departure the wider aim of having a better representation of the overall country's population, beyond sampling immigrants with the goal of doing subgroup analysis focused on them. The PSID, for example, incorporated a refresher sample in 1990 to include individuals who had arrived in the country from Mexico, Puerto Rico and Cuba after 1968 (when the survey first started). While this new sample allowed for a better representation of some immigrant groups, it left out other important ones, such as Asians, so it was dropped in 1997-1998. In its place came another representative sample of 500 immigrant families

that had arrived or were born in the United States after 1968 (PSID 2011). Some changes were also made to the *German Socio-Economic Panel* (SOEP) to keep its sample aligned with immigration flows (Haisken-DeNew, John & Frick 2005). While the immigrants who had arrived in (West) Germany in the 1960s were already part of the panel's initial sample design,[12] in 1994 and 1995 two new samples of immigrants were added.

In other panel household surveys, such as the United Kingdom's *Understanding Society*, there is a boost sample in order to produce a larger sample size for analysis of five relevant ethnic groups (Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Caribbean and African) (see Berthoud, Fumagalli, Lynn & Platt (2009) and chapter 2 in this volume). In this case, the aim of having a boost sample was not just to gain a better representation of the overall population of the United Kingdom, but also to be able to do specific analyses of these five ethnic minorities. This could be viewed as an immigrant longitudinal survey nested within a general population survey, to allow detailed analyses of these populations in a general and comparative framework.

Whatever their main goal, long-established surveys have needed to adapt to the new reality by changing sample designs and data-collection strategies. New projects, like the Dutch Longitudinal Internet Studies for the Social Sciences (LISS) panel, have adopted from the start a methodological strategy that recognises this multi-ethnic societal composition.

> The Dutch LISS panel consists of 5,000 households, comprising 8,000 individuals. The panel is based on a probability sample of households drawn from the population register by Statistics Netherlands. To ensure coverage of people who do not use the Internet, the individuals selected to participate in the panel receive PCs and broadband Internet access if they do not have a computer and/or Internet.
>
> LISS included migrants in their original sample, but due to lower response rate they were under-represented among final respondents (Knoef & De Vos 2009: 11-12). In 2010 a new immigrant panel was initiated in addition to the LISS panel. A control group of native Dutch was included in this new panel, which comprises around 1,600 households (2,400 individuals) of which 1,100 households (1,700 individuals) are of non-Dutch origin.
>
> www.lissdata.nl/lissdata

Attitudinal and public opinion surveys seem to lag behind those that seek to collect data about socio-economic indicators, such as household socio-economic panels. This might have to do with the fact that, although not exclusively, public opinion surveys have often been carried out somewhat linked to elections or attempts to assess the impact of governmental policies in electoral competition. The most established general population

attitude surveys, such as the *General Social Survey* (GSS) in the United States and the *British Social Attitudes* (BSA) survey in Great Britain, include immigrants in their target population, but they do not usually have boost samples of immigrants that allow for any detailed analysis of these groups. In most countries, surveys that aim to forecast votes rarely include immigrants, since the right to vote is usually restricted to citizens; when non-nationals have the right to vote, it is generally only in local (or possibly, regional) elections.

Even if slower in time, it is important to mention the symbolic importance of the incorporation of immigrants in attitudinal surveys: being a part of a group that is allowed to express opinions on public issues is a significant step toward acquiring some of the rights associated with citizenship. Through attitudinal surveys, the opinions and values of immigrants are incorporated into public voices (like those of any other citizen) and may have an effect on public policies or at least in the public debate. In contrast, the incorporation of immigrants has been much faster in surveys geared at obtaining social and economic indicators or those that aim to measure the needs and demands of public-service users, such as health or education (where immigrants are becoming a crucial public).

However, surveys that aim to achieve full and serious coverage of immigrant and minority populations should consider other issues apart from the definition of the target population, such as the use of languages other than the main official national language. Whereas most surveys of immigrants use other languages, most general population surveys continue to use only the official national language. For example, whereas surveys like the BSA and ALLBUS[13] only include residents with a sufficient knowledge of the native language (Blohm 2008), since 2006 the US *General Social Survey* (GSS) has become an exception to this pattern by using a Spanish version of its questionnaire in addition to the English one (see chapter 10 in this volume).

The *German General Social Survey* (ALLBUS) is a consolidated general survey on social and political attitudes that has developed more than fifteen editions. When the survey was widened to the population of unified Germany in the early 1990s, the universe was also changed from voters to residents, thus also including foreign-born adult residents.

Questionnaires and interviews are performed only in German. Turks, the largest immigrant group in Germany, are estimated to be less than 2 per cent of the population, which would mean organising a huge effort for about 60 interviews (the second language group being Italians, in a much smaller proportion). Since their interest is the overall national picture, differences due to missing segments of the immigrant population in the final sample would only appear in very specific questions.

www.gesis.org/en/allbus

This means that, in practical terms, even if the theoretical universe of these surveys is the adult resident population, in reality the absence of special provisions regarding language in some of them restricts the universe to the adult resident population able to speak the national language well enough. This is unlikely to create problems regarding minorities from former colonies or from countries that use the receiving country's majority language (Algerians in France, Ecuadorians in Spain and so on), but it will mean the exclusion of significant parts of the newly arrived populations coming from places with very different languages (such as the Chinese in Western Europe). For example, returning to municipalities and examining the case of Barcelona, all surveys of the general population carried out by the city administration since 2003 claim to be covering the resident population. However, a detailed look at the methodology followed reveals that, for example, a telephone survey that excludes mobile phones and uses no languages other than Catalan and Spanish produces an average of 6-7 per cent of foreign-born people in the sample; however, some 20 per cent of the total adult population in Barcelona is estimated to be foreign born.[14]

International comparative surveys have also incorporated immigrants, albeit to various extents depending on the particular survey being considered. For example, looking at three of the most well-known comparative attitudinal surveys, we observe quite different patterns. The oldest one, the *World Values Survey*, has no clear homogeneous rules: universe and sampling details change from one country to another and from one wave to another. Most countries seem to follow the pattern just described: they aim to cover all the resident population, but do not always use different languages in questionnaires or interviews. For example, Table 1.2 summarises the use of foreign languages in the last wave of the survey. An enormous number of countries (81 per cent of the 56 countries participating in the survey) use only a single language. Many of these countries are largely monolingual (e.g. Argentina), but in others the use of a single language excludes de facto a sizeable proportion of the population, whether this is due to immigration (United States or European countries) or to the historical linguistic

Table 1.2 *Number of interviewing languages used in the last wave of the World Values Survey (selected examples)*

	Number of countries	*Percentage*	*Examples*
One language	41	82	USA, Netherlands, Mali, China
Two languages	6	11	Georgia, Canada
Three languages	4	7	Malaysia, Taiwan
Four languages	2	4	Andorra, Ghana
Five or more languages	3	5	India, South Africa

Source: Authors' own elaboration. Data from www.worldvaluessurvey.org

diversity of the country (e.g. French being the only language used in the interviews carried out in Mali or Morocco).

A similar pattern is found in other important comparative surveys, such as the *International Social Survey Programme* (ISSP), which also aims to cover all the residents in each participant country, but has no homogeneous rule on the use of additional languages. The *European Social Survey* (ESS) also covers all resident population in the countries where it is carried out. It has developed a general rule regarding languages: when there is another language spoken as a first language by at least than 5 per cent of the population of a participating country, the questionnaire should be translated into that second language; as a result, four languages are used in Luxembourg, three in Switzerland and Russian is also used (outside Russia itself) as an interviewing language in Ukraine, Israel and Estonia, to mention just a few cases.

As this set of examples shows, the incorporation of all the resident population has been increasingly implemented into not only national, but also comparative (general population) surveys. The necessary adjustments to ensure that this incorporation goes beyond merely changing the definition of the target population, have been more limited because of the increased costs and organisational complexity involved. However, carrying out the methodological changes needed to adapt to multicultural societies is becoming an additional indicator of the rigour and quality of any representative survey, and the most serious efforts in this direction developed in the ESS are an indication of its commitment to rigorous methodological standards.

1.3 The subject, logic and plan of this book

The subject: The methodological challenges of surveying immigrants

In the previous section we have already pointed out some of the special difficulties faced in surveys of immigrants. The next pages present the most important of these difficulties, addressed in two parts: (i) difficulties associated with sampling and defining the universe and (ii) difficulties associated with the data-gathering process (features of fieldwork like languages, interviewers and response errors). In both cases, we will consider how these difficulties appear and are coped with in the context of surveys primarily addressed to immigrants, and in the case of general population surveys that include immigrant populations.

Surveys have been considered a special kind of conversation. However, they are a very unnatural conversation, where one of the participants essentially questions and the other answers (Converse & Schuman 1974). In fact, the understanding of the survey situation can be reduced to these two participants: the interviewer (and the organisation that stands behind her) and the interviewee, who is providing the answers. We will first focus our

attention on the respondent and then on the interviewing organisations and the resources they provide.

Starting with the interviewee, the first crucial decision to make is what population we are interested in – that is, the target population of the survey. An initial issue in this discussion, is the definition of a migrant or ethnic minority, as discussed in the previous section. However, there are other crucial decisions to be made, beyond the choice of focusing on the particularities of immigrant groups or on those who consider themselves as (subjectively) belonging to an ethnic group different from the majority. For example, are there relevant subpopulations among this target group about whom we want to know more? The answer to this question is never an easy one: there may be immigrants from more than forty countries living in the Netherlands. Ideally, we might like to know about each of them because, for example, we suspect the circumstances of Somalians to be quite different from those of Ethiopians. However, we are not likely to have the resources to achieve representative samples (i.e. about 400 interviews) of each of these forty nationalities (totalling 16,000 effective interviews). Almost all of the very different surveys covered in this book have faced this dilemma. Are there specific groups with a large enough population so that their presence should be guaranteed through the sampling design? What specific groups are these? Can countries, languages or cultures be grouped somehow, so that, even if representation cannot be achieved for each group individually (e.g. for Ecuadorian and Peruvian immigrants independently), it can at least be done by aggregation according to geographical or cultural affinities among them (e.g. Andean). The chapters in this book will explain the dilemmas that different surveys faced in addressing this issue and the decisions they made. Chapter 2 will discuss in greater detail the problems involved and the trade-offs of a wide array of sampling strategies.

The decision about whom to survey is not only related to the definition of the groups we want to know more about. Very often, survey results by themselves are of limited interest and their richness only appears when they are placed in comparative perspective: comparing two countries, the same population across time or comparing results from two ethnic groups in a given city helps us to assess the real value of the data and to interpret the results. Surveys addressed to immigrants often reveal two different realities: that found among ethnic/immigrant groups and that found among the autochthonous population (Jacobs 2010). Chapters 6 and 8 are based on research designs that purposely incorporated a control group of people of Danish/Swedish origin to make this important comparison possible.

Once the decision has been made about which subgroups to include, surveyors have to answer the same questions as in any other regular survey: is there an adequate sampling frame? How far from perfect is it, and which populations are going to be excluded or under-represented if we use it?

The situation regarding surveys addressed to ethnic minorities/immigrants is not inherently different from other surveys, but in most circumstances it is likely to be more complex. Sometimes, adequate sampling frames do not exist for any kind of survey, but such a possibility is more likely if we are dealing with minorities, with a particularly mobile population group, with situations including illegal residence status, or other factors associated with (severe) social exclusion. Since all of these factors are very likely to be linked to recent immigration status in many Western countries, more often than not, surveys of immigrants will lack an adequate sampling frame (or at least there will be reasonable doubt about its adequacy).

One problem that may emerge in many countries is that the information available is not what is needed. In France, for example, no information related to ethnicity is allowed in any official records and as a result, finding an appropriate sampling frame for certain types of surveys is difficult. In other countries there may be data, but it may not provide the information we are interested in (e.g. country of birth may be available but without information on parents' country of birth, thereby impeding the identification of second-generation immigrants). In addition, sometimes data exists but is only available for official purposes and therefore not provided to individual researchers.

This book provides examples of different approaches regarding sampling frames. Chapter 4 presents a case in which the research team found that no appropriate sample frame existed and had to create one; whereas chapter 7 presents a case where an adequate sampling frame did exist, but researchers nonetheless had to adapt it to the resources available to carry out the fieldwork. In contrast to these cases, the research team in charge of similar surveys in Sweden and Denmark (see chapters 6 and 8) were largely satisfied with the sampling frames used. Problems faced in several of the surveys mentioned in this book are the higher residential mobility of migrant populations[15] and immigrants living at 'non-official' addresses (e.g. people sleeping in cars) (chapter 4), to mention only two.

Sometimes no satisfactory sampling frame can be found and the survey project has to be abandoned. In other cases where no sampling frame is available, the need for the data is so acute that resources can be provided to construct one. Several considerations arise at this point. If there are good estimates of the distribution of the target population in small areas, a sample frame can be built if there are sufficient resources to map the areas (chapter 2). The lack of this information will make the task difficult and almost force a clearly non-probabilistic approach to the problem. Chapter 4 is an interesting example of the first kind of situation, where good data about the social and spatial distribution of the immigrant population allowed a probabilistic selection of sampling areas and non-probabilistic methods had to be used for the final selection of respondents. In fact, the approach used for this final selection was quite similar to the Centre

Sampling method that has been widely used in the Italian context (Mecatti 2004, Blangiardo 2008). A completely different strategy that has also often been used is the selection of foreign names from telephone directories: for example, the *European Internal Migrations Social Survey* (EIMMS) identified 250 interviewees in each of the five largest European countries in this way, to study people who had migrated between 1973 and 2003 (Santacreu, Rother & Braun 2006). Obviously, this strategy will be problematic if foreign names cannot be distinguished easily enough and will as a likely result miss people without phones and foreign wives of nationals, to mention just two categories.

In short, sampling may be very difficult in surveys addressed to immigrant populations. Of all the problems that may be faced, this book will basically address three: 1) how to define the groups and subgroups in which we are interested, 2) how to know if we have a good sampling frame and the limitations associated with using an existing one, and 3) what methods, probabilistic or not, can be used to make a more or less rigorous sample if this sample frame does not exist or does not provide enough information. The book will cover quite different scenarios that will hopefully provide valuable insights to be more fully discussed in the conclusion.

The second subset of questions to be considered here are those concerned with survey organisation and the resources used to achieve a successful interview. We will again address three main aspects: 1) questionnaire development (including language and translation issues), 2) selection of interviewers, and 3) the study and management of non-response.

The questionnaire is the special 'conversation' code that guides the interview situation. In the usual survey methodology book it would be one of the central aspects to discuss. In this book, questionnaires do not play such a crucial role.[16] This does not mean that there are no relevant issues regarding questionnaire development, such as making sure that the concepts used have a similar meaning across the different cultural backgrounds of ethnic/immigrant minorities covered. Thus, we will discuss how the questionnaire development stages might be different from other surveys and what can be learned from a central step, the pilot study. Chapters 3 and 6 illustrate the substantial benefits that can be extracted from a good pilot study to improve the questionnaire. However, as has been mentioned in the previous section of this chapter, perhaps the most central point related to questionnaires in surveys of immigrants are languages and translation issues:[17] the use of fewer languages will mean a de facto exclusion of parts of the population.

In most cases, it will be impossible to include every language that is spoken as a first language by any member of the population, but costs, interests and language abilities will have to be considered to make a balanced decision. Chapter 10 about the *General Social Survey* demonstrates the consequences of including the second most important language in the

United States. This chapter also shows that even when considerable resources are available, translation is not an easy task: even the strictest double checks may continue to produce a lack of strict comparability among languages like English and Spanish or among the specific meanings that a given adjective has for people of Chilean and Guatemalan origin, even if they speak the same language.

The translation of questionnaires into one or more other languages is the central strategy to include a wide range of the population that does not speak the main language of the country fluently. Only through a serious and controlled translation can we guarantee the highest level of meaning equivalence between concepts and ideas (Harkness 2003). However, translation may be a necessary but not sufficient condition to achieve greater representativeness, that is, to not exclude de facto parts of the sample. First of all, the availability of questionnaires in a second language means that interviewers must be able to use that language (except in the case of self-administered surveys). Second, even translating questionnaires, the fear remains that socially excluded communities may be reluctant to answer interviewers who do not belong to their group, or at least they may provide them less reliable answers (Schaeffer 1980; Reese, Danielson, Shoemaker, Chand & Hsu 1986). The need to obtain high cooperation rates has introduced the practice of what has been called 'ethnic matching', that is, trying to achieve the maximum correspondence between the nationalities of interviewers and interviewees. Several chapters in this book address that issue, but it is the central concern of chapter 5, which will introduce important critical arguments about this practice.

In most societies, the debate about ethnic matching has wider implications, as there are not enough professional interviewers belonging to each of the ethnic minorities. As a result, in practice, ethnic matching leads to a wider debate concerning the use of professional interviewers: is it better to use professionally trained interviewers or people who may have less experience but can generate greater trust and produce more empathy from interviewees? The researchers in this book have again used different solutions to this dilemma and reach (partially) contradictory conclusions about the ideal solutions.

The main reason for using interviewers who may facilitate communication with the respondents is their suspected impact on response rates, the final topic of this book. The response rate of any survey is considered one of the most important indicators of its quality and reliability. Too low a response rate means that an important part of the original sample has not been reached and there may be good reasons to fear that those surveyed may differ from those not included (Groves 2006). Non-response among immigrants was rarely studied until recently (Deding, Fridberg & Jakobsen 2008; Feskens, Hox, Lensvelt-Mulders & Schmeets 2006). Non-response is in fact the combination of two different situations: people who cannot be

reached (non-contact) and people who refuse to answer (non-cooperation). Throughout this book and elsewhere there is general agreement that contact rates are lower among immigrant groups, but competing empirical claims are made regarding cooperation, both in previous literature as well as in this volume.

The logic and structure of the book: Challenges, cases and lessons

How is the information in this book organised? Our starting point has been the identification and discussion of the main challenges in survey research among ethnic and immigrant minority populations. What do these challenges mean? What are their consequences and the possible strategies to face them? We believe that presenting these challenges and strategies in a vacuum would not be very useful. Each survey and each research project is a multifaceted reality encompassing a national reality, a given set of human and economic resources and a specific set of research objectives; to present all the pieces of this comprehensive situation is, in our view, the best way to give the reader a general sense of the conditions under which a given research strategy was adopted.

As a result, the structure of the book follows a dual logic, combining a problem-oriented and a case-oriented approach. Thus, the first thread around which the book is organised relates to the specific problems that come up in surveys addressed to ethnic or immigrant minorities and the possible strategies to address them. Following this logic the book is divided into three main parts. The first part primarily covers sampling issues. The main focus of the second part is fieldwork organisation and development. Part three of the book centres on the presence of immigrant/ethnic minorities in general population surveys.

Returning to the idea that each survey is a reality of its own, each chapter in the book is also case-oriented, presenting an individual research project or survey that has immigrants or ethnic minorities as its main target population or a general population survey that is also addressed to immigrants. The discussion focuses primarily on problems related to certain methodological challenges and strategies depending on which part of the book the chapter appears in. Organising the information in such a manner allows us to deal more in-depth with each specific challenge (sampling, languages and ethnic matching of interviewers, to mention just a few) without losing sight of the overall reality of each of the surveys. This helps us to understand the context in which the decisions regarding research design were made.

Thus, the goal of the book is not to present a set of particular survey stories. Rather, the book aims to be a useful tool for any person interested in research about immigration who wants to evaluate the risks and pitfalls of a given research strategy, or who is considering how to organise her own

research or how to judge the validity of the immigrant survey data she has. With this goal in mind, each of the chapters and particularly the book's conclusion discusses the lessons to be learnt from survey experiences. These lessons will surely not be simplistic (e.g. just because a particular sampling strategy was a success once does not mean that it should be used in every circumstance), but a great deal can be learnt from each of the small problems, successes and limits of this group of quite diverse survey experiences.

The first part of the book includes three chapters that concentrate on sampling issues. Chapter 2 presents different alternatives to elaborate probability (and non-probability) sampling of minority ethnic groups. It covers the main issues in designing these types of samples: problems in classifying the population on the basis of ethnicity, deciding which ethnic groups to survey or to boost and the way to carry out the samples. It emphasises the difficulties in achieving nationally representative surveys of all ethnic groups, particularly when there are financial and practical constraints and how to achieve compromises between ideal and feasible goals. Chapter 3 discusses the experience of the 2007 Spanish *National Immigrants Survey* (ENI).[18] The sample design, the changes introduced as a result of a difficult pilot experience and some of the most important features of the fieldwork are presented. Thanks to a substantial organisational and financial operation and an adequate sampling frame, Spain has its first reliable data on the social profiles of its most important immigrant groups. If chapters 2 and 3 represent different scenarios for surveys that had significant resources for their completion, the final chapter of this first part is an example of how to organise an immigrant survey in a much more constrained scenario, when no adequate sampling frame is available and organisational constraints (particularly time) are acute. Chapter 4 describes a case where it was necessary to build a much more original sampling strategy combining probabilistic and non-probabilistic features, which resulted (as the chapter comparisons with other official statistics show) in an appropriate picture of immigrants in Andalusia.

The second part is made up of four chapters all dealing with surveys of immigrants, but concentrating on different kinds of fieldwork problems. Chapter 5 addresses one important aspect of fieldwork in any survey of minorities: ethnic matching. The Dutch survey discussed in that chapter used an experimental matching of interviewer's strategy to learn whether higher cooperation rates and more reliable answers were obtained when interviewees were interviewed by individuals from their country of origin. The results cast doubt on the appropriateness of ethnic matching strategies for all circumstances, particularly when sensitive topics related to the native culture are involved. Chapter 6 presents two related surveys of immigrants in Stockholm: one of immigrants and their descendants and another of immigrant associations. The chapter reviews most of the problems that any survey of immigrants will have to address, from interviewer recruitment to

questionnaire design and translation and the role played by the pilot study. Finally, the chapter presents its outcomes regarding response rates, which is the main subject of the next two chapters.

Chapter 7 presents another survey developed in the context of a research project that surveyed immigrants and immigrant associations in several European cities. The chapter focuses on two aspects of fieldwork (interviewer training and languages); but its main subject is the analysis of response rates in the Madrid survey of five immigrant groups defined by place of birth. The chapter provides a critical analysis of the difficulties faced by most immigrant surveys developed by small organisations with limited resources available to carry out their survey. The last chapter of this section, chapter 8, based on a Danish survey, has a central focus on the question of why non-response occurs. How is it related to the personal characteristics of the respondents and of the interviewers? The chapter presents a set of hypotheses that are tested through a survey covering adult immigrants from three countries (Iran, Pakistan and Turkey) as well as native-born Danes. The analysis of contacts, cooperation and response rates reveals the specific factors that most decrease the likelihood of individuals participating in surveys.

The chapters in the third and final part of the book have a different primary research objective: they are not focused on capturing the specificities of immigrant realities, but rather, on placing them in a broader picture of the overall society. The chapters in this section deal with general population surveys that include immigrant populations. Chapter 9, on the Spanish case, presents a broad picture, describing how immigrants have been gradually incorporated into the general population surveys of Spain's main public survey institution, the Sociological Research Centre (Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas, CIS). The chapter addresses the difficulties that arise in a research institution that must work efficiently and has no specialisation in issues regarding immigration, but must incorporate them into its sampling and fieldwork strategies.

The chapter also presents the results of an experiment developed to test how many immigrants were being missed in CIS surveys and the impact of the use of Spanish as an interviewing language (even when the resident population was the target rather than individuals holding Spanish nationality). This last issue is the main focus of chapter 10, which presents the experience of the *GSS* in the United States when it incorporated the possibility of conducting interviews in Spanish. The chapter explains the procedures used by the GSS to guarantee language comparability and evaluates the wider coverage of the new GSS and the implications of not using Spanish for the validity of results.

Chapter 11 looks at the representation of foreign minorities among the respondents of three Swiss general surveys. Both cross-sectional as well as longitudinal surveys are used to carry out non-response and attrition

analysis in order to understand the reasons behind the under-representation of foreign minorities with respect to the Swiss population. Their analysis concentrates on the different patterns of under-representation of each of these foreign nationality groups and explores whether these patterns disappear once we control for factors like education and occupation.

The concluding chapter goes back to the challenges presented earlier and analyses how they were addressed by the different surveys covered throughout the book. This chapter discusses the strategies employed and the importance of the contextual factors of each of the surveys (availability of sampling frame, budget or time constraints, survey main goals and others). The chapter sketches a number of useful tips to consider when planning a survey that covers immigrant population and discusses whether these recommendations can be generalised or are dependent on the context and ambitions of each specific survey.

Notes

1 We thank Amparo González-Ferrer for her useful comments on a previous version of this chapter.

2 The views expressed in this chapter are personal and do not necessarily reflect those of the organisations to which the authors belong.

3 To illustrate this point, even an interesting review of the state of the art of empirical research on immigration such as the one by Givens (2007) does not refer to the difficulties that obtaining good empirical data on the field entail and to the limitations of existing data.

4 We are not claiming that previous literature on the subject does not explain the basic methodological steps followed in the research. We just argue that in most cases, methodological concerns have not been the researchers' main objective. As a result, these issues have not been dealt with in depth.

5 The current volume complements the other two books. Fassman et al. (2009) cover several important European countries but miss the Spanish case, which is present in several chapters of this volume. The methodological chapters in parts 3 and 4 of Bonifazi et al. (2008) deal with those issues that are only marginally covered in this volume: the analysis of second-generation migrants and the use of coordinated surveys in the countries of origin and destination.

6 At least two important international conferences have been held on this subject. See, for example, the 2004 Symposium: Innovative Methods for Surveying Difficult-to-Reach Populations, organised by Statistics Canada (see www.statcan.gc.ca/bsolc/olc-cel/olc-cel?catno=11-522-XIE2004001&lang=eng) and the 2008 International Conference on Survey Methods in Multinational, Multiregional, and Multicultural Contexts (3MC) (see www.3mc2008.de).

7 See Simon and Clément (2006) for an exception to this statement.

8 In the UK some consideration was given to the possibility of undertaking a longitudinal survey of immigrants (Nazroo, Berthoud, Erens, Karlsen & Purdon 2005), but the idea to establish it as an autonomous project was disregarded and the project was integrated in the larger *Understanding Society*, a general population longitudinal panel household survey (Berthoud, Fumagalli, Lynn & Platt 2009). See chapter 2 in this volume.

9 *Etude Longitudinale sur l'Integration des Primo-Arrivants* (ELIPA).

10 *Réseaux Migrations et Urbanisation en Afrique de l'Ouest* (REMUAO).
11 *Multicultural Democracy and Immigrants' Social Capital in Europe: Participation, Organisational Networks, and Public Policies at the Local Level.*
12 Sample A of the SOEP designed in 1984 covers persons in private households with a household head who does not belong to the main foreigner groups of guest workers (e.g. household heads who are Turkish, Greek, Yugoslavian, Spanish or Italian). These last groups have their own oversample (sample B using 'SOEP's terminology'), that allows for separate analyses of this population (Haisken-DeNew et al. 2005).
13 *Allgemeine Bevölkerungsumfrage der Sozialwissenschaften.*
14 Official data from Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE, Spanish National Statistics Institute) January 2009. This strong discrepancy between the figures reveals a survey practice that incorporates about a third of the real adult immigrant population.
15 For example, it led the ENI survey to change its sampling unit, from individuals to households (see chapter 3).
16 Another important issue that will not be covered in depth in this book is the mode of administration. The surveys examined in this book use various modes of administration, but additional research is needed to address this topic more thoroughly.
17 The Eumagine Project, developed in several African and European countries with non-formalised written languages, is an especially interesting example of how to deal with these challenges (Ersanilli, Carling & Haas 2011 and www.eumagine.org). See also Harkness et al. (2010).
18 *Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes.*

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PART I

SAMPLING ISSUES

DOI: 10.4324/9781003704577_PT01

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2 Designing high-quality surveys of ethnic minority groups in the United Kingdom

Bob Erens

2.1 Introduction

Carrying out surveys among ethnic minority (EM) groups raises a number of problems above and beyond those to do with surveys of the general population. These difficulties arise because EM groups may appear with a low frequency in the population, may be geographically unclustered, and may be difficult to access.

This chapter examines some of the key issues to do with designing rigorous, high-quality surveys of ethnic minorities, whether as a 'boost' to increase their numbers in a general survey or as a targeted survey among particular EM groups. By 'high quality', the survey needs not only to provide accurate data, but it also must relate to the needs of the users (e.g. it should be relevant, timely and accessible). While having indicators of survey quality is important – for example, to evaluate the usefulness of the data provided and to differentiate between 'good' and 'bad' data – this chapter is not concerned with issues of general survey design or quality (for a general discussion of survey methodology, see Groves, Fowler, Couper, Lepkowski, Singer & Tourangeau 2009; Fowler 2008; Lyberg, Biemer, De Leeuw, Dippo, Schwarz & Trewin 1997).

The tension between cost and quality that is found in all surveys is even more acute when carrying out surveys of ethnic minorities, since these specialist surveys tend to be more expensive in terms of cost per participant. Therefore, an EM survey is likely to cost more than a survey among the general population of a similar size and quality. This will need to be reflected in the survey budget (unless reductions in sample size or quality are acceptable).

The following sections in this chapter cover approaches to categorising EM groups and the classification commonly used in surveys in the United Kingdom; the practicalities influencing decisions about which EM groups to include in surveys; methods for sampling EM groups, including an example of how a probability sample can be designed cost-effectively using stratification and clustering; and data-collection issues including response rates, the translation process and ethnic matching of fieldworker and respondent.

DOI: 10.4324/9781003704577_CH02

2.2 Categorising the population of interest

Before designing a survey sample, the key question that needs to be answered is who the survey population is. This refers not only to which EM groups to include, but also what is meant by an 'EM group' in the first place, and how these EM groups can be clearly identified for the purposes of the survey (e.g. for sampling).

A number of approaches have been taken to identify 'racial' or 'ethnic' groups, some of which have proven controversial. Over different time periods and in different countries, 'race' or 'ethnicity' has been defined using one or more different characteristics, such as country of birth (own or parents'), nationality, language, religion, skin colour, cultural traditions and ancestral origins. Bulmer (1999) has defined an 'ethnic group' as follows:

> [a] collectivity within a larger population having real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared past, and a cultural focus upon one or more symbolic elements which define the group's identity, such as kinship, religion, language, shared territory, nationality or physical appearance.

Moreover, ethnic identity should not be seen as static, but as socially contingent, flexible, and liable to change as social circumstances change. For the concept to be meaningful, it is essential that members of an EM group are conscious of being part of that group, and that they choose the characteristics they wish to use to define themselves (e.g. skin colour, ancestry, language), although their choices may be influenced by the stereotypes imposed by others (Karlsen & Nazroo 2006).

Given the complexity of defining ethnicity, there is no single or straightforward way that EM groups can be easily identified, particularly when it comes to operationalising the categories for the purposes of a survey. When carrying out a survey, interviewers (and respondents) need to be able to clearly identify who is eligible for interview. Some characteristics may be easy to identify (such as country of birth), while others are subjective and more difficult to identify in a survey context (e.g. cultural traditions). No ethnic classification system is perfect, and none is universally accepted within the United Kingdom.

The difficulty has been partially overcome by asking people to classify themselves as belonging to a particular EM group. The UK's Office of National Statistics (ONS) designed an ethnic classification system for the 1991 population census which was based on self-defined ethnicity:

> [Because] membership of an ethnic group is something that is subjectively meaningful to the person concerned […] we are unable to base ethnic identification upon objective, quantifiable information

> as we would, say, for age or gender. And this means that we should rather ask people which group they see themselves as belonging to. (ONS 2003: 9)

ONS subsequently revised the self-identity question for the 2001 census, and this question, as described in Figure 2.1, is now widely used in national government-funded surveys in the United Kingdom.

For any self-completion survey, the question should be asked in the same format as that used on the 2001 census. For a face-to-face survey, these categories are usually included on a show card, with the question read out. For a telephone survey, two questions are asked: firstly, the respondent selects one of the main categories (e.g. Asian or Asian British) and secondly, the detailed groups within the selected main category are read out and the respondent selects the appropriate one (e.g. Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, any other Asian background).[1]

ONS has urged researchers in the United Kingdom to use these ethnic categories. While there are a number of criticisms of this classification,

Figure 2.1 *Self-identity question included in the 2001 UK census*

What is your ethnic group? Choose ONE section from A to E, then tick the appropriate box to indicate your ethnic group.

A
- ☐ White
- ☐ British
- ☐ Irish
- ☐ Any other white background, please write in _____

B Mixed
- ☐ White and Black Caribbean
- ☐ White and Black African
- ☐ White and Asian
- ☐ Any other mixed background, please write in_____

C Asian or Asian British
- ☐ Indian
- ☐ Pakistani
- ☐ Bangladeshi
- ☐ Any other Asian background, please write in_____

D Black or Black British
- ☐ Caribbean
- ☐ African
- ☐ Any other black background, please write in_____

E Chinese or other ethnic group
- ☐ Chinese
- ☐ Any other, please write in_____

Source: UK Office for National Statistics

such as including all 'Black Africans' within a single category (Elam & Chinouya 2000), there are significant advantages for surveys to use the ONS categories, not least of which is to provide standardisation across surveys to enable them to be compared with each other. Other important benefits are that census data can be used to help design a cost-effective sample (as described below) and the representativeness of an achieved sample can be judged by comparing it with census results. While the ONS classification may not meet all needs, using this classification does not preclude further refinement of the categories – for example, looking at particular Black African groups or White EM groups – or the use of alternative classifications (e.g. based on language spoken or religion) within particular studies.

2.3 Deciding which ethnic minority groups to include in a survey

Identifying the EM groups to be included in a particular survey may of course directly arise from the aims of the study. For example, the objective may be to look at the characteristics of one (or more) specified EM groups within a particular locality. On the other hand, many large-scale national surveys wish to boost EM groups in a way that will obtain robust data that can be compared with the general population, at the same time as providing reliable data about each of the EM groups included in the sample. In such cases, it may be decided either 1) to limit the EM groups sampled to the most populous groups in the country in order to provide robust data about each sampled EM group or 2) to include all EM groups, but to aim for sufficient numbers to provide reliable estimates only for the most populous EM groups (while the remaining groups are put in a catch-all 'other EM group' category for analysis purposes). Both approaches have been used in large surveys in the United Kingdom.

Population data is likely to play a significant role in determining which EM groups can be practically and cost-effectively sampled in sufficient numbers to allow separate analysis. ONS publishes (experimental) yearly estimates of the population in England[2] by ethnic group. Table 2.1 shows the ethnic composition of the population of England in 2007.[3]

As is evident from Table 2.1, in a large national survey in England of, say, 10,000 individuals, there would be only about 580 Asian respondents, of whom about 260 would be Indian, 180 Pakistani and 70 Bangladeshi. The number of Black, Mixed and Chinese respondents would all be considerably lower.[4] Since most analyses will wish to look at results by gender, age and other key variables, these numbers are clearly insufficient for separate analysis within individual EM groups.

Given these constraints, many national surveys in the United Kingdom limit their focus to the six most populous non-White EM groups, including Indian, Pakistani, Black African, Black Caribbean, Chinese and Bangladeshi groups. Examples of national surveys with boosts limited to the largest EM groups include the *Fourth National Survey of Ethnic Minorities in Britain*, carried out in 1993-1994 (Smith & Prior 1996); the 1999 and 2004 *Health Surveys* for England (Erens, Primatesta & Prior 2001a; Sproston & Mindell 2006); the 2000 *National Survey of Sexual Attitudes and Lifestyles* (Erens, McManus, Field & Korovessi 2001b); and the *British Crime Survey* up to 2001 (later years boosted all non-White EM groups) (Bolling, Grant & Sinclair 2006-2007).

A recent example is the very large-scale survey called *Understanding Society* (formerly referred to as the UK *Household Longitudinal Survey*, or UKHLS) that was launched in January 2009 and aims to interview

Table 2.1 *Mid-2007 population estimates in England by ethnic group*

Ethnic group	*Mid-2007 population estimates*[1]	*Percentage*
White:		
British	42,736.0	83.6
Irish	570.5	1.1
Other White	1,776.3	3.5
Mixed:		
White and Black Caribbean	282.9	0.6
White and Black African	114.3	0.2
White and Asian	260.9	0.5
Other Mixed	212.0	0.4
Asian or Asian British:		
Indian	1,316.0	2.6
Pakistani	905.7	1.8
Bangladeshi	353.9	0.7
Other Asian	339.2	0.7
Black or Black British:		
Black Caribbean	599.7	1.2
Black African	730.6	1.4
Other Black	117.6	0.2
Chinese or other ethnic group:		
Chinese	400.3	0.8
Other	376.1	0.7
All England	51,092.0	100

Source: ONS (2009)
[1] Figures in thousands

100,000 individuals from 40,000 households every year. *Understanding Society* includes an EM boost sample designed to achieve interviews with at least 1,000 individuals from the five main non-White EM groups (excluding the Chinese), and as many members of other EM groups identified during the screening.[5]

2.4 Sampling ethnic minority groups

As illustrated above, a simple random sample drawn from the general population will result in too few respondents from EM groups to permit analysis within these specific groups. So other means must be found for boosting EM respondents, while maintaining the representativeness of the overall sample and of each EM group.

Unlike some European countries, the United Kingdom does not have a comprehensive list that includes the ethnicity of all residents in the country. The Electoral Register (ER) was often used to draw samples until about twenty years ago, but today it is rarely used because of under-representation of eligible voters and the opportunity for voters to opt-out of having their names included on the ER that is publicly available. EM groups are less likely than White British residents to be included on the ER, particularly as a proportion of EM residents are not UK nationals and thus not eligible to register. Thus, for sampling EM groups, the ER does not provide a good frame to start with.

Moreover, since the ER does not include ethnicity, the only way EM residents could be sampled from the ER would be by surname. This applies to any list that might be contemplated as a sampling frame but which does not include ethnicity (such as patient lists and the telephone directory). While some researchers have suggested that sampling by surname is possible for certain EM groups (e.g. for Chinese or South Asian surnames), this approach is far from infallible. Not only are some individuals with the sampled surnames not members of the EM group, but this approach excludes everyone from the EM group whose surname is not on the list, including married women who may have changed their name. Moreover, this approach is not feasible for certain EM groups, such as Black Caribbean. Sampling via surnames is often a last resort when there are no other cost-effective solutions – for example, the *Health Survey for England* sampled Chinese respondents on the basis of surnames in the absence of a practical alternative.

In the United Kingdom, the list most commonly used for sampling for high-quality surveys is the Postcode Address File (PAF), as it offers almost complete coverage of private residential households and is regularly updated. One problem with the PAF is that it cannot be used to sample institutions (e.g. hostels and nursing homes), and thereby excludes a small

proportion of the population (although this could potentially be a large percentage of the group of interest if, e.g. the group is older adults).

But the main difficulty with the PAF is that it is an address-based list and includes no information about the residents at an address (or even whether it is a residence, rather than a business or unoccupied). This means that interviewers need to 'screen' each selected address to determine whether any of its occupants are in one of the EM groups being sampled for the survey. While screening at PAF addresses is commonly used in surveys in the United Kingdom (e.g. screening for residents of a particular age or for households with children), this involves considerable extra fieldwork (and expense), especially when the group being screened for is only a small proportion of the population, as is the case with EM groups. The screening costs would likely be prohibitive for most surveys if it were not for a number of techniques that have been developed to increase cost-effectiveness. One important method for both reducing costs and increasing the efficiency of the sample is to design the sample so that areas with higher numbers of EM groups are over-sampled. A second technique for saving costs is the use of a screening technique called 'focused enumeration'. While the effectiveness of these two techniques in reducing costs will depend on a number of factors, they have been successfully used in a large number of national surveys for sampling EM groups. These are described in more detail below.

Over-sampling areas with higher than average expected screen-in rates

If EM groups are geographically concentrated within certain parts of the country, as is the case in the United Kingdom for most EM groups, it is possible to reduce the screening costs by concentrating the sample in areas with higher strike rates – that is, areas with a greater proportion of EM groups. Of course, this approach requires having reasonable estimates of the likely strike rates in an 'area', which refers to an area that a single interviewer can work as a single assignment (in the United Kingdom, this usually refers to postcode sectors or electoral wards). However, data on EM populations in local areas within the United Kingdom is not easily obtained. Until the 2011 census, the best source available is 2001 census data, which was nine years out of date at the time of this writing. The estimated strike rates in areas are therefore likely to be incorrect; while this will affect the efficiency of the selection procedure it should not bias the sample.

The areas (say, electoral wards) are then divided into strata so that the strike rates will be similar within strata and will differ between strata. For a given total screening sample size, the optimum allocation per stratum (in the sense of maximising the effective sample size) is proportional to the stratum population size multiplied by the square root of the expected strike

rate (see Appendix B in Nazroo, Berthoud, Erens, Karlsen & Purdon 2005). If more than one EM group is being screened for, the stratification and allocation process can become quite complex, as the aim is to come up with an efficient sample design for several EM groups simultaneously.

An extreme example of over-sampling areas with high concentrations of EM groups can be found among Bangladeshis. As noted in the previous section, since Bangladeshis comprise 0.7 per cent of the population in England, it would be necessary to screen about 140,000 addresses to find 1,000 Bangladeshis. However, census data show that Bangladeshis are very clustered geographically: 10 per cent of all wards include 89 per cent of the Bangladeshi population; and 20 per cent of wards include 95 per cent of Bangladeshis. Within the top 10 per cent of wards, Bangladeshis make up 2.6 per cent of the population, so it would be possible to reduce the screening exercise to 38,000 addresses if the sample was confined to those wards. The sample of Bangladeshis will be biased to the extent that the 11 per cent of Bangladeshis not living in those wards differ from the other 89 per cent, but the cost reduction is likely to make this bias tolerable.

Exclusion of areas with very low strike rates

Further cost savings arise if areas with very low concentrations of EM groups are excluded altogether from the sample. For example, about 94 per cent of the five main EM groups (Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Black Caribbean and Black African) in the United Kingdom lived in just 25 per cent of the wards in 2001. The strike rate for the other 75 per cent of wards is about 3 per 1,000. Excluding these 75 per cent of wards will introduce some bias into the sample, because EM residents living in predominantly White British areas will have no chance of selection. However, given the very high cost of screening, it may be judged more cost-effective to concentrate screening resources on areas where the strike rate is higher and to live with the potential bias.

Focused enumeration

Even within those wards with higher concentrations of EM groups, the 2001 census data suggests that about one-quarter of these wards will have a relatively low strike rate of less than 10 per cent. It is possible to improve the cost-effectiveness of screening in these areas by a technique known as focused enumeration (FE), which was developed in the 1980s by the National Centre for Social Research and the Policy Studies Institute (Brown & Ritchie 1981). It has now been successfully used to boost numbers of EM groups in a large number of surveys in the United Kingdom (Smith & Prior 1996; Hales et al. 2000; Erens et al. 2001a; Erens et al. 2001b; Hamlyn et al. 2003; Michaelson, Pickering, Wood & Scholes 2006;

Bolling et al. 2006). It is similar to a procedure used in the United States for sampling Black Americans in areas where they are a small percentage of local residents; the US procedure was termed 'WASP' for 'Wide Area Sampling Procedure' (Hess 1985, Jackson 1991).

FE is a type of network or multiplicity sampling, which collects information not only about the selected household but also about others who are linked to the household in a specified way, such as relatives or close neighbours (Sudman & Kalton 1986; Kalton & Anderson 1986; Sudman, Munroe, Sirken & Cowan 1988). FE makes use of local knowledge by asking selected households to identify members of EM groups at adjacent addresses, so screening is carried out at an additional number of addresses as well as at the selected address. Usually, two addresses (sometimes this is extended to four addresses) to the right and left of the selected address are screened, and screeners are given standard rules to follow to identify neighbouring addresses for more complex dwelling layouts (e.g. blocks of flats or street corners).

If the respondent at the selected address is certain that there are no EM residents in any of the adjacent addresses, the screener excludes these from the screening exercise (and up to nine addresses may be effectively screened for the cost of visiting one address). If the respondent is uncertain about the residents of an adjacent address, or positively identifies EM residents, the interviewer will visit the address to complete the screening process. Evidence from the field suggests that FE works best in areas with a density of EM residents of perhaps 5 per cent to 10 per cent, but the exact cut-off for screening all addresses versus using FE will largely depend on cost considerations.

While FE offers considerable cost savings, the method does have a number of limitations. Firstly, when using FE, the strike rate for finding EM groups is considerably lower at adjacent addresses than at selected addresses, perhaps by up to one-third less. This means that the issued sample size has to be larger than if full door-to-door screening was carried out, thereby offsetting some of the cost savings by using FE. But a bigger concern is whether this introduces any bias – for example, respondents of mixed ethnicity may be more likely to be missed. Another limitation is that FE works best when screening for people of Black or Asian origin; it cannot be used to screen for all EM groups or for particular EM subgroups such as recent migrants. Finally, FE is only suitable for face-to-face fieldwork. It cannot be used for telephone or postal surveys.

Sampling ethnic minority groups: An example

As is evident from the discussion above, designing a probability sample to select EM groups, while following standard sampling principles, is far from straightforward. The main steps that need to be followed are set out below.

First, set a minimum effective sample size for the main EM groups included (on the assumption that other EM groups will be selected as they come up, but with no minimum sample size target). For the purposes of this example, we have set a minimum achieved sample of 1,000 per main EM group, and the effective sample is 750.

Second, calculate the expected screening-in rate for each main EM group in each area (e.g. ward). In the United Kingdom, this requires the use of census data, and the ONS definition of self-defined ethnicity. The farther away in time from the last census, the less accurate the strike rate is likely to be, leading to some inefficiencies in the sample design.

Third, stratify the wards based on the estimated strike rates. Since the aim is to achieve a minimum sample size for each main EM group, there is not one strike rate per ward, but one per main EM group, so the creation of strata is multi-dimensional, and the rules for stratifying are unclear. In this example, five strata for each of the five main EM groups are set independently, and then cross-tabulated to give over 700 strata in all (which can be combined to make sample selection more manageable).

Finally, allocate the sample across wards in order to achieve the minimum sample size requirements using a minimum number of issued addresses.

Following these steps, an issued sample of about 45,000 addresses can achieve the target number of interviews based on the following assumptions:

– 10 per cent of PAF addresses will be non-residential or unoccupied;
– 90 per cent of households will answer the screening questions (yielding about 70,000 adults being screened);
– all adults within a household who are from non-White EM groups will be screened-in;
– 65 per cent of those screened-in will be interviewed.

Based on these assumptions, Table 2.2 shows the achieved and effective sample sizes per EM group following this design.

It is interesting to note from this table the relatively low number of achieved interviews with Chinese respondents. Despite being more numerous than the Bangladeshi group, the Chinese population is quite geographically dispersed. Thus, the method of over-sampling areas with high strike rates is not suitable for boosting numbers of Chinese respondents. Similar considerations apply to the mixed ethnicity groups. For these EM groups, it is very difficult to use a PAF-based sample design which gives good coverage while avoiding very low strike rates. Other methods for boosting sample numbers of these groups need to be considered.

This highlights one problem with this approach, which is its inability to efficiently sample particular EM groups such as the Chinese and mixed ethnic group populations. Another problem, already mentioned, is that this sampling approach is based on private residential households, so it

Table 2.2 *Achieved and effective sample sizes using a stratified probability sample design*

Ethnic group	*Achieved sample size*	*Effective sample size*
Indian	2,200	1,550
Pakistani	1,800	1,200
Bangladeshi	1,400	750
Black Caribbean	1,250	900
Black African	1,150	850
Mixed: White/Black Caribbean	250	160
Mixed: White/Black African	100	70
Mixed: White/Asian	180	120
Chinese	370	250
Other non-White	1,250	850

Source: Author's own elaboration

excludes EM residents living in institutions – for example, bed and breakfast accommodation and hostels. Also, given the high costs involved in door-to-door fieldwork screening, data-collection costs are significantly increased for this sampling approach.

Other sampling methods

Other methods may be required for sampling particular EM groups or in particular circumstances. Ideally, probability sampling methods should still be used even if it means compromises in terms of coverage and the classification system used.

One alternative would be to generate samples for EM groups from existing large surveys, perhaps accumulated over a number of different surveys (see Sudman & Kalton 1986). Of course, this requires that respondents' consent was obtained on the initial survey to confirm their willingness to be followed up on in a subsequent, potentially unrelated, study; and ideally the follow-up will not be too long after the initial study in order to minimize the number of respondents who may have moved. It also assumes that the initial survey was high in quality, with a well-designed probability sample and a reasonable response rate. Any non-response biases in the initial survey are automatically carried over to the follow-up study. But if such surveys are available, this approach can be a cost-effective way of generating samples of EM groups.

An alternative is to generate such samples prospectively by adding screening questions to a current or planned survey. While this gets over the potential problems of out-of-date addresses and of obtaining consent to follow up, the other issues of following up a well-designed survey remain, and there is the added difficulty of having to wait to obtain the sample (Sudman & Kalton 1986).

An adaptive cluster design is another method with potential for sampling EM groups, providing the EM groups of interest are clustered within the relevant geographic level. At the first stage, a geographic cluster (e.g. a postcode sector or ward) is selected with probability proportional to the size of its population, and a number of addresses are selected within the cluster (e.g. two addresses per street) for screening for EM residents. If an EM resident is found at a sampled address, then additional addresses in the same street (e.g. neighbouring addresses) are also screened. At sampled addresses where no EM residents are found, no further addresses in that street are screened (Thompson 1990; Kalton & Anderson 1986; Sudman & Kalton 1986; Elliott, Finch, Klein, Ma, Phoung Do, Beckett, Orr & Lurrie 2008). A further adaptation of this approach, based on the use of 'expert ratings', has recently been tested for sampling Cambodian immigrants in California (Elliott, McCaffrey, Perlman, Marshall & Hambarsoomians 2009). This relies on 'experts' to quickly classify addresses as likely or unlikely to contain an EM resident based on visible external 'cultural indicators'. The aim is to significantly reduce costs by the use of these ratings instead of screening at all the selected addresses.

Another probability method is to sample using surnames, although this has the drawbacks mentioned above. Chinese residents were sampled using this method in the *Health Survey for England* (Erens et al. 2001a, Sproston & Mindell 2006). For example, in 2004, all wards with more than fifteen Chinese residents (as identified in the 2001 Census) were identified and divided into two strata: those with 15-25 Chinese residents and those with 26 or more. Ten wards were selected from the first stratum and 65 from the second, with probability proportional to the number of Chinese residents. The ER for those wards was then scrutinised for households with Chinese-sounding surnames, and all households with at least one such surname were identified for screening. This sampling approach followed a methodology devised by the ONS, based on a list of the 1,300 most common Chinese surnames appearing in the English version of the 1991 Hong Kong telephone directory. In all, 3,901 addresses were selected from the ER in these 75 wards, but even after sampling addresses which appear to contain Chinese residents only 492 households (12.6 per cent) were screened-in as eligible (e.g. because of people moving households, or because some Chinese surnames – e.g. Lee – are also common English-language names). So not only are there biases built in to this method, but its success rate in identifying Chinese people is not particularly high. This approach may work better in other contexts. For example, Elliott et al. (2008) found that lists of surnames to identify people of Hispanic ethnicity in the United States are able to achieve about 80 per cent sensitivity (i.e. 80 per cent of all Hispanics have surnames on the list) and have 90 per cent positive predictive validity (i.e. 90 per cent of those on the list identify as Hispanic). The same authors also suggest that surname lists can be

developed with equally good predictive value for Japanese, Chinese and Vietnamese residents in the United States.

Another sampling method commonly used to boost EM (and other minority) groups is network (or multiplicity) sampling. Network sampling relies on screening techniques, but in a more expansive way, so that information is obtained not only about the selected household for screening, but also about relatives, neighbours and others who may be connected to that household. As described above, focused enumeration is an example of network sampling, as information is obtained about neighbouring addresses at the same time as the selected address. Respondents selected using these methods need to be weighted in order for the sample to be unbiased, as the size of a person's network will influence the chances they will be sampled for the study. The need for weighting is one of the drawbacks of this approach. Other drawbacks are the need for the network size to be correctly known, reliance on people to correctly identify others in the target group, potentially high costs and difficulties in tracing members of the network who have been identified, the loss of efficiency due to clustering within networks, and difficulties in estimating the size of the network. It also requires the group of interest to be well-networked, which may not apply in all circumstances.[6]

Most other methods of obtaining EM samples rely on non-probability sampling techniques. The most common method is 'snowball' sampling, which is frequently used for qualitative research, but also for surveys where there are tight time or cost constraints (Hughes, Fenton & Hine 1995; Kahan & Al-Tamimi 2009). Researchers identify a small number of the EM group of interest and ask each of them to identify other members of the target group. These new members are then contacted by researchers, who in turn ask them to identify more group members. This continues until the target sample size has been reached. Snowball samples likely over-represent people with a lot of connections, those who are closely linked with the initial 'seed' respondents and people who are more likely to cooperate with surveys (Elliott et al. 2008). Since they are not probability samples, weighting cannot be used to adjust for this. Snowball samples are therefore likely to be 'substantially biased' and the results 'need to be assessed with considerable caution' (Kalton & Anderson 1986).

More recently, new developments with variants of snowball sampling, in particular respondent-driven sampling (RDS), have been shown to provide unbiased estimates, providing certain criteria are met. RDS uses the initial 'seeds' as recruiters, referring other members of the target group to the study. Both the 'seed' and the recruited member are given a coupon or payment for their effort. The recruited respondent then refers more members to the study. Referred respondents are volunteers, so no names or contact details need be passed to the researchers. A number of features distinguish RDS from traditional snowball sampling. For example, 'recruiters'

are limited in the number of people they can bring into the study (usually to three or four), which results in longer chains and (hopefully) the recruitment of less connected members of the target group. Also, respondents are asked about the size of their network, as this enables selection probabilities to be calculated and the data to be weighted (so people with more connections can be weighted down). In theory, RDS should continue its recruitment 'waves' until 'equilibrium' is reached, that is, until the distribution of some key respondent characteristics (such as age) become similar between waves. Although there is now a significant literature on RDS (Heckathorn 1997, 2002; Magnani, Sabin, Saidel & Heckathorn 2005), and it is increasingly used for sampling hard-to-reach groups, some of its underlying assumptions remain untested and many studies do not adhere to its basic principles (Heimer 2005; Johnston, Malekinejad, Kendall, Iuppa & Rutherford 2008).

Other methods involve sampling from a study population that differs from the target population but is easier to access. For example, facility-based sampling recruits respondents from facilities frequented by members of the EM group (e.g. Sin 2004 refers to sampling EM older people from community organisations). While convenient and easy to reach, it is clear that the people in touch with one, or even a range of, community organisations will not necessarily represent the EM group overall.

Time-space sampling is a related approach, involving first mapping and then selecting locations to sample (e.g. blocks, parks, mosques), and choosing segments of time in which to sample. Nonetheless, frequently, some members of the group will not visit such locations, so these methods can result in sampling bias (Sudman & Kalton 1986, Magnani et al. 2005).

2.5 Data-collection issues

Participation rates

Response rates for surveys have been declining in many countries over the past two decades (Singer 2006, De Leeuw & De Heer 2002). In the United Kingdom, response rates declined for nearly all major government surveys in the 1990s (Table 2.3).

For some UK surveys, response rates are lower for EM groups than for the White population, although there can be considerable variation between EM groups (Erens et al. 2001a; Elam, McMunn & Nazroo 2002; Health Education Authority 1994; Feskens, Hox, Lensvelt-Mulders & Schmeets 2006). In the Health Survey for England 2004, compared with the response rate for the general population of 72 per cent, response rates ranged from 56 per cent for Chinese respondents, to 60 per cent for Pakistani respondents, 62 per cent for Black respondents, 63 per cent for Indian respondents and 68 per cent for Bangladeshi respondents (Sproston & Mindell 2006).

Table 2.3 *Survey response rates by year (percentages)*

Ethnic group	*1991*	*1996*	*2001*
Labour Force Survey (wave 1)	84	81	78
General Household Survey	84	76	72
Family Expenditure Survey	70	62	62
Health Survey for England	85	79	74
Family Resources Survey	–	69	66
British Social Attitudes	67	68	59

Source: Purdon and Nicolaas 2003

Lower response rates among EM groups may be even more of an issue in postal surveys. For example, a postal survey among hospital patients in England in 2005 achieved a response rate of 61 per cent among White respondents, compared with 41 per cent for Asian and 42 per cent for Black respondents (Sheldon, Graham, Pothecary & Rasul 2007).

The higher rates of non-participation among EM groups are likely to be due to a number of factors including language barriers (for some groups), lack of trust, wariness of government authorities, perception that the research is unimportant or that their contribution is unimportant, reluctance to have their information written down, and a feeling that they have been over-researched (Groves & Couper 1998, Elam et al. 2002).

Increasing response rates among EM groups is likely to require a number of different strategies, including the translation of questionnaires and other survey materials, the provision of bilingual interviewers (or language helplines), stressing confidentiality to respondents, using mixed modes for data collection, emphasising the importance of the research for particular EM groups, explaining the value of the respondent's own contribution, and publicising the research, for example, through community organisations.[7]

Translation issues

A proportion of people from some EM groups may not speak or be fluent in the source language in which the questionnaire was designed, so one of the most productive ways to increase response for these groups is to translate the questionnaire and survey documents into the appropriate languages.

The process of preparing standardised translated questionnaires is quite complex and costly if it is done to robust standards. Moreover, for interview surveys it requires the use of interviewers/translators in the field who can speak and read the relevant languages. Allowing bilingual interviewers – or a bilingual member of the respondent's household – to improvise their own translation of the survey questions will likely seriously compromise data quality because there would be a lack of consistency across interviews.

Therefore, the first issue to consider is what languages the questionnaire should be translated into. Given the diversity of EM groups, it is not practical or cost-effective to cover all of the many languages spoken. A recent study among English school children found that 14 per cent had a first language other than English, and the children reported 240 different languages. Which of these languages should be used for translation will depend on the EM groups included in the study and in what numbers, the proportion of each language group who cannot be interviewed in English, the number of interviews likely to be carried out in the language, the cost of each translation, as well as various political and equality issues. Previous surveys may provide a guide to help inform the decision. Thus, in the Health Survey for England 1999, the proportion of interviews carried out entirely in English was 85 per cent for Indians, 70 per cent for Pakistanis, 69 per cent for Chinese, and 34 per cent for Bangladeshis (Erens et al. 2001a). The languages offered on some of the large surveys in the United Kingdom which boost EM groups include Urdu, Punjabi (both Gurmukhi and Urdu scripts), Bengali/Sylheti, Gujarati, Hindi, Cantonese (simplified), Arabic (Egyptian), Somali (Latin script) and Welsh. National surveys in the United Kingdom which do not boost EM groups usually do not offer any translations, because the number of interviews in each non-English language will be too few to warrant the extra costs. For example, even though a high proportion of sampled Bangladeshi respondents may require a translated interview, there would be only 70 Bangladeshis sampled in a national survey of 10,000 individuals, and it may be judged that the cost of translation, and the complexity of recruiting and training bilingual interviewers in the sampled areas, is too great a use of limited resources for including perhaps 40-50 interviews. Of course, if the number of Bangladeshi respondents is to be boosted, then the need for a translation into Bengali/Sylheti becomes much greater.

Next is the complex process of translating the questionnaire. Typically, this involves using a specialist translation agency to translate the source questionnaire, with the translation carried out by one individual and independently checked by another within the agency. Commonly, the translated questionnaire is then translated back into the source language to provide a basis for checking how well the concepts and questions translate into other languages while retaining the same meaning. Until recently, this technique of 'back translation' was considered the gold standard for translating survey instruments, and it is still commonly used, for example, for the *European Quality of Life Survey* (2009).

Recently, however, much more attention has been paid to this process and the problems that can arise from poor translations (Harkness, Pennell & Scoua-Glusberg 2004). Team or committee approaches to translation are becoming more common. For example, the *European Social Survey* now use a process called Translation, Review, Adjudication, Pre-testing and

Documentation (TRAPD) that involves a team approach with translators and survey experts working together to produce the translations (Harkness 2008).

In order to shorten the period required for the translation process, the United Kingdom's *Understanding Society* survey uses a modified TRAPD approach that involves up to four stages. First, an agency translator translates the questionnaire. Then a second translator from the same agency rereads the text, comparing the English source text with the translation to ensure there are no grammatical mistakes, typographical errors, mistranslations or omissions, improving the style where necessary. Third, an independent checker (i.e. someone who does not come from the same agency as the first two translators), reviews the translation and adds comments on the accuracy, completeness, interpretation and consistency of meaning with the English questionnaire. If the checker is satisfied with the translation as it stands, they can sign off on it. A fourth stage only arises if the checker has made comments or suggestions on the translation; it then goes back to the original translator, who reviews the comments and incorporates the suggestions if they are judged to be appropriate. The original translator then signs off on the translated questionnaire.

All the translation work on *Understanding Society* is coordinated through the Language Management Utility (LMU), a web application which was originally developed by CentREdata at the University of Tilburg for the *Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe* (SHARE).[8]

Other team approaches to translation are possible, such as that outlined by Bhopal et al. (2004), who suggest comparing each language with every other translated language (as well as with the source language) and carrying out tests of validity, reliability and responsiveness in each language.

Another recent suggestion has been the use of anchoring vignettes to assist comparisons between different cultural groups which may interpret identical questions in different ways. This technique requires respondents to react to scenarios that describe hypothetical situations, aspects of which are varied in a controlled way, in order to examine different dimensions of the concept being investigated. Vignettes have been used in a number of cross-national studies, including wave 2 of SHARE and in studies of self-rated health and political efficacy (King, Murray, Salomon & Tandon 2003; Salomon, Tandon & Murray 2004). The aim is to show how differences in responses between groups, for example, on self-rated health, are partly due to real differences in health and partly due to variations in interpreting the scale. The idea of the vignettes is to provide an anchor which can be used to adjust the self-assessments. Salomon et al. (2004: 258) conclude that '[a]nchoring vignettes can provide a useful tool for standardizing perceptions of health and adjusting self-reported measures to account for variation in norms and expectations for health'.

Use of bilingual interviewers

While the preferred option is to have translated questionnaires administered by trained and experienced bilingual interviewers, this is not always feasible or the most cost-effective approach – for example, in an area where only a handful of people are likely to require an interview in a particular language.

A second option, then, is to have a bilingual professional interpreter accompany the English-speaking interviewer on the visit in order to read out the questions to the respondent and interpret their answers for the interviewer. While not trained as a survey interviewer, it is recommended that the interpreter receive some training in interview techniques and be given an overview of the aims of the study and of the questionnaire. This option is clearly costly, since it not only requires two people to be present during the interview, but also professional interpreters are quite expensive. So the costs of this approach have to be balanced against the costs and practicalities of recruiting bilingual interviewers.

This is the approach adopted in the *Understanding Society* survey. Moreover, since the questionnaire is not being translated into all languages that may be encountered in the field, if a language is spoken which is not translated, another adult household member is permitted to translate for the respondent. When interviews are done in translation, this needs to be documented with the data.

Ethnic matching

While language matching may be crucial for including in the survey non-English speaking members of some EM groups, the evidence for matching interviewers and respondents by ethnicity is mixed. Ethnic matching may affect different stages of the survey process. For example, ethnic matching may help to improve overall response rates among EM groups, by increasing the levels of trust, legitimacy and credibility in the survey, and potentially mitigating perceptions that the study is irrelevant. However, the extent to which ethnic matching has a positive impact on response could depend on the survey topic. For some sensitive topics, such as racism, ethnic matching has been shown to be helpful (Elam et al. 1999). However, there is also evidence that ethnic matching has no effect on most topics (Aspinall 2001, Rhodes 1994). It may even have a negative effect, for example, when discussing a taboo topic, and confidentiality worries may arise when being interviewed by a member of what may be a relatively small community (Phoenix 1994, Grewal & Ritchie 2006).

For similar reasons, ethnic matching may affect responses given to survey questions. By increasing rapport between interviewer and respondent, the latter may be more willing to give ‘honest’ answers on certain topics.

In an opinion poll in the United Kingdom conducted soon after the US/UK military strikes began in Afghanistan, British Asians were more likely to voice opinions contrary to the 'perceived national mood' if the interviewer was also Asian (although this was not consistent for all questions in the survey) (Worcester 2002). But there is also the contrary argument that ethnic matching may inhibit 'honest' reporting of culturally taboo behaviours (e.g. if a Muslim interviewer asks a Muslim respondent about alcohol consumption).

Ethnic matching also raises practical difficulties in the field. Examples are increased costs (if there is a need to recruit and train EM interviewers), more complex fieldwork arrangements, and possibly an extended fieldwork period.

Given the difficulties of ethnic matching, it is not often implemented in large-scale UK studies. What is emphasised instead is the need for interviewers to be fully aware of general cultural issues (e.g. forms of greeting and acceptable dress and behaviour in people's homes) as well as any potential sensitivities in the questionnaire for particular EM groups. If possible, interviewers, and researchers, should be trained in cultural awareness and sensitivity (Papadopoulos & Lees 2001). This may raise the need for gender matching in some circumstances, such as for Muslim women who cannot be alone in the same room with a non-family member male interviewer.

2.6 Conclusions

All surveys involve making compromises between what researchers would like to achieve and what is practical within budget and time constraints. These issues are amplified when it comes to research focusing on EM groups, which present unique challenges. This chapter showed some of the key issues that need to be addressed when designing EM surveys in the United Kingdom, and gave an indication of the types of compromises that are often made, while trying to minimise the impact on data quality.

For example, even well-resourced national surveys have to accept limitations in the EM groups that can be sampled in sufficient numbers to allow separate analysis. These limits could be due to an EM group being relatively rare within the population, or it could be that there are no reliable data identifying the geographic areas that contain a relatively high percentage of a particular EM group. Or the data may show that some EM groups are dispersed throughout the country, which makes sampling difficult and fieldwork costly. Researchers are also often constrained to working within an existing ethnic classification system for practical reasons (such as locating areas of residence of particular EM groups using census data), even if the categories defined by that system are not a precise match to the study's

population of interest (e.g. using ethnic groups as a proxy for language or religious groups).

If an EM group included in the survey is likely to lack a solid basis in the national language, then decisions are required regarding translations. These considerations have cost implications. Not least there is the need to decide which languages the questionnaire and survey materials should be translated into, given the time required to carry out each translation, the cost of doing so, the need to recruit bilingual interviewers or interpreters, and the potential complexities of organising fieldwork so that the bilingual interviewers/interpreters are sent to the appropriate households.

The challenges involved in carrying out EM surveys often lead to 'cutting corners' in ways that would be considered unacceptable on standard surveys of the general population. This is particularly the case with regard to sampling EM groups, with surveys too readily opting for non-probability methods because of the difficulties or costs involved in obtaining a probability sample. Questions may be justified concerning the results of many surveys among EM groups because of their use of dubious methods. This chapter attempted to describe methods for surveying EM groups to produce robust results even though some compromises in study objectives, design or practice may be required.

Notes

1 The ethnic identity question was again revised by ONS for the 2011 census.
2 Note that ONS produces these figures for England only, not for the whole UK.
3 More up-to-date data from the 2011 census is now available on the ONS website.
4 Since the percentage of EM groups is lower in Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland than in England, for surveys covering the whole UK the numbers of EM respondents will be even lower.
5 For more information on this see www.understandingsociety.org.uk/design/sample/ethnic.aspx.
6 There is a considerable literature on network sampling, including Sudman and Kalton 1986, Sudman et al. 1988, Kalton and Andersen 1986, and Elliott et al. 2008.
7 A list of practices that have been used or considered as ways of increasing participation among migrants in labour force surveys carried out by EU member states may be found in Barnes (2008). See also chapters 7 and 8 in this book.
8 www.share-project.org; www.centerdata.nl/en/TopMenu/Projecten/SHARE/

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3 The 2007 Spanish National Immigrant Survey (ENI[1]): Sampling from the *Padrón*

Ignacio Duque, Carlos Ballano and Carlos Pérez

3.1 Introduction[2]

International migration flows to Spain have been intense in the last fifteen years. While at the start of the 1990s, the share of foreigners with respect to the total population was barely 1.5 per cent, by 2000 it was 2.3 per cent, and by 2009 it was 12 per cent. The Spanish immigrant population's rate of increase has been remarkable compared to other countries as well (Cebolla & González-Ferrer 2008: 12). While in 1990, Spain was not even among the twenty countries in the world with the highest immigration rates, by 2005 it was already tenth in the ranking (in absolute figures).

Although the Spanish statistical system had different registers and surveys that could be used to learn more about this new population, there was no single source of specific data with information on the trajectories of immigrants, previous countries where they had lived, housing, social and family networks, and so on. The Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE, Spanish National Statistics Institute) thus decided to carry out the *National Immigrant Survey* (ENI) in order to fill this information gap and to satisfy the demands for data on this new population group (see INE 2009).

The literature on ethnic and migration studies played a key role in the ENI's design. Aims, definitions, operational variables, categories and classifications are the cornerstones of any production of social data, including sample surveys. In social surveys, data production is restricted by the social categories and practices specific to any society and historical point in time (Gigerenzer, Switjtink, Porter, Daston, Beatty & Krüger 1989; Desrosières 1993; Porter 1995). This relationship between tools and society applies to the statistical techniques themselves as well, as many historians of statistics have illustrated from the beginning of the Bielefeld School until today (Stigler 1999).

The ENI was based on the idea that immigrants should be defined in objective terms, that is, as people who have a particular experience of migration, rather than in subjective terms, according to self-identification with a cultural or ethnic group. In our view, it would not be suitable to choose an approach to the definition of the immigrant in Spain based on a self-

DOI: 10.4324/9781003704577_CH03

defined concept of 'group membership'. We preferred targeting the survey to measure empirical experiences of changes of usual residence (Spain being the destination country). This decision does not deny the importance of categories that cannot be directly measured or included in questions, such as subjective social class and ethnic identification. Many of these are among the most important analytical tools in social sciences. In any case, this definition of migration leaves researchers free to choose or combine any of the categories from the list of variables available in the ENI (more than 1,500).

The Spanish statistical infrastructure was crucial for the development of the ENI. This is a point we wanted to stress by including the 'Padrón' (population register) in the title of our chapter. The statistical infrastructure is like other social, economic or life pre-condition: it is taken for granted until there is a problem. Having a continuous population register such as the 'Padrón' makes a huge difference when designing a survey like the ENI, for example, in terms of sampling design, since it can be used as a sample frame. (In contrast, no such register was available in the UK case highlighted in chapter 2 of this volume.)

After a brief introduction on the way the Spanish statistical system deals with the consequences of international migrations, this chapter describes the history and main traits of the ENI, especially the decisions made concerning the sample and the organisation and results of the fieldwork.

3.2 International migrations and the Spanish statistical system

From 1960 to 1983 there was huge growth in Spanish international migrations (leaving Spain), together with extremely heavy internal migration associated with the process of urbanisation, industrialisation and departure from agriculture and the rural world. During this period, the statistical system developed a modest instrument to track these migrations, taking advantage of the fact that the flows to Germany, France and Switzerland were derived from intergovernmental agreements. As of 1961, statistics of flows to these countries were supplemented with data from trans-oceanic assisted migration.[3]

During the second half of the 1980s immigration to Spain started to develop, but for more than a decade the quantitative relevance of this new population was small.[4] When, in 1992, the first National Statistics Plan was passed, its layout was still quite similar to that of the previous decade and took no particular notice of the new phenomenon of incoming international migration. Before the statistical plan of 2005-2008, no major signs of change were in evidence regarding the effective production of statistics especially designed to measure migration.

The 'Padrón' is built from municipal population registers, which are administrative registers that keep a record of all inhabitants of each

municipality. Luckily, in 1996, before the immigration shock came about, the Spanish statistical system had already designed and implemented fundamental improvements to the 'Padrón', for example, making it a continuous population register. Before these changes were implemented, the municipal population registers that provided the basis of the 'Padrón' were completely redone every five years by field agents who collected information dwelling by dwelling. In the current system, started in 1996, coordination of municipal registers is achieved through monthly exchanges of information between the municipalities and the INE. Municipalities communicate changes in the register in the previous month, and the INE is in charge of checking for discrepancies and double-counts when combining all of the information into the national list. Key advances in the new system were thus comprehensive computerisation, creation of a standardised system of exchange, and greater central coordination and oversight of the whole process by the INE.

Making the 'Padrón' a continuous population register was a fundamental step towards raising the quality and consistency of information and making more intensive use of administrative data. There are ambitious plans to enhance its effectiveness further:[5] making it an integrated register with greater online functionalities for documenting residency, making quality and non-duplication checks easier, incorporating a repertory of territorial units and dwellings linked to GIS systems and other government bodies, among other improvements.

For the purpose of this chapter it is important to note that the 'Padrón' includes both authorised and non-authorised foreign residents.[6] Registration is needed for immigrants to have access to the public health and education systems (irrespective of whether they have a residence permit). In 2003 a new regulation was approved to improve the accuracy of the information on foreign migrants. This requires foreigners from countries other than EU member states to renew (or 'confirm') their registration in the population register every two years. Otherwise they would be removed from the register.

3.3 Role of the ENI in supplying information on international migrations in Spain

History of the project

The ENI project originated in 2004, when a group of researchers and academics from Spanish universities[7] proposed the undertaking to the INE and Ministry of Labour.[8] This same group contributed substantially to the preparation of the questionnaire and project. The cost for all phases (sampling, elevation, field-work and data filtering) was covered by the INE, which applied the same working systems, tools and quality standards as it

does for any of its statistical operations. The participation of this academic team in some tasks and phases of information production (mainly the questionnaire and the basic report for presenting the results, but also to define the edits and checks of the questionnaire) was considered highly positive as it combined INE regular procedures with expert academic knowledge.

Consultations on the project took place among numerous institutions and researchers, who contributed proposals and interesting reviews. This permitted the production of information to be more suited to the requirements of the analysis. In any event, special care was taken to ensure that the academic goals would also accommodate the general interests of all types of users.

Research on the characteristics of migrants, their family relationships and their social networks

Ascertaining outside migratory flows is undoubtedly a basic priority of the Spanish statistical system. Essential for this purpose are the statistical exploitation of the 'Padrón' and statistics on residential changes. The ENI is not located at this first and crucial level, since its role is not to research the basic magnitudes of the flows. Instead, the ENI studies aspects of reality that administrative records (such as the 'Padrón', the register of residence permits, the Civil Register and others) do not reveal, or reveal only with great difficulty. The main goals of the ENI are five:

- investigating the socio-economic characteristics of immigrants that determine their experience and insertion into the labour market, such as education and occupation (in their country of origin and in their itinerary through Spain);
- investigating complete migratory paths from the starting point as well as migratory experiences in other countries and within Spain;
- gathering information on the housing situation of immigrants, including physical characteristics, occupancy status and relationship with those with whom they live;
- gathering essential information about the present relationship of immigrants with their country of origin;
- obtaining data on the relationship of immigrants with their host country (Spain) in different civil, social and cultural aspects.

The ENI also aims to go beyond the single individual as the object of research. There is no doubt that in the case of vital decisions, such as those related to international migration, individual characteristics are likely to be key explanatory factors. Nevertheless, most research sees migration as a project in which families, groups and even entire societies and regions play an essential role. For this reason, the ENI intends to 1) collect data about the basic characteristics of all the residents in the home of the selected

person and 2) provide details of the family relationships in which each person is involved, including parents, brothers and sisters, spouse and children, and to do this even if these family members and spouses are not living under the same roof, and regardless of where they are located.

In spite of its panoramic nature, the ENI has consciously left certain important aspects out of the scope of the research. It does not aim to obtain an accurate measurement of the costs associated to each of the aspects linked to the migratory process, as this would have required a different strategy. Nor has it attempted to assess the budget and expenditures of the families and the households with immigrants, as it made no sense to set up a parallel line of work to that of the *Family Budget Survey*.[9] Even with these limitations, the scope of the survey is enormous.

3.4 Methodology

The target population

Being the first national immigrant survey, the main objective was to get a general picture of immigrants in Spain. However, adopting a concrete definition of the target population raised some questions: did the survey have to be sufficiently broad as to encompass the entire national territory? Would it be addressed to foreigners or to those born abroad? Did it need to include foreign/foreign-born individuals from all countries? Did it have to include all immigrants irrespective of the length of time they had lived in Spain? Should it include the descendants of immigrants? Clearly, no definition can cover all objectives for all potential users, and each definition entails limitations too. In addition, the definition of the target population adopted had to be practical and allow for efficient selection of people using the available sample frames.

The main decision was the criterion the survey would use when defining the target population: nationality or country of birth. Choosing (foreign) nationality as the main criterion meant leaving out of the survey immigrants who had obtained Spanish nationality, as well as the descendants of Spanish people who had emigrated to other countries, mainly in the 1960s, who had typically been born in foreign countries but held Spanish nationality. Conversely, choosing country of birth as the main criterion implied leaving out of the analysis the so-called 'second generation' of immigrants (children born of immigrant parents in Spain). Considering that the presence of a second generation is still limited in Spain, as a relatively young immigration country, and with the additional fact that the second generation has not had the experience of migration which should be associated with the target population, this did not seem to be a problem. The target population was finally defined as individuals born abroad, sixteen years of age or older and resident in Spain for at least a year, or having resided less than a year but with the

intention to stay, excluding people born abroad who held Spanish nationality and had moved to Spain before two years of age.

In spite of the novelty of this criterion within the Spanish statistical system, it seemed from the first instance that the population born outside Spain was the relevant group. In the current context of international migrations to Spain this definition of the research universe had a number of advantages: 1) it is rooted in the demographic approach to migration, beyond nationality; 2) it is based on a clear, well-known variable, which does not change over people's lives and is available in the basic population repertoires that are required for empirical research; 3) it is consolidated in international standards and allows for comparisons among many countries; 4) it permits inclusion in the target population of significant flows of recent immigrants who have acquired Spanish nationality.

As already noted, this definition has shortcomings as well,[10] but it seemed to be the most appropriate given the degree of maturity of the flows in Spain's migratory system.

Pilot tests

Since this was the first time that the INE had conducted a survey addressed exclusively to the immigrant population, it was considered necessary to carry out several tests in order to investigate aspects of the survey design. A cognitive test for the questionnaire and for the introductory letter for the survey was also carried out, although this chapter concentrates on the results of the pilot tests.

The sample of the first pilot test consisted of fifty sections, with ten target subjects and ten substitute subjects per section. The persons selected from the population register had to meet two prerequisites: being sixteen years of age or older and having been born in a foreign country. This sample was obtained by a non-random method, through the choice of three provinces that were considered representative of the principal groupings of immigrants: Madrid, Malaga and the Balearic Islands. The immigrant population was divided into five groups of one hundred persons each, according to the location of their country of birth: Eastern Europe, Central and South America, the European Union, North Africa and the Rest of Africa. Problematic cases in the target sample were replaced by using the substitute sample. Such replacements had to be made within a given section and be taken from the same group of nationalities. At the end of the questionnaire a section was included requesting identification data for all residents of the dwelling (first name, surname and identity document number).

There was in fact a very large number of non-locatable persons, mainly because the person selected had moved to another address. This high percentage rendered unfeasible the sampling procedure by which persons were selected directly from the 'Padrón'. Nevertheless, it was observed that in

the majority of dwellings visited that turned out to have a non-locatable person, there was at least one person who had been born outside Spain. This suggested the possibility of following a new sampling procedure, which was subsequently used in both the second pilot test and the definitive survey, based on selection from the 'Padrón' of a sample of dwellings where there was at least one foreign-born individual. Therefore, the first pilot test produced evidence of a need to reorganise the procedure for selecting the sample for the ENI.

The number of non-contact units was very high in one of the provinces covered by the pilot test, due to the registration of persons from the European Union who spend long periods of time in their country of origin. The number of refusals was not especially high. Another significant finding, in view of the implications it would have for the organisation of the fieldwork for the definitive survey, was that few cases were found in which it was not possible to conduct the interview due to language problems.

With respect to the questionnaire, a reluctance was found to reply to the questions that dealt with brothers and sisters who did not live in the same dwelling. Similarly, in view of the heterogeneity of the target population, certain questions were found to be inappropriate for some immigrant groups. It was also observed that the word 'immigrant' (in the title of the survey) had pejorative connotations for some groups, such as those persons who had lived in Spain for many years and those originating from developed countries. However, it was not possible to change the name of the survey, since the originally chosen name had already been included in the National Statistics Plan.

Once the procedures had been redesigned on the basis of the findings of the first pilot test, a second pilot test was conducted, the principal aim of which was to analyse the viability of the new selection procedure. For this purpose, in the same provinces chosen for the first pilot test, fifty sections of ten target dwellings and ten substitute dwellings each were selected. The dwellings were chosen on the basis that they included one or more persons who had been born outside Spain (and were registered in the 'Padrón'*)*.

During the course of the fieldwork a list with the members of the dwelling was built up, and an individual was selected to be interviewed by using a Kish method. Findings confirmed the observations of the first pilot test: in the vast majority of the dwellings selected there lived representatives of the population who were the subject of the survey, which consequently confirmed the new selection procedure. Findings also served to determine the definitive working ratios.

Sampling design

The main purpose of ENI sample design was to provide estimations, at the national level, of the main characteristics of the population born abroad,

sixteen years of age and older and resident in Spain at the time the survey was conducted. With this aim in mind, as already mentioned, the first idea was to select a sample of persons using as a frame the most updated population register ('Padrón') available at the start of the fieldwork. Nevertheless, due to the great difficulties encountered during the first pilot test, it was decided that the selected sampling unit would be the dwelling and then all persons in scope and residing there would be investigated.

The sampling frame used was the 'Padrón' with reference to September 2006, the closest possible to the time of the fieldwork. Although the main target was to obtain national-level estimations, the sample design considered an independent sample for each Autonomous Community of Spain, in order to obtain estimations at the regional level for the most important nationalities. Eight groups of foreign-born individuals were included for this purpose, mainly based on their numerical presence: 1) Ecuador, 2) Morocco, 3) Romania, 4) Latin America (without considering Ecuador), 5) Africa (without South Africa) and Asia (without Japan and other developed countries from the area), 6) North America (without Mexico) and Oceania, 7) European Union (fifteen member states) plus those born in European Economic Space countries that are not EU members (Switzerland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Island), and 8) those born in any other country of the world as the final group.

With the aim of meeting the survey objectives, two different and independent sample types were considered: 1) sample A, made up of dwellings with at least one foreign-born resident, and 2) sample B, made up of dwellings with only Spanish-born residents (none foreign born).

Eligible interviewees should in principle live in dwellings from sample A, but due to the high geographical mobility of the group, it was important to check for their presence in dwellings belonging to sample B. In both cases, a three-stage random sampling design was used with stratification of primary sampling units (PSUs). The PSUs were census sections (geographical areas), the secondary sampling units were main family dwellings, and finally, the third-stage sample unit was one person selected among the foreigners living in the dwelling. In the PSUs selected for type A samples, only type A dwellings were investigated; the same applied for type B. In some cases, the same PSU (census section) was selected for the two types of samples.

The PSUs (census sections) were grouped into strata according to the size of the municipality to which they belonged. The definition of the strata took into account the target population distribution and the sample size of each type of sample, so the stratification was different in each sample. In type A samples, six strata were considered, and only three were considered in type B samples. Within each stratum the sections were grouped in clusters or substrata using a hierarchical cluster analysis performed by the Ward algorithm programmed in SAS. The following information from the sections was used to make the clusters:

– for the type A sample (dwellings with foreign-born resident), percentages of foreign born for the eight nationalities considered;
– for the type B sample (dwellings without foreign-born occupant), percentages for each group by sex and age.

In the sample of dwellings with a foreign-born occupant (sample A), PSUs (census sections) were selected with probability proportional to the number of foreigners aged sixteen years or older and living in the census section. Within each selected section, ten dwellings were chosen with equal probabilities, using a random systematic sampling. In order to achieve good representativeness of the different nationalities in the selected section, dwellings were sorted by the predominant nationalities in the census section before drawing the dwellings. In the sample of dwellings with only Spanish residents (sample B), PSUs were selected with a probability proportional to the number of dwellings with only Spaniards living in them. Within each selected section, ten dwellings were chosen with equal probabilities and using systematic random sampling. Before drawing dwellings, they were sorted by their size.

The third-stage sample unit was randomly selected among the foreign-born residing in the dwelling. In order to do this, the interviewers were instructed to set up a list with all of the foreign-born individuals in the dwelling, and to select one of them using the Kish methodology.

To achieve the survey targets, the initial sample size was about 21,000 dwellings distributed among 2,100 sections. Later, the regions of Murcia, Navarre and the Balearic Islands decided to enlarge the sample size in their areas with the objective of providing additional disaggregated regional estimations. The final sample size was 2,270 sections, of which 1,770 were of type A (with foreigners) and 500 of type B (only Spaniards).

The sample size in each region was calculated following a mixed procedure of uniform and proportional allocation, the latter according to their size (measured by the number of foreigners and by the number of dwellings without foreigners, respectively, for sample type A and B). The sample allocation among provinces and strata is strictly proportional to their size, as indicated above.[11]

3.5 Analysis and results of the fieldwork

Organisation of the fieldwork

The collection of data was organised around 33 geographical areas corresponding to the sub-national offices of the INE. There are fifty provinces in Spain (plus the cities of Ceuta and Melilla), so in some cases the same sub-national office was in charge of organising the field-work allocated to two provinces.

A survey inspector was appointed in each of these areas. Survey inspectors attended a three-day training session. They were in charge of training the interviewers and their supervisors. One supervisor was designated for every three interviewers. Two persons were hired to conduct interviews in English, Arabic and French.[12]

Interviews were carried out face-to-face, though telephone interviews were conducted in a few cases when they had to be done in one of the foreign languages just mentioned. Data collection started on 30 October 2006 and lasted until 22 February 2007. Six working days was set as the time slot necessary for a type A section, and three for a type B section. Computer-assisted personal interviewing (CAPI) was used as the collection mode for the personal interviews with a view to avoiding flow errors, including coherence checks during the filling in of the questionnaire. Interviewers and supervisors were equipped with mobile telephones for ease of communicating with inspectors and with interviewees.

Results of the fieldwork

Overall results

The final response rate was 67.4 per cent (Table 3.1). About a third (32.6 per cent) of non-responses (19.4 per cent of the total sample) was due to non-contact (of which 15.4 per cent were non-contact with anyone in the dwelling and the remainder non-contact with the person selected to be interviewed). Another 11.8 per cent of non-responses was due to refusals (10.6 per cent being refusals by the first person contacted in the dwelling and the remainder refusals by the selected person). The remaining 1.4 per cent was due to incapacity to reply, essentially caused by language problems. A total of 15,465 valid questionnaires resulted from the 32,541 type A dwellings that were visited during the fieldwork.

The effective sample obtained, consisting of target plus substitute samples, was 87.4 per cent of the theoretical sample. The in-scope rate in target dwellings in type A sections was 75.2 per cent of dwellings in the

Table 3.1 *Main results of the fieldwork*

Outcome	*Percentage*	*Detailed reasons*
Not at home	19.4	15.4 (dwelling non-contact)
		4.0 (non-contact of selected person)
Refusals	11.8	10.6 (refusal of the group)
		1.2 (refusal of the selected person)
Incapacity to answer the survey	1.4	1.1 (incapacity of the group)
		0.3 (incapacity of the selected person)
Response rate	67.4	
Total	100	100

Source: INE

survey, the percentage of dwellings where no target population lived was 10.8 per cent and 14.0 per cent were empty and non-principal dwellings. In the case of target dwellings in type B sections, the in-scope rate was 0.8 per cent of dwellings in the survey, 72.9 per cent were dwellings at which no target population lived, and 8.6 per cent were empty and non-principal dwellings. The remaining 17.7 per cent represented problems that prevented the qualification of the dwelling as either eligible or ineligible for inclusion in the survey. The incorporation of type B sections allowed us to verify that the number of cases of eligible interviewees living in these dwellings was extremely small and, as a result, that the sample frame used included almost all the objective universe.

Differences in fieldwork results among immigrant groups

According to the reports provided by interviewers and supervisors, three groups of target population can be identified from fieldwork results and respondents' behaviour regarding the survey.

The first group is composed of individuals born in a developing country who come to Spain to seek economic or social conditions better than those in their country of origin. The persons belonging to this group were, in general, willing to cooperate. In many cases they showed an interest in participating in the survey, or they felt 'obligated' to participate in it. Nevertheless, some in this group were reluctant. The two main problems regarding participation were difficulty in finding a time slot to do the interview, since they tended to leave home early in the morning to go to work and return home late, and their reluctance to provide information about people in the dwelling who were not authorised to live in Spain.

The second group is made up of people who were born in a developed country and chose Spain as the country in which to 'enjoy their free time'. Most are retired people from other countries of the European Union or, in fewer numbers, from the United States. They usually live in holidaymaking areas such as along the Mediterranean coast and the Spanish islands. They live in widely-scattered areas, and are in many cases difficult to identify. Often, these persons divide their lives between their country of origin and Spain, which makes establishing contact with them difficult. They do not consider themselves to be 'immigrants' and were reluctant to reply when they heard the name of the survey. They expressed surprise when asked to answer certain items in the questionnaire (such as, e.g. how much their journey to Spain had cost, arrangements for sending money to their home country and the cost of living).

Finally, the third group is mainly composed of individuals born outside Spain, with at least one of their parents having Spanish nationality. Most of these people also have Spanish nationality. The persons in this group were reluctant to reply or were ill at ease because they did not think they should be included in the survey. Cases of Spaniards who had been born in

former Spanish overseas territories were the most problematic ones. Given that they hold Spanish nationality, in many cases they found it offensive to be considered part of the target population of the survey.

A final expected problem was the existence of dwellings where various immigrant family groups lived, without being related to one another. The results obtained in the second pilot test indicated that these problems could be overcome in the majority of cases. In the final survey, this scenario did not constitute a serious problem. In provinces where situations of this type were encountered, it was possible to find a solution by using more than one interviewee to obtain data concerning each family group, repeating the visit to the dwelling when necessary.

Difficulties were occasionally experienced obtaining all of the data for some of the other residents of the dwelling where the interview was being developed. Nevertheless, in such cases it was usually possible to obtain sufficient data about the other residents to determine whether they were eligible for inclusion in the survey, and thus to proceed to the selection process.

3.6 Final comments

What is the future for undertakings like the ENI? The choice between general surveys or surveys focused on immigrants is always open to debate. General surveys are preferred when the main aim is to compare native and foreign-born populations, or when the main objective is to analyse the integration of immigrants in work, education, housing, social life, political participation and other fields. International recommendations always emphasise the importance of a deeper use of existing sources and a broader dissemination of results among potential users (UN 1998; UNECE-Eurostat 2008; Santo Tomás, Summers & Clemens 2009). Eurostat has also been working to allow researchers and public bodies to use many statistical sources virtually combined to produce aggregated information with added value (Eurostat 2007).

However, in practice general surveys have many limitations when trying to obtain relevant information that might help to provide answers in political debates about immigration and international migration policies. Researchers, policymakers, citizens and social organisations perceive a deep gap between the desired objectives of immigration policies and empirical information about the flux of new immigrants, their relationship to established immigrant populations, returning emigrants and other emigrants. The ENI provides a rich statistical portrait of the Spanish immigrant phenomena at its highest point (some 1 million entrances were recorded in 2007). However, it is difficult to imagine the ENI as a cyclical undertaking, with its broad scope including all foreign-born residents of Spain. No repetition of the survey is foreseen at present.

Nevertheless, several lessons can be drawn from this experience for future research. First, the 2011 general population census and other related statistical work are important occasions to rethink usual survey procedures and to consider what additional information we need about the migrant population living in Spain. Second, focusing more on the medium term, some crucial aspects need to be explored related to the socio-economic characteristics of recent migrants and a new survey is being developed by INE to cover this topic (*Resident Population and Recent Immigrants Survey*). The final major lesson is the need to deepen the use of general surveys, to include more migrant-related variables, to monitor the quality of information collected and to enlarge the dissemination of data focused on immigrants.

Appendix

Estimators

The main results of the surveys refer to dwellings and individuals. In both cases, the methodology used to obtain the estimation was the one traditionally used by INE in its household surveys, that is to say, ratio estimators with calibration techniques:
1) *Estimator based in the sample design (Horwitz-Thomson estimator).* This is an unbiased estimator that takes the sample design into account. Weights were calculated as the inverse of the inclusion probability of the element.
2) *Non-response adjustment.* A number of classes were considered in the adjustment on non-response, with the design weight inflated by the inverse of the response rate. These classes take into account provinces and size of dwellings. The size of a dwelling was calculated by considering the number of foreigners residing in it belonging to the target population of the survey. Dwellings with one, two and three or more persons were considered.
3) *Calibration techniques.* The weight calculated following the previous two steps was re-weighted with the objective of adjusting the survey estimates to the information obtained from external sources. Calibration weights were calculated using the macro Calmar from the French National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE). The auxiliary variables used in this survey were seven groups of nationalities, by Autonomous Communities, provided by INE's population projections.

Sampling error

The survey provides sampling error estimations for the main characteristics. The procedure used to estimate the variance was the 'Jackknife Method' applied in multistage sampling. This re-sampling technique

usually provides sufficiently accurate estimates of the variance of the estimator of a characteristic $\hat{Y}, \hat{V}(\hat{Y})$.

In the tables we publish the relative sampling error, or coefficient of variation, given by the following expression:

$$C\hat{V}(\hat{Y}) = \frac{\sqrt{V(Y)}}{\hat{Y}}.$$

Sampling errors allow the construction of confidence intervals, in which the unknown value of the target characteristic is contained with a probability fixed in advance. For example, according to theory the following interval,

$$\hat{Y} \quad 1,96\sqrt{\hat{V}(\hat{Y})}, \quad \hat{X} + 1,96\sqrt{\hat{V}(\hat{Y})} \quad .$$

encompasses the true value of the parameter with a probability of 0.95.

Notes

1 *Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes*.
2 The opinions expressed in this chapter are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of the INE.
3 Many studies have tried to assess the extent to which these sources underestimated effective flow; for an example see Babiano and Farré (2002).
4 Colectivo IOÉ (1986); Muñoz and Izquierdo (1989).
5 The effort involves a wide-ranging institutional partnership given the highly decentralised nature of Spanish government.
6 Every registered resident must provide the following data that is included in the 'Padrón': name and surname, sex, permanent address, place and date of birth, Identity Card number (for foreigners, other documents that serve for this purpose).
7 Grouped in the 'Population and Society' Study Group (GEPS) based in the Complutense University in Madrid, under the leadership of David Reher, in collaboration with Luis Cortés Alcalá, Fernando González Quiñones, Miguel Requena Díez de Revenga, Alberto Sanz Gimeno, María Sánchez Domínguez and Mikolaj Stanek.
8 The details of the tasks, commitments and obligations were concretised in an agreement between the INE, the Ministry of Labour and the Complutense University of Madrid, dated 16 October 2006.
9 With the questionnaire that is currently used in the Family Budget Survey one cannot identify those who were born abroad, but it has been decided that it was better to introduce this aspect at a time it is deemed to be feasible (given that the size of this group is already considered relevant), rather than to generate a parallel effort in one of the system's most complex and delicate statistical operations.
10 Among the most important not yet mentioned is that it includes Spaniards born abroad who spend occasional periods in Spain.
11 A description of the survey errors associated with this sampling design, as well as the estimators used in the ENI, can be found in an appendix to this chapter.
12 Since these interviewers had to cover interviews all over Spain, some of the (few) interviews that required their intervention were done by phone.

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4 Enhancing representativeness in highly dynamic settings: Lessons from the NEPIA survey

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4.1 Introduction

This chapter is aimed at those migration researchers who live in an imperfect world, methodologically speaking. Specifically, it addresses a series of challenges that arise when no sufficiently comprehensive sample frame is available, thus making the use of standard probability sampling either outright impossible, or else unacceptable in terms of the share and characteristics of the target population covered by that procedure.

Such was the situation with the NEPIA survey,[2] the fieldwork of which was conducted in the spring of 2003 in the Southern Spanish region of Andalusia. Located at the south-western edge of Europe, just across the Strait of Gibraltar from the African continent, Andalusia is home to about eight million people. Its vast shoreline attracts millions of foreign tourists each year. Starting in the 1980s, an increasing number of people from Northern and Central Europe came to settle more or less permanently in Andalusia, while the second half of the 1990s marked the onset of sizeable immigration flows from economically less developed countries.

Aiming to gain solid empirical knowledge on the social situation of these latter migrants, the NEPIA study was commissioned in June 2002. The study was well-funded, with most of the project's budget of close to half a million euros provided by the European Social Fund (ESF); indeed, the initiative for conducting large-scale social research on the living conditions of migrant workers in Andalusia had originated in Brussels, probably due to concerns sparked by the violent El Ejido incidents of February 2000, which had made international headlines. However, the ESF's generous funding came with a tight and non-negotiable deadline (31 December 2003) for the whole project to be completed. Apart from the survey on which this chapter focuses (see Pérez Yruela & Rinken 2005 for the broader picture), the NEPIA study comprised a series of additional tasks. Thus, from recruitment of a core research team of ten full-time staff to the onset of data collection, just five months (October 2002 through February 2003) were available for preparing the survey. Hence, the project's success hinged not just on finding workable solutions to the various challenges that

DOI: 10.4324/9781003704577_CH04

will be discussed in the next section, but also on those solutions' smooth applicability. Any major misstep or delay would have derailed the whole project.

Foremost among those challenges was the lack of a sufficiently comprehensive and practically viable sample frame. As explained below, several flaws limited the usefulness of the population register ('Padrón'), which five years later served as sample frame for the ENI survey (chapter 3 in this volume). However, even if we had rated the 'Padrón' a feasible sample frame, we could not have used it as such in the NEPIA study: probably due to a combination of party politics and European integrative goodwill, the NEPIA was explicitly required to describe Andalusia's immigrant population regardless of any particular administrative condition, such as holding a residence permit or signing up at the town hall as a local resident.

This chapter's structure is simple: after spelling out the main challenges faced by the research team (section 4.2) and explaining the corresponding decisions taken (section 4.3), both formal and indirect indicators are used to gauge the quality of data obtained (section 4.4). The conclusions (section 4.5) focus on assessing the risk-benefit equation of NEPIA-style procedures.[3]

4.2 Major challenges

The chapter title alludes to the highly dynamic nature of international migration in Andalusia. Spain has gone from being a labour-exporting country to a labour-importing one. From a comparative perspective, this demographic shift is especially remarkable for its speed and magnitude: from 2000 to 2005, the country attracted about 500,000 new international migrants per year (Rinken 2007). Among all OECD countries, the increase of foreign residents in Spain throughout the past decade has been second only to the United States in absolute terms, with Spain leading the table in per capita values (OECD 2008). For every ten Spaniards living in Spain in the late 1990s, there was in 2010 an eleventh inhabitant who was born abroad. To a somewhat lesser degree than in regions such as Madrid and Catalonia, and with some particular traits in terms of migrants' origins and occupational profiles, the evolution in Andalusia has paralleled this general trend. Starting from about 100,000 a decade ago, the number of foreigners living in Andalusia had swelled to 670,000 by the end of 2008, according to the 'Padrón' (OPAM 2009).

While this dynamism was clearly discernible at the time of the planning of the NEPIA survey, there was no data source that would have enabled us to properly account for it. To express the same thing less euphemistically, there were no data that could have provided an adequate sample frame both in terms of inclusiveness and practical usefulness. The 'Padrón', a

unique database relying on the population registries of Spain's municipalities, was, at the beginning of the decade, elaborated with astonishing delay: in the autumn of 2002, the latest available data referred to 1 January 2000, putting the size of our target population (foreigners from economically less developed countries living in Andalusia) at only 56,300. We knew this number was outdated, since at the end of 2001, persons from our target nationalities that held valid residence permits already amounted to 92,000, according to official records. This latter number clearly referred to a subgroup of the study population, since by all accounts, a significant share of immigrants in Spain lacked residence papers.

But even if up-to-date 'Padrón' figures had been available, including the complete addresses needed for defining interviewer routes based on a classic probability sample, we were sceptical as to their practical usefulness as a sample frame. The Spanish part of the NIDI study (Arango, García-Pardo, Laseca & Martínez 2000) had tried to use 'Padrón' addresses for actually locating interviewees, with rather discouraging results. Even if we had been able to use updated data to define a probability sample and trust there was a high enough likelihood of locating a sufficient proportion of the selected subjects, the research objectives explicitly required us to sidestep any administrative classification and describe the target population as a whole. The 'Padrón' establishes an surprisingly low bar for registering as an inhabitant (e.g. a bill showing both name and address will do); however, registration is still an administrative procedure that actually depends on the initiative of the individual to come forward. At the time of planning for the NEPIA survey, it was unclear to what extent this registry captured the foreign population adequately, as people lacking residence papers were expected to be far less likely to seek registration at the town hall than their 'authorised' peers.[4] Adding to the problem of under-coverage, part of Andalusia's immigrant population was known to suffer extremely poor living conditions. The above-mentioned El Ejido incidents had occurred in a greenhouse-dotted area where a sizeable share of migrants were deprived of anything resembling 'normal' housing and hence, were much less likely than other segments of the migrant population to register themselves in the 'Padrón'.

In short, the NEPIA survey's first and foremost challenge was to generate a reasonably *representative* description of a population that could not be approached with the standard tools of survey methodology. Put bluntly, we were asked to square a circle. How would we select – or even encounter – our interviewees without some population register from which to draw a probability sample? And how could we solve that problem without incurring a – potentially crippling – selection bias?

A second and closely related challenge consisted of adequately addressing the target population's diversity in dimensions such as national origin, geographic location, occupational profile, living conditions, administrative

status and linguistic skills. In terms of origin, according to available data, between 35 and 40 per cent of the target population was from Northern Africa (primarily Morocco) and roughly the same share was from Latin America (with considerable numbers of Argentinian, Ecuadorian and Columbian nationality, respectively). Immigrants from the sub-Saharan part of the African continent were far less important numerically, but highly relevant symbolically, due to those infamous, perilously inapt and notoriously crowded boats ferrying would-be immigrants across the Strait of Gibraltar (in more recent years, much of that flow has been heading toward the Canary Islands instead, due to improved border control in the Strait). Also present, albeit numerically far less significant than Latin Americans and North Africans, were nationals of East European and Asian countries. The dispersion of the target population's origins implied the dilemma of either focusing on specific groups (defined by geopolitical area or even nationality), thus substantially easing the complexity of fieldwork, or else accepting the added difficulties of a broader approach, such as obtaining enough observations for chosen sub-categories to be statistically significant and managing a potentially Babylonian situation in terms of linguistic diversity.

A similar dilemma arose regarding the location of immigrants within Andalusia. The pressing concern of ensuring viable fieldwork logistics, which may have propelled a geographical focus on selected areas with a relatively high volume of immigrants, had to be balanced against the objective of representing as well as possible the occupational and social diversity of the target population. This regards partly the size of the municipalities, and partly their socio-economic profile. Arguably, which sorts of occupations are accessible to migrants depends to a great extent on the opportunity structure of the labour market, which in turn depends on the sectors of activity that dominate the local economy. As to living conditions and administrative status, these are also partly related to the general socio-economic setting at the place of residence.

Our decisions regarding 1) the general survey framework and 2) the intent of maximising social and cultural diversity within the target population implied that 3) fieldwork management – and specifically, quality control – was yet another major challenge to be concerned about from the start. The following section seeks to explain how the NEPIA addressed these three interrelated challenges. We will hence recapitulate the reasons that induced the research team to prefer one particular course of action over its possible alternatives, deciding on the basis of imperfect clues regarding the comparative risk profile of those options and, as indicated above, under the pressure of a tight deadline.

4.3 Key decisions

The research team's decisions can best be discussed in three steps that match the three main challenges sketched above, though most of the decisions relate to various dimensions.

General sampling approach

With regard to the plainly crucial challenge of generating a valid sampling approach, our first decision was to recognise the impossibility of obtaining a sufficiently complete list of the members of the target population from which to draw, with equal likelihood of selection, fully identified units – individuals or households – that could then be contacted for data gathering. This decision was obviously triggered by the context conditions at that time; in the concluding section, we will address the hypothetical question of how we would decide on that point today. Secondly, short of a full probability approach, we figured that more up-to-date 'Padrón' data than those already published would provide a reasonably reliable tool for estimating the general parameters of the study universe, such as origin (geopolitical groups of nationalities), gender (proportions within each geopolitical group) and location (municipality). In other words, we decided to use the 'Padrón' for everything that is usually done with the source data (frame) from which to draw a sample, except for the last step of exactly defining the unit of data collection.

For us, the 'Padrón' provided a proxy universe from which a proxy sample was drawn. Not only were we well aware that there was no full match between the individuals registered in the 'Padrón' and the target population (for starters, the latter also comprised people who had not come forward to register as inhabitants at their town hall); we also accepted that the 'Padrón' data would only go half the distance towards identifying a particular interviewee. To be specific, 'half the distance' was a search profile containing the interviewee's municipality of residence, geopolitical region of origin and gender as compulsory items and his or her specific nationality as a desirable one that, according to circumstances in the field, could be substituted by another nationality from that same geopolitical group. Inscription in the 'Padrón' was not a prerequisite for interviewee selection, but a questionnaire item instead. Hence, in NEPIA's approach to sampling, the only assumption made with regard to the immigrant population's administrative status was that immigrants lacking 'Padrón' registration would not be geographically distributed in ways systematically different from the settling patterns of immigrants that did compute in the population register. We will come back to NEPIA's interviewee recruitment procedures in the next section.

To obtain our proxy-universe of up-to-date 'Padrón' data, the NEPIA team collected such data directly from those municipalities that accounted

for 90 per cent of the registered immigrant population in each of Andalusia's eight provinces. That share was measured by the latest publicly available 'Padrón'. Focusing on localities with a significant presence of immigrants made this particular data-collection effort manageable. Moreover, including places with no or hardly any foreigners would have been pointless. Of the 170 municipalities that were approached, 150 cooperated by providing recent and disaggregated (gender, nationality) data. For the remaining non-contacted 620 municipalities, the latest published data were used. As a result, NEPIA's proxy universe comprised about 148,500 foreigners from economically less developed countries. This figure tripled the corresponding number in the last publicly available data. Rather than the absolute number, what mattered for the NEPIA research process was the possibility of plausibly estimating the *proportions* (place of residence, country of origin, gender) that were relevant for drawing our sample of interviewee search profiles. The fieldwork was to be oriented by but not restricted to people enrolled in the population register.

Maximising diversity while minimising selection bias

As mentioned earlier, the study's target population did not comprise foreigners from any specific country of origin, but only immigrants from economically less developed countries. This criterion excluded people from countries belonging at that point to the European Union or other highly industrialised nations, but it included a vast range of countries, the proportional weight of which ranged from about one third (Moroccans) to almost zero. When combining all the eligible countries of origin into broader groups, Asians and sub-Saharan Africans accounted for just 5-6 per cent each, East Europeans for twice that figure, and immigrants from Latin American and North African countries close to 40 per cent each. To meet the goal of describing the immigrant population, we could have opted for a proportionate sample with regard to the variable 'country of origin'; however, this would have made comparisons between distinct groups of migrants largely impossible. Hence, the sample was stratified, with equal numbers of interviews to be conducted with individuals from each of the following five geopolitical regions: Northern Africa (including Middle Eastern countries that border the Mediterranean), sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, Asia (excluding Japan and the Middle East), and Eastern Europe.

To account for the diversity of opportunity structures across Andalusia's vast territory, the sample was also stratified with regard to the economic profile of the interviewee's place of residence. To this effect, Andalusia's 770 municipalities were classified into four categories: tourism-driven coastline, intensive agriculture, urban area, and a residual group that mainly comprises the region's rural interior. The size of the total sample (N=1,800) balanced viability constraints (deadline) and budget

considerations against the need to obtain statistically significant sub-samples. The fixed quotas for region of origin and area of residence (N=360 and N=450, respectively) were combined with proportional quotas for gender. To obtain adequate proportions across subcategories, results were weighted according to the 'Padrón' data as of autumn 2002.

The sample's cross-stratification (Table 4.1 shows the real sample obtained; N=1,797) constituted a first step toward reflecting the target population's internal diversity. According to their specific typology, interviewee search profiles were then assigned to eligible municipalities, with a minimum number of eight interviews per locality to prevent an excessive geographical dispersion of fieldwork. Municipalities whose volume of immigrant residents was sufficient for their share to exceed eight interviews were automatically selected for fieldwork, whereas among the rest, fieldwork locations were randomly selected, the selection probability of any given municipality being proportional to its share of immigrant residents. Again, all these calculations were made on the basis of the 'Padrón' figures collected by the NEPIA team.

As mentioned earlier, ours was not a fully operative sample, complete with addresses or even names. The NEPIA sample specifies each interviewee's gender, municipality of residence and geopolitical region of origin, plus an indication of the preferable country of birth. For the interview to come about, the interviewer had to make contact with an individual matching each particular search profile. This last step is obviously crucial for data quality: the general philosophy of survey methodology would demand an equal selection likelihood of any individual that matches a given profile, a requirement that is usually met by random selection from a

Table 4.1 *Obtained NEPIA sample (March-April 2003)*

	Socio-economic profile of municipality										
	Total			*Large cities*		*Touristic coastline*		*Intensive agriculture*		*Rural interior*	
Geopolitical region of origin	*All*	*M*	*W*	*M*	*W*	*M*	*W*	*M*	*W*	*M*	*W*
Asia	358	203	155	70	53	77	67	4	5	52	30
Eastern Europe	359	165	194	22	30	39	45	58	62	46	57
Latin America	360	160	200	44	58	47	57	19	22	50	63
Northern Africa	361	239	122	47	27	45	23	82	37	65	35
Sub-Saharan Africa	359	277	82	88	24	28	8	122	39	39	11
Total	1,797	1,044	753	271	192	236	200	285	165	252	196
				463		436		450		448	

Source: NEPIA survey

Note: The sample is cross-stratified by socio-economic profile of fieldwork municipality and geopolitical region of interviewees' country of birth; proportional quotas were used for interviewees' gender, abbreviated here as M and W.

reasonably inclusive sample frame with sufficiently operative contact information. As explained earlier, this precondition could not be met here.

NEPIA's solution to this conundrum was to diversify the contact points for recruiting interviewees. On the assumption that migrant self-help and support associations were both highly prone to create selection bias (support is arguably sought by the needy only) and likely to be favoured by interviewers (especially those dispatched to an unfamiliar municipality), this means of making contact with interviewees was restricted to a maximum of 20 per cent of each interviewer's workload. On similar grounds, snowballing was explicitly forbidden. To improve the probability of adequately representing the breadth of social situations existing within each of the various search profiles, each interviewer had to recruit at least 80 per cent of their interviewees at contact points belonging to a variable mix (between 20 and 50 per cent each) of the following three categories: 1) employment, 2) residence and 3) leisure. Examples for employment-related recruitment points were middle- and upper-class residential neighbourhoods (for interviewing domestic service personnel), restaurants and construction sites, always provided that the interviewee was employed there. 'Residential' recruitment spots included any public place and facility (e.g. schools), as well as any sort of housing unit used by immigrants. Leisure-related sites included bars, parks, sports facilities and centres of worship.

When establishing this procedure, we were not aware of Blangiardo's (1996, 2000) work on centre sampling. Our approach is similar in that contact with interviewees was established at a variety of recruitment points. However, whereas Blangiardo sought to approach equal-selection-probability of all the individuals frequenting a given set of contact points, NEPIA placed the primary emphasis on the sampling of search profiles. Later, at the stage of actual fieldwork, an effort was made to diversify the contact points where individuals were recruited to match those profiles. Blangiardo's procedure implies the interviewing of any individual that can be located at one of various contact points, whereas NEPIA's recruitment point constitutes a tool for adequately implementing a sample of specific search profiles, drawn from the proxy-universe of 'Padrón' data (but without making 'Padrón' inscription an interviewee recruitment requirement). While for NEPIA, each interviewee's gender and country of origin (or broad geopolitical region of origin) were defined a priori on the basis of a proxy-universe, the variables 'gender' and 'nationality' are part of the estimates generated by Blangiardo's method.

Data collection and quality control

The decisions taken with regard to the sample's internal diversity implied a complex data-collection process. In terms of social diversity, our goal was to capture any type of situation, ranging from the homeless to well-

established professionals and entrepreneurs. In terms of cultural and linguistic diversity, the establishment of fixed quotas for proportionally less relevant groups of origin would have been pointless without measures aimed at overcoming the language barrier. By all accounts, migrants who are not fluent in the host country's language are likely to differ substantially from the rest on key variables such as length of stay, administrative status, employment and residential situation.

Questionnaire design aimed to take account of these added challenges. To accommodate social diversity, specific question-and-answer paths were designed for different categories of people. For example, respondents who had reported precarious housing conditions (tents, abandoned cars) would not be asked to report on equipment such as central heating. In short, one goal when designing the questionnaire was to avoid any query that would annoy the respondent as superfluous or disrespectful, considering the information obtained previously. Also, a relatively large portion of the questionnaire permitted open-text responses to be coded later on, thus helping to prevent non-response or discontinuity. While being markedly interviewee-friendly in various ways, the questionnaire included many requests for sensitive information, such as the means of transportation used for entering the country, current administrative status, and status regarding social security. The questionnaire was translated into four additional languages (Arab, Russian, French and English), apart from the standard version in Spanish. Since fieldwork was to be carried out during the months of March and April, February 2003 was the reference period for many questions. When applicable, standard classifications were used to obtain data that would be comparable with sources such as the general labour force survey.

Staffing of fieldwork teams entailed a comparative risk-benefit assessment of professionalism versus proximity. The IESA regularly runs data-collection operations across the region. NEPIA could have used that network of interviewers and supervisors, perhaps saving the project team significant time and trouble. Nevertheless, we decided to forego that option and build a specific data-collection operation instead, primarily due to concerns about trust and cooperation on the interviewees' part and secondarily, to enhance proficiency in languages other than Spanish. The initial project team comprised four full-time staff members (including the general project coordinator) at headquarters, plus seven full-time provincial coordinators. The latter took on the main responsibility for supervising teams of around ten interviewers, recruited preferably to obtain the cultural affinity and language skills relevant for interacting with the predominant groups of origin in each province's share of the sample. Training of fieldwork teams was provided by headquarters staff. A detailed interviewer manual was drafted, with instructions regarding both general conduct and the NEPIA questionnaire specifically. The payment scheme also had to be generated afresh, since the absence of pre-established door-to-door routes meant that there

was little indication of the amount of time needed for a given interviewee. Our take on this was to establish pre-set rates that varied according to the distance of fieldwork locations from interviewers' homes, applicable to successfully conducted interviews only. Payment was generous, to motivate interviewers to meet their assigned commitments.

Especially strict quality control was, again, a necessity derived from earlier decisions. Ceteris paribus, interviewer misconduct (outright cheating, interviewer bias, etc.) can be assumed to be more prevalent in a relatively inexperienced ad hoc fieldwork team that has no sense of continuity in this line of activity, once the particular one-off study has been concluded. To make the threat of dismissal somewhat more effective as a preventive measure, NEPIA's approach combined a large carrot (generous payment) with an equally large stick, which came in the way of three-step quality control on the part of the corresponding province's coordinator, central project staff and IESA coding professionals, respectively. In the first two steps, each interviewer's entire submitted workload was revised for repetitive, incoherent or otherwise strange answer patterns, including information on interviewee recruitment points (which had to be specified exactly); the questionnaire included some 'red flag' items that were specifically checked as telltales for possible cheating. Additionally, the last step entailed phone calls to a large share of respondents. To make this possible, interviewers were asked to obtain operative contact information, such as a mobile phone number.

In a general political context marked largely by the migration-control discourse of the Spanish national government (run by the conservative *Partido Popular* at that time, in contrast to the Socialist government of the Andalusia region), mistrust toward interviewers was a distinct possibility, especially on the part of undocumented migrants. Also, it was unclear whether the interviewers' institutional affiliation to the IESA and the concept of confidentiality would be understood (and taken for real) by all interviewees. Despite these circumstances, which implied that the requirement of obtaining contact information might have endangered the timely completion of fieldwork, we made it clear that a low percentage of questionnaires including such information would raise suspicions of possible interviewer misconduct, thus triggering especially intense screening.

4.4 Outcome measures

To gauge the quality of the data generated by the NEPIA survey, we will first discuss some formal indicators inherent in the data-collection effort. Subsequently, substantive results will be compared with data produced by other sources.

Formal quality indicators

The procedures employed by NEPIA entail a hitch of considerable magnitude: data accuracy cannot be measured as usual. Random error can be computed technically for the total sample (+/- 3.15 per cent at a confidence interval of 95 per cent) and for each sub-sample (+/- 5.2 per cent for each category of origin and 4.6 per cent for those of location), but since the prerequisite of a probability sample is not fully applicable here, those calculations provide only tentative indications. To be sure, even if NEPIA had been carried out with standard survey methodology, the relatively small sample size and the decision to cross-stratify that sample generated ranges of random variance that are anything but negligible. Hence, this survey – like most quantitative data-collection operations, except extraordinary large ones – provides a tool essentially for assessing approximate proportions, rather than subtle differences. In this sense, in NEPIA, as in any moderate and small-size survey, there is a fictional element to the presentation of extremely detailed numerical results, complete with decimals. This restriction regarding data exactitude should be perfectly admissible for a survey of the characteristics we refer to here.

Now, in the case of NEPIA, the likelihood of selection is not necessarily equal for all members of the corresponding category of people (defined by municipality of residency, gender, and country/region of origin) in the decisive last step of interviewee recruitment, as it was not purely randomly driven. Since initial contact with potential respondents was essentially made in public places of various sorts, anybody shunning these was a priori less likely to be recruited for the research interview. Generally speaking, a migrant with residence papers and a job in the formal economy would be more likely to be interviewed while shopping in a supermarket, for example, than a migrant lacking both. Similarly, a migrant living in a shack at the periphery of a given fieldwork location is a priori less likely to be interviewed than somebody living and working close to that locality's main traffic nodes.

The research team took measures to minimise that source of systemic error, for example, by devising a list of interviewee recruitment points which included sites where the selection of individuals in socially and legally precarious situations was likely to occur. About 8 per cent of interviewees were contacted via self-help or charitable organisations. The remainder was distributed fairly evenly among leisure, residential and employment-related contact points, with between 28 and 36 per cent each. Arguably, the nature and dimension of potential visibility bias varies according to the size and nature of fieldwork locations. For example, in Andalusia's agricultural areas, often undocumented seasonal workers are forced into visibility, gathering at public places to procure short-term employment. Hence, it is worth pointing out that our fieldwork was conducted in a total of 108

municipalities, ranging from major cities and towns with sizeable immigrant communities to small municipalities with relatively few foreign residents. Also, 70 per cent of valid interviews were carried out with the first eligible person approached. However, as stated, the degree of data accuracy obtained cannot be fully captured with intrinsic measurements. The section on 'substantive quality indicators' is thus of crucial interest, referring as it does to tools of external validation.

Such validation is warranted with regard to a second potential source of error as well. As described earlier, the NEPIA team put tremendous effort into quality control throughout all the stages of fieldwork, but we cannot exclude that the survey results may be subject to some interviewer bias. The two main forms of interviewer bias that we encountered were outright cheating, on one hand, and possibly misleading ad hoc translations of the questionnaire, on the other. With regard to the former, our quality control procedures detected some cases of complete disregard of mandatory fieldwork procedures, such as 'agenda scrolling', that is, rather than going out and seeking respondents, friends and acquaintances were interviewed. The dismissal of unprincipled staff and the dropout of others led to a substantial reduction of interviewer teams throughout the fieldwork period; typically, the last few dozen interviews in each province were conducted by a residual group of especially motivated and reliable interviewers. As to the second aspect, the multilinguistic nature of data collection in the field led to an unanticipated number of ad hoc translations of the original Spanish questionnaire. Surprisingly little use was made of the foreign-language questionnaires (in about 2 per cent of the 1,797 valid interviews), whereas about one fifth of the total were Spanish questionnaires administered with the help of at least some ad hoc translating on the part of the interviewer. About two thirds of those cases involved translations or clarifications in the Arab language. Optimists would deduce that our goal of linguistic inclusiveness was indeed met. Pessimists, however, would note that the uncontrolled nature of those spontaneous translations raises the possibility of inaccuracies and outright errors, some of which may have gone undetected in subsequent screening due to the limited language skills of quality-control staff.

That said, it is noteworthy that 70 per cent of interviewees provided a contact telephone number for quality control. This figure can be interpreted as an encouraging sign regarding data quality, especially if compared with the mobile telephone penetration rate of about 80 per cent in our sample. From the interviewees' perspective, the readiness to provide a contact telephone suggests that the interview did not generate distrust, which in turn might be associated with truthfulness on the interviewees' part. From the interviewers' perspective, the high proportion of questionnaires with contact information implies that our quality-control procedures were taken seriously. As to perceived quality, most interviews were rated as 'good' or

'very good' by the interviewers, with relatively low marks for interviews with Asians and especially high marks for Latin American respondents (82.3 and 95.5 per cent, respectively, of these latter were rated as 'good' and 'very good'). Sincerity ratings were similar, with 96 per cent of Latin American respondents receiving 'good' or 'very good' marks, as compared to about 85 per cent of Asian and North African interviewees.

The low percentage of non-response regarding sensitive information is also a positive sign. For example, only about 1 per cent of interviewees declined to indicate their means of transport for reaching Spain, while about a quarter of male interviewees from sub-Saharan Africa and one fifth of male interviewees from Northern Africa reported having crossed the Strait of Gibraltar illegally in a *patera*[5] (figures are far lower for female respondents). At about 8.5 per cent in the weighted sample as a whole, non-response regarding interviewees' income was in line with comparable items in other datasets.

Indicators of substantive data quality[6]

In the NEPIA survey, the question regarding access to mobile phones was part of a battery of items regarding facilities in the respondent's housing unit. Since that battery also included items such as air conditioning and central heating, it was omitted from the question path for interviewees who had previously stated that they were living in highly precarious conditions, such as abandoned cars and the like. Such situations were reported by about 6 per cent of the weighted NEPIA sample, whereas about 8.5 per cent reported to be living in a single room (hotel, sublet, in-house domestic service, etc.) and close to 85 per cent said they were living in a full-size flat or house; 13 per cent of the latter said they owned the house and 78 per cent rented; 7 per cent or so lived in housing units made available by employers or kin.

This example (for more detailed data regarding housing, see Rinken & Herrón 2004) illustrates that the NEPIA survey was successful in including persons living in precarious conditions in the data-gathering operation. This capacity differentiates NEPIA from surveys that convert an administrative register regarding relatively 'normal' living conditions into the sample frame. For instance, the ENI, carried out in 2007 by the National Statistics Institute (see chapter 3 of this book) basically excludes most sorts of crudely substandard housing from the outset, relying as it does on addresses contained in the population register. Hence, the above-mentioned drawbacks of NEPIA's approach have to be pondered in association with the pitfalls of more classic survey methodology.

Under-coverage stands out as the foremost hitch in applying (relatively) standard survey methodology to a *highly dynamic setting*, such as a population of international migrants whose relationship with the receiving

society's institutions and administrative procedures is, precisely, part of the empirical situation to be clarified. Within the boundaries of a given frame for 'pure' probability sampling, both systemic and random error can be controlled for and measured much more adequately than by generating a proxy-sample of search profiles, as was the case with NEPIA. However, when implemented properly, such search profiles generate potentially very inclusive results in terms of the target population's diversity of social and administrative situations. In contrast, the boundaries of a classic sample frame will categorically exclude part of the theoretical target population.

To give an idea of the magnitude of such under-coverage, one quarter of NEPIA's respondents indicated they had not registered in their local town hall's 'Padrón'. The social and administrative situation of this segment of NEPIA's target population differs substantially from the rest, with an almost tenfold increase of manifestly precarious residential situations (about 17 per cent versus 2 per cent, respectively) and twice as high a proportion of individuals lacking valid residence papers (70 versus 35 per cent), to mention just two remarkable features. Since 'Padrón' registration, administrative status, and housing conditions pertain to the vast group of variables that in turn depend to a large extent on the respondent's length of stay in the host country, these differential distributions make perfect sense. From a methodological viewpoint, the data suggest that under-coverage is potentially a more serious source of error than the two sorts of bias (interviewee visibility and interviewer error) that may have reduced the accuracy of NEPIA results. NEPIA's procedures were open toward categories of interviewees that are systematically precluded from participation by standard probability sampling, due to the latter's dependence on administrative registers that almost inevitably miss out on the fringes of the theoretical universe. To put this argument very cautiously, the co-existence of homeless and home-owning individuals in the NEPIA sample can hardly be interpreted as evidence of systemic distortion.

To what extent, then, can we trust that NEPIA's findings reflect, with a reasonable margin of error, the empirical proportions in the target population? In the following, we will attempt to gauge the reliability and validity of NEPIA's results by comparing them with other available data sources. The methodologies used for generating these various data imply that we should not expect full coincidence with the NEPIA results. Rather, the comparison aims at making sense of the data obtained by relating them to the methodologies applied in each case.[7] We will first compare some basic socio-demographic traits from the NEPIA sample with the official 'Padrón' statistics. Second, NEPIA's results regarding the share of immigrants with valid residence permits and social security enrolment, respectively, will be compared with official data concerning these aspects. Third and last, we will turn to the Andalusian sub-sample of the general Spanish *Labour*

Force Survey to cross-check some basic traits of the migrants' reported employment situation.

As mentioned earlier, the NEPIA study used largely self-collected 'Padrón' figures to estimate the relative size of each sub-sample and organise fieldwork across Andalusia's vast territory. Those figures referring to all age groups were extracted from the respective town halls' records in the autumn of 2002, except for a small percentage of entries that were retrieved from the latest official 'Padrón' (as of 1 January 2000) available at that time. The sample generated with the help of 'Padrón'-based search profiles included any interviewee matching the defining traits of gender and geopolitical area of birthplace, regardless of whether that person had registered in the 'Padrón'. Hence, the correspondence between the basic socio-demographic traits of the NEPIA sample (A) and the official 'Padrón' as of 1 January 2003 regarding nationals of the countries that compose NEPIA's five geopolitical areas of origin (B) cannot be expected to be near perfect.

However, as Table 4.2 illustrates, regarding aspects that were part of NEPIA's obligatory search profile (geopolitical region of origin and

Table 4.2 *Socio-demographic traits of the NEPIA sample (A) and of corresponding nationalities according to official 'Padrón' statistics (B)*

	Total		*Northern Africa*		*Latin America*		*Eastern Europe*		*Sub-Saharan Africa*		*Asia*	
	(A)	*(B)*	*(A)*	*(B)*	*(A)*	*(B)*	*(A)*	*(B)*	*(A)*	*(B)*	*(A)*	*(B)*
Relative weight of geopolitical region (% of total)	–	–	39	35	37*	38*	13	15	6*	6*	5*	6*
Men (% of total)	56*	56*	67*	69*	45*	44*	47*	49*	78*	76*	57*	60*
Under 30 years of age (% of total)	43	40.5	42*	42*	41*	39*	57	44	50	38	39	32
Predominant countries (column share according to A & B)	Morocco (32*) (31.5*) Argentina (11) (9) Ecuador (10*) (10*)		Morocco (83) (90) Algeria (10) (5)		Argentina (30) (24) Ecuador (27*) (26*) Colombia (26*) (25*)		Romania (41) (30) Russia (18*) (15*) Ukraine (16*) (19*)		Senegal (34) (28) Nigeria (19) (26) Guinea Bissau (16) (9)		China (51) (41) Pakistan (15*) (18*) Philippines (10) (14)	

Sources: NEPIA survey (March-April 2003) and National Statistics Institute, INE ('Padrón', 1 January 2003)

Note: Columns (A) refer to the birthplace, columns (B) refer to nationals of the countries of origin included in the NEPIA target population. Columns (A) comprise individuals aged 16 years or older; columns (B) refer to individuals aged 15 years or older. Values (A) and (B) that do not differ significantly from one another are marked with an asterisk. All figures displayed are rounded.

gender), the sample proportions are generally very much in line with those of the official population statistics relative to the closest possible date. This is remarkable, since the statistics in question became available only when NEPIA's results were already published. With respect to traits such as country of origin (which was a recommended but optional part of the search profiles) and age, the differences widen in some subcategories, but sample totals maintain a remarkable degree of similarity with the corresponding values from the population register. With regard to the higher proportion of young NEPIA interviewees, in comparison with 'Padrón' figures, it is worth mentioning the sample's internal difference between 'Padrón'-registered and unregistered interviewees, with shares of the 16-29 age group being 39 per cent and 57 per cent, respectively. The first of those two values is almost identical to the official figure. As to the share of specific countries of origin, the discrepancies between columns (A) and (B) are in some cases likely to be due to accelerating demographic growth rates (example, for Romania), which translate into relatively large proportions of newcomers who were not (yet) registered in the 'Padrón'. Still, in at least one case, the difference is potentially related to NEPIA selection bias (in the Asian subgroup, Chinese interviewees might be easier to recruit than other nationalities).

As mentioned earlier, NEPIA managed to collect information on notoriously sensitive aspects of immigrant life, including administrative status and social security enrolment. Table 4.3 compares NEPIA results in these regards with official statistics. Columns (B) refer to the numerical relationship between the values of the 'Padrón' population registry as of 1 January 2003, on one hand, and valid residence permits as of year's end 2002 and

Table 4.3 *Administrative profile of NEPIA sample (A) and comparison of available official statistics regarding corresponding nationalities' administrative status (B) (per cent share of total)*

	Total		*Asia*		*Northern Africa*		*Sub-Saharan Africa*		*Latin America*		*Eastern Europe*	
	(A)	*(B)*	*(A)*	*(B)*	*(A)*	*(B)*	*(A)*	*(B)*	*(A)*	*(B)*	*(A)*	*(B)*
Valid residence permit	52*	54*	81	74	66	78	59	85	39	32	32*	33*
Social security affiliates	37	45	71	62	41	57	45	57	31*	30*	26	44

Sources: NEPIA survey (March-April 2003) and Ministry of the Interior (OPI 2003)
Note: Columns (A) refer to a combination of birthplace and nationality (naturalised immigrants are excluded), whereas columns (B) simply refer to nationals of the countries included in the NEPIA target population. Columns (A) comprise individuals aged 16 years or older; columns (B) refer to individuals of any age for data on residence permits and individuals aged 15 or older, for data on social security. Values (A) and (B) that do not differ significantly from one another are marked with an asterisk. All figures displayed are rounded.

social security enrolment as of mid-January 2003, respectively, on the other. These data do not procure an exact quantification of administrative irregularity, among other reasons because naturalisations are not considered here for lack of sufficiently disaggregated official data. Also, the share of social security affiliations is calculated in relation to the total population, not just the employed. That said, with a naturalisation rate of less than 5 per cent and an employment rate of about 70 per cent (NEPIA data), the figures in Table 4.3 suggest a high level of irregularity with regard to both indicators, thus adding to existing empirical knowledge regarding the so-called Southern European model of managing migration (see Cebolla & González-Ferrer 2008; Arango 2000; Cornelius 1995). As to the comparison between columns (A) and (B), the former can be expected to contain higher estimates of irregularity, since NEPIA data include people not registered in the 'Padrón'.

This expectation is confirmed in the case of social security enrolment: the sample total and subtotals for three of the five groups of origin are significantly lower than the figure obtained using administrative data (column B). As for the one case that contradicts this trend, NEPIA data on the social security enrolment of Asian migrants may be partly due to visibility bias, such as locating interviewees primarily in commercial establishments. Regarding NEPIA data on residence permits, an analogous remark might be due: the Asian sub-sample is again one of only two to show higher proportions of valid residence papers than the available administrative statistics. That said, in general, the degree of coincidence between the NEPIA results and available administrative sources is remarkable. Both means of measurement identify Latin Americans and Eastern Europeans as two groups of origin with astonishingly low proportions (about one third) of regular administrative status. This finding is consistent with the fact that immigration flows from Latin America and Eastern Europe accelerated at considerable rates throughout the years preceding the NEPIA survey, with new arrivals generally lacking the corresponding administrative requisites.

The possibility of comparing the NEPIA results with data produced by the Spanish National Statistics Institute's general *Labour Force Survey* (EPA)[8] is limited. At the relevant time (1st quarter of 2003), a small share of that survey's huge data-collection operation was directed at immigrants from economically less developed countries and residing in Andalusia; hence, statistically significant data are lacking for many subcategories. To cross-check NEPIA results, we will look at the employment situation (Table 4.4), sector of economic activity (Table 4.5) and the employment qualification level (Table 4.6).

Regarding the employment situation, the coincidence between NEPIA's results and data procured by the EPA is almost perfect concerning the total target population and some sub-samples (Latin Americans, Eastern Europeans), even though some of these values narrowly miss our threshold

Table 4.4 *Employment situations of employed interviewees, NEPIA sample (A) and corresponding nationalities in Andalusian subsample of EPA (B), by subgroup of origin and total (per cent)*

	Total		*Latin America*		*Eastern Europe*		*Northern Africa*		*Sub-Saharan Africa*		*Asia*	
	(A)	*(B)*	*(A)*	*(B)*	*(A)*	*(B)*	*(A)*	*(B)*	*(A)*	*(B)*	*(A)*	*(B)*
Entrepreneur / autonomous professional	17	14	15*	12*	2*	4*	21	(29)	18	(29)	34	0
Employee	79	82	83*	80*	94	96	71*	(71)*	79	(71)	61	100
Member of cooperative	1	2	1	4	0*	0*	2	(0)	1*	(0)*	1	0
Helping family member	2*	2*	0	4	3	0	4	(0)	1*	(0)*	2	0
Other	1	–	2	–	0	–	2	–	2	–	1	–

Sources: NEPIA survey (March-April 2003) and INE (EPA Q1/2003)
Note: In NEPIA, the reference month for employment-related questions was February 2003. Regarding origin, available EPA categories refer to Latin America, Eastern Europe, the whole of the African continent and a residual 'Asia plus Oceania'; since the latter is numerically irrelevant here, the NEPIA category 'Asia' has been maintained. EPA data with doubtful statistical representativeness are shown in italics and EPA data regarding African respondents are in parentheses. Values (A) and (B) that do not differ significantly from one another are marked with an asterisk. All figures displayed are rounded.

Table 4.5 *Sectors of economic activity among employed interviewees, NEPIA sample (A) and corresponding nationalities in Andalusian subsample of EPA (B), by subgroup of origin and total (per cent)*

	Total		*Latin America*		*Eastern Europe*		*Northern Africa*		*Sub-Saharan Africa*		*Asia*	
	(A)	*(B)*	*(A)*	*(B)*	*(A)*	*(B)*	*(A)*	*(B)*	*(A)*	*(B)*	*(A)*	*(B)*
Agriculture	21	11	12*	12*	28	15	31	(8)	28.5	(8)	2	0
Construction	9	15	9*	6*	20	32	4	(20)	21*	(20)*	0	21
Sales and catering	33	43	33*	38*	13	35	33	(53)	23	(53)	82*	79*
Other	37	31	45*	43*	40	18	30	(20)	28	(20)*	16	0

Sources: NEPIA survey (March-April 2003) and INE (EPA Q1/2003)
Note: Categories regarding sectors of activity have been adjusted to reflect published EPA data. NEPIA results regarding 'other' sectors of activity include interviewees (4.5 per cent of the total) who declined to respond. Regarding origin, available EPA categories refer to Latin America, Eastern Europe, the whole of the African continent and a residual 'Asia plus Oceania'; since the latter is numerically irrelevant here, the NEPIA category 'Asia' has been maintained. EPA data with doubtful statistical representativeness are shown in italics and data relative to African respondents are in parentheses. In NEPIA, the reference month for employment-related questions was February 2003. Values (A) and (B) that do not differ significantly from one another are marked with an asterisk. All figures displayed are rounded.

Table 4.6 *Employment qualification level, NEPIA sample (A) and corresponding nationalities in Andalusian subsample of EPA (B) (per cent)*

Qualification level	*(A)*	*(B)*
1 – directors and managers	6	8
2 – highly qualified professionals and technicians	4*	1*
3 – complementary professionals and technicians	4	7
4 – administrative staff	3*	4*
5 – workers in catering, sales and security services	24	20
6 – qualified agricultural workers	1	2
7 – qualified workers in industry, mining and construction	7	18
8 – machinery operatives	2	0
9 – unskilled employment	49	41

Sources: NEPIA survey (March-April 2003) and INE (EPA Q1/2003)
Note: In NEPIA, the reference month for employment-related questions was February 2003. For lack of statistical significance in most subcategories, EPA data are not disaggregated by area of origin. Values (A) and (B) that do not differ significantly from one another are marked with an asterisk. All figures displayed are rounded.

for statistical similarity. As to the discrepancies regarding certain other proportions, NEPIA data can be rated as at least as trustworthy as the EPA's. For example, it is reasonable to assume that the share of entrepreneurs among Asian immigrants indeed exceeds that of any other group of origin.

NEPIA's data cover a range of groups of origin and sectors of activity for which no reliable EPA data are available. Actually, original measurement by NEPIA is far more detailed than shown here (Pérez Yruela & Rinken 2005). Apart from its added value, that information can generally be rated as credible; for example, as sizeable numbers of East European and African employees in Andalusian agriculture have been widely documented. The relatively low proportion of NEPIA interviewees who were employed in sales and catering should be interpreted as a positive sign regarding data accuracy, since for fieldwork staff, this is an easy-access employment category; visibility bias in NEPIA would thus have caused the share of this category to be greater than that of the EPA. The much larger share of 'other' employment sectors in all of NEPIA's groups of origin, as compared to EPA results, again can be seen as evidence of well-balanced NEPIA interviewee recruitment procedures. Specifically, NEPIA fieldwork proved capable of capturing less visible and even illicit activities.

Finally, albeit missing the test for statistical coincidence in most cases, NEPIA results on migrants' employment qualification levels again reveal considerable similarity with EPA data. Both surveys put the share of unskilled employment at between 40 and 50 per cent, the share of employees in catering and sales services at between one quarter and a fifth of the total, and the proportion of white-collar jobs (levels 1-4), at 20 and 16.5 per cent, respectively. The differences between both sources do not imply, in

principle, any particular bias. The most noteworthy discrepancy regards workers in the construction industry, which accounts for most employment in group 7. It is conceivable that construction workers were less accessible for on-site recruitment by NEPIA interviewers than other types of employees. Still, one fifth of NEPIA interviewees from Eastern Europe and sub-Saharan Africa did report being employed in the construction industry (see Table 4.5), which implies that NEPIA fieldwork did manage in principle to approach this segment of the migrant labour force. Possibly, there is some mismatch in EPA between the proportion of skilled construction workers and unskilled jobs in this and other industries (group 9), respectively.

To put these comparisons in perspective, it is worth noting that the EPA estimate of about 85,000 migrants from less developed countries working in Andalusia in the first quarter of 2003 is about 45,000 units short of an educated guess based on NEPIA magnitudes.[9]

4.5 Summary and conclusions

Faced with a demanding deadline and complex challenges regarding research design and implementation, the NEPIA survey succeeded in collecting a host of largely sensitive data regarding the social situation of immigrants across Andalusia, which is itself a large and varied region. Avoiding the under-coverage that would have resulted from using an administrative register as the sole basis of interviewee recruitment, data were obtained from a socially and culturally diverse spectrum of people. Methodologically, the NEPIA's most innovative aspect was the decision to sample interviewee search profiles – thus it disconnected general fieldwork logistics and data weighting, to be based on available administrative magnitudes, from the recruitment of interviewees matching those profiles, which was to be achieved by fieldwork staff. This decision was risky, making data collection potentially vulnerable to visibility bias. However, except for minor qualms that mostly affect the Asian sub-sample, external validation essentially indicates satisfactory data quality.

A gamble it was, though. Reflecting on the NEPIA experience today, with a view to drawing lessons that other researchers may wish to take into consideration, it is worth pointing out that the intense and continuous effort on the part of the research team was just a prerequisite, rather than a guarantee, for successfully completing the survey. The data-gathering operation may well have failed even despite the incessant attention paid to every detail of the research process. Hence, if available at all to researchers operating in highly dynamic demographic settings, we would generally advise making use of more traditional sampling procedures. Apart from a less challenging resource portfolio, from the research team's perspective, standard procedures have the advantage of externalising responsibility for the

limitations of the data obtained: if the material validity of survey results are found to be hampered by a restrictive sample frame, the fault would surely lie with the sources at hand to construct the frame, rather than the peculiarity of researchers' decisions. The attempt to find creative solutions is risky by definition, since it relocates the burden of proof regarding data accuracy; any suspicion of systemic error may cast a long shadow. By contrast, random error tends to be computed meticulously with regard even to sample frames in which comprehensiveness cannot be assessed with any degree of precision. In the case of immigrant populations, there may actually be evidence of under-coverage far exceeding the margin of error that is generally deemed acceptable in survey methodology.

NEPIA's general lesson, then, is to avoid added risk when possible but to take risks when needed, that is, when operating in an empirical setting that defies the possibility or plausibility of standard probability sampling. If pressed to assess which of NEPIA's key decisions may reasonably be emulated in similar circumstances, the idea of sampling interviewee search profiles still seems attractive to us, as does the cross-stratification of the sample and the obligatory diversification of interviewee recruitment points. However, with hindsight, we would think even harder about the possibility of relying on professional interviewers, rather than culturally and linguistically 'streetwise' amateurs, for the crucial step of actually recruiting and interviewing survey participants. This is mainly due to misgivings regarding an insufficient degree of control on the part of researchers over the NEPIA's culturally and linguistically very diverse data-collection operation. As observed by DaVanzo, Hawes-Dawson, Burciaga Valez & Vernez (1994: 59), 'the optimal approach to recruiting, training and supervising a large multicultural interviewing team is to use a multicultural (and experienced) supervisory team', a condition that would have been extremely hard to meet even with a less challenging deadline. This is due to the enormous difficulty of finding suitable supervisory staff. The fact that the NEPIA successfully recruited interviewees from some eighty countries, as opposed to the two nationalities targeted by DaVanzo and associates, highlights the magnitude of that difficulty. Technology available today would perhaps allow a translation service to be established, accessible by mobile phone, in order for multi-linguistic competence to be a less vital criterion for selecting fieldwork staff. That said, the capacity of building interpersonal rapport is truly essential. On this count, the jury is out as to whether interviewers sharing the status of immigrants – albeit not necessarily the interviewee's particular ethnic group – indeed do better than native fieldwork professionals, as we assumed when recruiting fieldwork staff for the NEPIA survey.

Resource requirements imply that NEPIA-style surveys are unlikely to be repeated periodically, which basically limits them to one-off special data-gathering events. However, this is probably true for any sizeable special-population survey, including those with relatively classic probability

samples. This may point to oversampling in general population surveys as the 'best-value' data-collection method, provided that limitations regarding coverage are deemed acceptable.

In sum, when assessing the risk-benefit profile of NEPIA-style sampling and fieldwork procedures, it seems appropriate to do so not in an abstract, wish-list sort of way, but rather with a view to its alternatives – or lack thereof – in a given empirical setting. To push this point a little further, would we opt for NEPIA-style procedures again if asked to repeat a similar survey? The timeliness and inclusiveness of the 'Padrón' population register has improved markedly throughout the past five years, turning its statistics into a rather credible candidate for serving as sample frame for a survey on Spain's immigrant population. There are still issues regarding this source's degree of coverage. We have mentioned the exclusion of people in precarious housing situations, which are relatively common among immigrants in some parts of Andalusia. For similar reasons, undocumented migrants are susceptible to being covered in less-than-accurate proportions. Nonetheless, the equation has clearly changed since 2003, when the NEPIA survey was conducted. At this point in time, we believe that the risk-benefit profile of turning the 'Padrón' into the outright sample frame for a migrant survey – as opposed to sampling search profiles, as in NEPIA – depends chiefly on the specific research objectives. This is to say, 'Padrón'-based probability sampling would, in our view, be adequate for research essentially on migrants' social networks (as is the case with the ENI), for example, but perhaps not for a study aiming at gathering reliable data on the migrant population's relationship with the host society's institutions and administrative procedures. For all the benefits of 'pure' probability surveys, sampling on the dependent variable (i.e. 'Padrón' registration) still appears to us to constitute a major drawback.

Given the exceptional status of Spain's 'Padrón' from a comparative point of view, migration researchers in many parts of the world are surely unable to identify any data that could be used plausibly as a *full* sample frame, as was the case with NEPIA in 2002. Therefore, we believe the NEPIA approach may prove useful wherever administrative data allow one to reasonably gauge the migrant population's two most basic traits: composition (in terms of country or region of origin) and geographical distribution (in terms of province or municipality). As long as immigrants who are excluded from the data are not distributed geographically in ways systematically different from the settling patterns of immigrants that are included (and provided the search profiles based on that proxy sample can be implemented properly), the data's degree of coverage relative to the target population ceases to be a pressing concern. In short, sampling interviewee research profiles entails advantages that may outweigh the – considerable – risks and added difficulties.

Notes

1 The NEPIA survey was co-funded by the regional government of Andalusia (specifically, the Directorate General for the Coordination of Migration Policies, pertaining to the Ministry of Governance at that time) and the European Social Fund. The study's coordinator – and author of this chapter – was then a beneficiary of the 'Ramón y Cajal' programme sponsored by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Technology. Working closely with the NEPIA's research team, technical staff at the Institute for Advanced Social Studies (IESA-CSIC) contributed vitally to the successful completion of the study. For details see Rinken (2003) or Pérez Yruela and Rinken (2005).

2 The NEPIA acronym refers to the Spanish wording for 'Needs of Andalusia's Immigrant Population' (*NEcesidades de la Población Inmigrante en Andalucía*).

3 The author, who coordinated the NEPIA study, is grateful for this opportunity to reflect on the research process and outcomes. As about five years have passed since publishing most NEPIA-related work, the balance of involvement and detachment seems right for a fresh appraisal. Shortly after completion of the study, the Spanish journal 'Metodología de Encuestas' (Survey methodology) dedicated a thematic dossier specifically to discussing NEPIA's advances in enhancing representativeness (see Maya Jariego 2003; Rinken 2003; Gualda, Palacios, Teves & Rinken 2003).

4 With hindsight, the odds that foreigners living in Spain would proceed with their 'Padrón' registration were substantially increased by a law passed in the year 2000, which guaranteed access to public health care and education to any person registered, regardless of other administrative situations (Aja & Arango 2006).

5 'Pateras' are small and generally precarious boats used for illegal crossings of the Strait, as opposed to the more sizeable 'cayucos' employed for the route from Western Africa to the Canary Islands.

6 I am grateful to Gema Galera and Pilar Cortés for their help in compiling the data used in this section.

7 Data in tables 4.2 through 4.6 have been tested for statistical significance at a 95 per cent confidence level.

8 *Encuesta de Población Activa.*

9 Adding 25 per cent for immigrants not registered in the 'Padrón' to the quantification of NEPIA's proxy-universe of 148,500 people, the reported employment rate of 71 per cent generates an estimate of about 132,000 migrant workers as of February 2003.

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PART II

FIELDWORK AND RESPONSE RATES

DOI: 10.4324/9781003704577_PT02

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5 The influence of interviewers' ethnic background in a survey among Surinamese in the Netherlands

Anja van Heelsum

5.1 Introduction

This chapter examines whether there are different results due to the ethnic background of the interviewer in a survey on ethnicity among second-generation Surinamese carried out in Amsterdam.

The literature on interviewer effects is part of a larger body of work on response effects. Section 5.2 first reviews response effects in general and then looks at research on the influence of the ethnic background of the interviewer in survey research (in the Anglo-Saxon literature simplified to race of interviewer effect). Attention is given to the respondents, the subject matter of the questions, methods and explanations for this phenomenon. Section 5.3 describes the research design of the survey of 300 second-generation Surinamese. Section 5.4 looks at the outcomes of this study using first a method based on individual scores and then multi-level analysis. Finally, section 5.5, the conclusion, discusses the relevance of the outcomes in terms of the theories that are found in the literature.

5.2 Existing research on response effects and race of interviewer effects

Response effects

Van der Zouwen (1989: 9) defines 'response effects' as those particular effects on the response that are caused by variables other than the ones which the researcher wants to measure with the stated question. Dijkstra & Van der Zouwen (1982) refer to four types of variables that can cause response effects. First, they distinguish variables that are related to the characteristics of the interviewer, which can include role dependent and role independent characteristics. Role dependent characteristics are, for example, motivation and skilfulness in interviewing in the intended manner. Role independent characteristics include, among others, ethnic background, sex, age and other personal characteristics of the interviewer, but in addition,

DOI: 10.4324/9781003704577_CH05

they also include the interviewer's own expectations and opinions regarding the subject matter of the survey and respondents' answers.

The second type of variables relates to characteristics of the respondents. These include role dependent characteristics, such as the motivation to answer honestly, and role independent ones, for example, ethnic background, sex and age, but also psychological variables such as the tendency to answer in a socially desirable way.

Third are variables related to the interview situation, like the extent of anonymity, the place and time of the interview, and also whether third persons are present, in front of whom the respondent may not feel free to say what he or she wants or may be distracted.

Finally, there are variables related to the characteristics of the questions or the questionnaires. Molenaar (1986) distinguishes between the content and the form of the questions and questionnaire. The content of the questions can be of greater or lesser importance to the respondents. The respondents can experience the content as threatening to their privacy, as may occur with questions about personal relations, money and criminality. An example of a form characteristic of questions that influence answers is, for instance, the extent to which respondents can formulate their answers in their own words. Multiple choice items limit the alternatives to those formulated by researchers in advance, while an open question can lead to more diverse answers. A form characteristic of a questionnaire that can influence the answers is the order of the questions. Asking multiple choice questions on a subject before an open question on that same subject may guide respondents in a certain direction, and they may only think of what was already suggested in the multiple choice section. Such manipulation is not possible when the open question is asked first. The influence of the way questions are formulated was studied by Molenaar (1986). Suggestive question formulations were studied by Smit (1995), and specific problems with retrospective questions were studied by Van der Vaart (1996).

The influence of the ethnic background of the interviewer

The influence of the ethnic background of the interviewer refers to all systematic differences in the answers of respondents which arise when interviewers from different ethnic backgrounds pose exactly the same questions. When systematic differences are found, it is not automatically clear which of the ethnic groups of interviewers caused a misrepresentation and which group obtained correct results. The US literature often assumes that results obtained by interviewers from the same ethnic group as the respondents will be nearer to the truth, while chance of bias increases when the interviewer is from another ethnic group (for an example, see Schaeffer 1980). Rhodes (1994) criticises this assumption and I am in agreement with him that this assumption is difficult to prove, except for factual

questions. In this study I investigate in which cases Surinamese and Dutch interviewers obtain different results and how these differences can be explained.

Before looking at the results of the survey, I will provide a short overview of the literature on the impact of the ethnic background of the interviewer. First I will look at the question of whether systematic differences actually occur when interviews are carried out by interviewers from different ethnic groups. The answer to this question is both yes and no: some researchers have found differences between two interviewer groups and others not. Some examples can be mentioned: Baratz (1967) found differences in outcomes on test anxiety and stress depending on whether the interviewer was African American or white; Berk and Bernstein (1988) found no differences on medical questions; Esbensen and Menard (1991) concluded that there were no differences in answers on delinquency and male-female stereotypes; and Campbell (1981) found no differences in a study among young adults on neutral and political subjects but did find differences on race-related topics.

If systematic differences do exist, the next question is: do they occur more often with certain respondents, with certain subject matters and with certain research methods? The last question is why do systematic differences occur?

Among which respondents do systematic differences occur?

Much research on the 'race of interviewer effect' has looked at African American (black) and white respondents in the United States (Williams 1964; Bryant, Gardner & Goldman 1966; McClelland 1974; Campbell 1981; Cotter, Cohen & Coulter 1982; Edwards 1990; Finkel, Guterbock & Borg 1991).[1] In general, systematic differences have been found in the responses given by black and white respondents when the same questions are asked depending on whether the interviewers are white or black, though it always depends on the subject matter of the questions. A few studies report a stronger 'race of interviewer effect' among white respondents than among black respondents (Bryant et al. 1966, Cotter et al. 1982, Finkel et al. 1991). Bryant et al. (1966) concluded, for instance, in their study on inter-ethnic relations, that white respondents give more stereotyped answers about other ethnic groups when interviewed by an interviewer of their own ethnic group than do black respondents.

Less systematic research has been done in the United States regarding other racial or ethnic groups. Baca Zinn (1979), Weeks and Moore (1981) and Reese, Danielson, Shoemaker, Chand and Hsu (1986) studied Mexicans. Leslie, Raglin and Schwede (2002) found differences in the results from Hispanic and white interviewers in the US Census. Baca Zinn (1979) – as an exception – did not use a survey method and argued that an interviewer of Mexican origin has more insight into the motives of

Mexican respondents. Because these respondents felt understood, they provided more confidential information. Weeks and Moore (1981) found no influence of the background of the interviewer, while Reese et al. (1986) found differences between English- and Spanish-speaking respondents when interviewers were either from their own or from another ethnic group.

Meloen and Veenman (1990) studied response effects in surveys among immigrants in the Netherlands. The black/white distinction was not used here, but rather, interviewers who were from the respondents' own group were distinguished from those who were not. Generally, they found that the background of the interviewers had some influence, but it is not always clear to what extent this can be generalised. Some of the researchers whom they quote had not used the survey method, and therefore did not consistently use the same questions and the same conditions. Rişvanoğlu-Bilgin, Brouwer and Priester (1986) concluded in their study among Turks in the Netherlands – in which two female interviewers, one Turkish and the other Dutch, worked with a questionnaire with open and closed questions – that the Turkish interviewer gathered more information with the open questions than the Dutch interviewer. These findings correspond with those of Baca Zinn (1979). More publications reporting systematic survey research on the effect of the ethnic background of the interviewer in the Netherlands has come out since the fieldwork for this study was completed, such as the work of Van't Land (2000, 2002) who studied attitudes towards doctors and Dotinga, Van den Eijnden, Bosveld and Garretsen (2004) who studied alcohol use among Turks and Moroccans. Attitudes towards doctors were more positive and reported alcohol consumption was higher when a Dutch interviewer spoke to respondents than when a Turkish or Moroccan interviewer talked to them.

In what subjects do systematic differences occur?

As mentioned, the subject matter of the interview is relevant when studying 'race of interviewer' effects. Davis (1997) states that with most subjects, including factual and attitudinal matters, such an effect may occur. In his study, on 60 per cent of the attitude questions related to the US elections and the candidacy of Jesse Jackson, black respondents adjusted their response to what they assumed were the expectations of the interviewer. Subjects like racial consciousness and support for Jesse Jackson were clearly more biased, but so too were even factual questions on the electoral system.

Following other authors, I distinguish ethnic-related subjects – in the United States called 'racial' – from subjects that are unrelated to anything ethnic or racial (Schuman & Converse 1971; Sudman & Bradburn 1974; Campbell 1981; Weeks & Moore 1981; Cotter et al. 1982). Ethnic-related subjects are issues that the respondent can associate with membership of

any ethnic group. Examples are 'what do you think about Turks' and 'do you read Turkish newspapers'. Campbell (1981) found that the background of the interviewer had greater influence on ethnic-related subjects than on non-ethnic ones. Other authors report only on ethnic-related subjects. Hatchet and Schuman (1975), for instance, used a proximity scale for white American respondents. It included questions such as 'would you marry a black person', 'would you let your children go to a school with black children' and 'would you live on a block where blacks also live'. The influence of the ethnic background of the interviewer has been clearly demonstrated in these studies. White Americans answer more positively with a black interviewer when asked about contact with black Americans than they do with a white interviewer.

Kelley, Hovland, Schwarz and Abelson (1955) found similar results when asking white Americans about their attitudes towards blacks: attitudes were more positive when a black interviewer asked the questions. Ethnic-related subjects do not always provoke interviewer effects, though. Bryant et al. (1966) were surprised that the interviewer effects were actually limited in the aforementioned study on stereotypes. Cotter, Cohen and Coulter (1982) also concluded that interviewer effects can be found in some but not in all ethnic-related subjects. They found an interviewer effect among white respondents with certain ethnic questions.

Some subjects are indirectly related to ethnic issues or membership of an ethnic group. According to Schaeffer (1980), the subject 'welfare benefits' is associated with certain ethnic groups in the United States. Because of this association, an (indirect) 'race of interviewer' effect can be shown. Williams (1964) provided another example: the question 'do you read a newspaper' seemed to provoke ethnic associations, since in 1964 black Americans reading newspapers was seen as a sign of their activism. Williams stated that the extent to which a subject is threatening or sensitive in relation to ethnic relations determines the extent of the bias.

Van't Land (2000, 2002) showed that when the subject matter was factual there was no effect of the Moroccan background of the interviewer who interviewed second-generation Moroccan youngsters in the Netherlands, but differences were found when the subjects were related to ethnicity and with subjects that left greater room for subjective answers. Biliet and Loosveldt (1988) had already suggested that interview formats which leave more room for 'autonomous interviewer activity' also leave more room for positive and negative feedback in the interview process, and thereby more room for the influence of the interviewer.

Beside the distinction between ethnic and non-ethnic subjects, a number of authors distinguish between personal and non-personal issues. An example of a personal issue is partner relationships (Weller & Luchterhand 1968). A related issue is questions that may somehow be threatening (Williams 1964). Interviewers have greater influence on answers when the

questions are considered personal or threatening. 'Race of interviewer' effects were not reported when studying the size of the personal network of respondents with name generation methods, though the educational level of the interviewer and the cooperativeness of the interviewee increased the number of names generated (Van Tilburg 1998; Marsden 2003).

Interviewer effects were also found with medical-related subjects (Berk & Bernstein 1988) and voting behaviour (Anderson, Silver & Abramson 1988a; Anderson, Silver & Abramson 1988b; Finkel, Guterbock & Borg 1991). The advantage of these subjects is that there is a 'true answer' which can serve to validate the answers given to black or white interviewers. One can see with which interviewer more accurate answers are given and with which interviewer, more biased answers are obtained. External validation is not possible for attitude questions.

What research methods cause more systematic differences?

Much of the research referred to above used the face-to-face survey interview method. This method is suitable for research on the ethnic background of the interviewer, since the number of interviewers is large enough for a systematic comparison to be made, and the questions are the same for every interviewer. But effects of the background of the interviewer have also been shown in telephone surveys.

Cotter, Cohen and Coulter (1982) demonstrated that respondents drew conclusions about the race of the interviewer based on his or her accent and speech pattern and adjusted their answers accordingly. This study took place in the United States and included black and white interviewers. Campbell (1981) showed that this effect might even occur when written questionnaires are used distributed by researchers of different backgrounds. Edwards (1990) found differences in unstructured interviews; and Baca Zinn (1979) found an interviewer effect when using participant observation among Mexicans.

An important aspect of the research method is the form in which a question is posed. A difference may, for instance, occur between interviewer effects in open questions and multiple choice questions. To distinguish the question form analytically from the subject matter of the question, a design has to be used in which the subject remains constant per question form. In the literature no comparison can be found on interviewer effect between open and closed questions on the same subject. Anderson, Silver and Abramson (1988a, 1988b) posed a number of questions on *warmth* and *closeness* towards black Americans. Surprisingly, they found differences between black and white interviewers when asking questions on closeness, but not on warmth. The authors concluded that the subject could not be the reason for the different results. Only the formulation of the questions and the answer alternatives could provide an explanation. Based on these

results no clear conclusions can be drawn about research method or question form. I will therefore not use it in my own study.

A new development is the use of virtual interviews via the Internet. Krysan and Couper (2006) report 'race of interviewer' effects using computer-assisted self-interviewing (CASI), in which videos were shown of an interviewer reading the questions. The answers on a prejudice scale were influenced, but unexpectedly, racist answers became worse with a black interviewer.

Why do systematic differences occur?

A number of explanations can be found for the different results obtained from interviewers from different ethnic groups. The first and most common one is the *social desirability explanation* (Finkel et al. 1991). Campbell (1981) used the term *deference* and Anderson, Silver and Abramson (1988b) talked about 'politeness towards a stranger'. Because of respect, consideration or politeness towards the interviewer, respondents adjust or moderate their answers. Campbell concluded that both black and white respondents tend to talk 'in the direction' of the interviewer. Black respondents assume, for instance, that white respondents do not like to hear that discrimination is common. Gong and Aadland (2006) and Loureiro and Lotade (2004) tested the social desirability hypothesis on willingness to pay for environmental goods and Fair Trade coffee from Africa. The willingness to pay more for coffee from Africa was nearly double with African interviewers than with white interviewers, suggesting that respondents wanted to please the interviewer (Loureiro & Lotade 2005).

Edwards' (1990) explanation was that *mistrust* can exist in inter-racial situations, especially with black respondents and a white interviewer. Segregated relations, as in the United States, but also a colonial past and slavery can be reasons for mistrust between blacks and whites. A similar reasoning is found in the work of Dutch authors, such as Mullard, Nimako and Willems (1990) and Essed (1986). They argued that existing power relations disturb communication between black respondents and white interviewers to the extent that it is not possible to get valid answers from black respondents.

Edwards (1990) added the *fear of black respondents that data will be abused* by white interviewers and *the lack of understanding* of racism by white interviewers. Black respondents may assume that a white interviewer will not understand their accounts of discrimination, having never suffered it. This third explanation is related to the mistrust explanation, but more focused on questions associated with negative inter-ethnic relations. This explanation assumes that the 'race of interviewer' effect occurs only when questions concern negative inter-ethnic relations like racism.

Weller and Luchterhand (1968) thought that the *general political situation* might boost the interviewer effect. Their research in a US town took

place during a period of racial unrest, and the interviewer effect was stronger than it would have been in a relatively peaceful period. Race relations were not, at that point in time, a neutral subject, and in the interview the race of the interviewer interfered more than when racial issues were not in the news. In such periods relationships between ethnic groups can be precarious. Neither interviewer nor interviewee feel at ease, as they may assume that the person they are speaking with holds the more extreme attitudes of people they see in the news. Such a situation occurred with Muslims after the incidents of 9/11 (Harchaoui & Huinder 2003).

The next explanation focuses on the extent to which respondents estimate that their information will be kept confidential: the *anonymity explanation*. Supporters of this explanation assume that the data gathered by interviewers from their own ethnic groups are biased, since respondents fear that their story may circulate in their community. Fear of gossip is probably stronger in small ethnic communities, but Weller and Luchterhand (1968) also noted this phenomenon among black Americans (a large community).

The last explanation, based on the theory of *stereotype threat*, assumes that respondents from groups that are often the victim of negative stereotyping, for instance, black respondents in the United States, become nervous with and give more incorrect answers to a white interviewer, even to factual questions (Davis & Silver 2003). This theory was developed based on intelligence data and athletic performance, but Davis and Silver (2003) also demonstrated this effect in questions on political knowledge.

The explanations that I have listed are often formulated in the context of the United States. Of course there are important differences between the Netherlands and the United States regarding relations between ethnic groups. Relations between African Americans and whites in the United States have been an institutionalised problem for ages, with slavery and the civil rights movement in their history. Strong segregation in cities has also long been characteristic of the United States. In the Netherlands, less attention is given to racial differences and more attention to religious differences, which may lead to stigmatisation of groups such as Muslims. Immigration of many ethnic groups to the Netherlands began only in the 1960s. It is possible that relations between ethnic groups in the Netherlands are less static and more flexible than in the United States, so concerns such as mistrust and lack of understanding are less prominent among immigrants in the Netherlands.

In fact, the explanations presented above do not exclude one another; rather, they may supplement one another. It is surprising to find that most of the explanations consider the data gathered by black interviewers as nearer to the truth and that from white interviewers as more biased. Rhodes (1994) remarked that there is seldom a clear-cut ‘right’ answer. Though this explanation seems probable when we peruse the subjects and

issues on which the disparity occurs, validating information on attitudinal questions is available only in the case of political knowledge and voting behaviour.

The design of the research presented in this chapter takes into consideration the issues raised by these studies. Because ethnic-related and personal subjects are easily influenced by interviewer effects, these two themes are the focus in accordance with the following mechanisms: 1) ethnic-related subjects in which mistrust and social desirability might cause interviewer effects; 2) personal topics, where social desirability is the most likely explanation for interviewer effects. The study, moreover, investigates the assumption that interviewer effects occur more with ethnic-related subjects and personal subjects than with matters that have nothing to do with these topics.

5.3 Research design

This study was designed in the following manner. Firstly, for a thorough operationalisation of the theoretical concepts, two pilot studies were organised. Open interviews took place with twelve second-generation Surinamese. These were meant as a first test of the questionnaire focusing on content. In a second pilot study a postal questionnaire was sent to 600 people, of whom 225 persons (38 per cent) replied. The second pilot served to further improve the questionnaire, to refine the question sets and to validate the scales.

The resulting final questionnaire was used in the main survey, which consisted of face-to-face interviews. Addresses were randomly selected from a database received from the population registry of the Municipality of Amsterdam of 4,390 persons aged between 15 and 35 years and with at least one parent who was born in Surinam.[2] From this list, 525 respondents were approached at home, of whom 300 (58 per cent) actually took part in interviews. The interviews were randomly assigned to Surinamese and Dutch interviewers. Though most Surinamese interviewers were recognisable because of their darker skin colour, I broadened the simplistic contrast between black and white interviewers found in the American literature to perceptions of an 'in' group and an 'out' group. Surinamese interviewers can be considered members of one's 'own' group, and Dutch interviewers members of the 'other' group. This seems a more nuanced way to operationalise how the ethnic background of the interviewer might be conceived. The assumption is that it is not so much the colour of the interviewer's skin that determines the contrast between Surinamese and Dutch interviewers, but the perception of whether the interviewer belongs to one's 'own' group (it can be matter of accent, hair, use of certain words, but also what the interviewer says about him or herself).[3]

Data from interviewers who gathered fewer than ten interviews have been left out, so in the analyses the data collected by sixteen interviewers are used, eight of whom were Dutch (151 respondents) and eight Surinamese (149 respondents). In both cases (Dutch and Surinamese interviewers) there were seven women and one man. The educational level of the interviewers was similar since all were university students.

Selected item sets

Seven measurement instruments were selected for testing interviewer effects. Since I expect greater differences with the ethnic-related subjects, followed by the personal subjects, than neutral subjects, I selected the following:

a. at least one measuring instrument that can be considered to measure responses to questions regarding an ethnic-related subject;
b. at least one instrument that measures responses to questions regarding a personal issue;
c. at least one measuring instrument that can be considered to measure responses to questions regarding both an ethnic-related subject and a personal subject;
d. at least one measuring instrument that does not measure responses to questions regarding either ethnic-related or personal subject matters.

Following the reasoning in section 5.2, I expect that the interviewer effect will decrease in the order c, a, b, d, as I expect that the combination of two issues sensitive to interviewer effect – ethnic-related plus personal subjects – will result in the largest difference between Surinamese and Dutch interviewers. I expect less difference between Surinamese and Dutch interviewers with just ethnic-related subjects, and even less with personal subjects. The smallest differences or possibly no difference at all is expected when a subject is neither ethnic-related nor personal.

Ideally, scales and measuring instruments should not be sensitive at all to interviewer effects, but as the literature review has shown, it is too optimistic to assume that this would be the case. I developed a number of scales in the category ethnic-related subjects (Van Heelsum 1997: 82-106). Overall, the following validated measuring instruments will be used:

– In the category ethnic-related subjects, four instruments have been selected. The first is a scale on *ethnic self-definition*; with five multiple choice items. The second is a scale on *orientation towards the Surinamese language and culture*. The third is a scale on *orientation towards contact with Surinam via post and telephone*. A scale on *perceived position allocation* is the fourth instrument. Ethnic self-definition, language and culture and position allocations are attitudinal subjects, while *contacts through post and telephone* are more of a

behavioural measure based on the actual number of letters and phone calls.
- In the category personal subjects, I have chosen the *loneliness scale* (De Jong-Gierveld & Kamphuis 1985), which consists of eleven multiple choice items.
- In the category ethnic-related subjects and dealing with personal subjects I have selected a scale on *orientation towards contacts with the Surinamese group*.
- In the questionnaire there is no 'neutral' subject that is measured with a scale. Therefore I will use the measure of *educational level* which consists of one question with sub-questions.

Multi-level analysis

It is possible to analyse the interviews on an individual basis, but also on a group basis per interviewer. In the past I have used an analysis of variance to study this kind of data (Van Heelsum 1993). But calculating a mean per interviewer for his or her respondents, or attaching an interviewer score to all respondents causes loss of information, and this results in loss of data and even completely erroneous conclusions. Goldstein (1996) demonstrated this when he analysed school classes, distinguishing school variables, class variables and student variables.

Multi-level analysis is a technique that takes into account that data are gathered at different levels, in this case, at the level of respondents and at the level of the interviewer. Following Hox, De Leeuw and Kreft (1991), Hox (1994) and Van Tilburg (1998), who explained the advantages of using multi-level methods, I will first present data at the individual level (mean scores) and then apply multi-level analysis, for which the computer program ML-3 is used (Prosser, Rashbash & Goldstein 1991).

5.4 Results

Results at the individual level (mean scores)

An initial unexpected finding of the survey was that the second generation of Surinamese consists of a larger than anticipated number of individuals with only one Surinamese parent. The number of Surinamese parents is a variable that needs to be included in all further analysis, as it influences the scale scores considerably. Therefore, at least two means are needed to show interviewer effects, one for respondents with one Surinamese parent and one for respondents with two Surinamese parents. I present these mean scores to provide information comparing different subject matters and to determine which subjects are most sensitive to interviewer effects. Means and standard deviations of the selected scales are presented in Table 5.1,

grouped by both the background of the interviewee and by the background of the interviewer.

This is data at the individual (respondent) level. The ethnic-related subjects are presented in the table first (1-4), followed by subjects that are ethnic-related as well as personal (5), by a subject which is only personal (6) and then subjects that are neither ethnic-related nor personal. The second column of Table 5.1 divides respondents into those with two Surinamese parents (S/S) and those with one Surinamese and one Dutch parent (S/D). In the third column, this group is again divided into those respondents that

Table 5.1 *Real and standardised mean scores and standard deviation of respondents with one or two Surinamese parents and a Dutch or Surinamese interviewer*

Measure	*Respondent´s parents*	*Interviewer*	*Mean*	*S.D.*	*Stand. mean*	*Stand s.d.*	*Difference Surinamese/ Dutch interviewer*[a]
1. Ethnic self-definition (0-5)	S/S	Sur (n=80)	3.2	1.4	6.4	2.8	*0.5*
		Du (n=69)	2.9	1.4	5.9	2.9	
	S/D	Sur (n=46)	1.5	1.2	3.0	2.3	*0.9*
		Du (n=68)	1.0	1.2	2.1	2.3	
2. Orientation Surinamese language and culture (0-5)	S/S	Sur (n=80)	3.8	1.1	7.7	2.3	*1.0*
		Du (n=69)	3.4	1.5	6.7	3.0	
	S/D	Sur (n=46)	1.9	1.4	3.8	2.8	*0.0*
		Du (n=68)	1.9	1.4	3.8	2.8	
3. Contact in Surinam (0-4)	S/S	Sur (n=80)	1.3	1.3	3.2	3.1	*0.1*
		Du (n=69)	1.2	1.3	3.1	3.1	
	S/D	Sur (n=46)	0.9	1.1	2.2	2.9	*-0.1*
		Du (n=68)	0.9	1.1	2.3	2.9	
4. Position allocation (0-5)	S/S	Sur (n=80)	2.7	1.4	5.3	2.8	*0.7*
		Du (n=69)	2.3	1.6	4.6	3.1	
	S/D	Sur (n=46)	1.7	1.2	3.4	2.5	*-0.1*
		Du (n=68)	1.7	1.4	3.5	2.7	
5. Orientation towards contact with the Surinamese group (0-9)	S/S	Sur (n=80)	4.6	2.1	5.1	2.4	*1.0*
		Du (n=69)	3.7	1.9	4.1	2.1	
	S/D	Sur (n=46)	3.2	1.9	3.4	2.1	*0.6*
		Du (n=68)	2.5	1.4	2.8	1.6	
6. Loneliness (0-11)	S/S	Sur (n=80)	2.2	2.5	2.0	2.3	*0.8*
		Du (n=69)	2.0	2.2	1.8	2.0	
	S/D	Sur (n=46)	1.8	2.5	1.7	1.7	*0.7*
		Du (n=68)	1.1	2.8	1.0	1.0	
7. Education (0-3)	S/S	Sur (n=80)	2.0	0.7	6.8	2.2	*-0.7*
		Du (n=69)	2.1	0.7	7.5	2.2	
	S/D	Sur (n=46)	2.4	0.8	8.0	2.5	*0.7*
		Du (n=68)	2.2	0.7	7.3	2.4	

Source: Van Heelsum (1997)

[a] Last column shows the difference between standardised means of Dutch and Surinamese interviewers.

were interviewed by a Surinamese interviewer and those interviewed by a Dutch interviewer. The fourth and fifth columns shows the means and standard deviations. In the sixth and seventh columns the standardised means and standard deviations are given by transforming all scale scores into a 0-10 continuum. This standardisation enables comparisons to be made between scales on the interviewer differences. In the last column, the standardised mean of Surinamese and Dutch interviewers per respondent group is presented.

Table 5.1 shows that the mean outcomes of respondents with two Surinamese parents are higher on all scales than the outcomes of respondents with one Surinamese and one Dutch parent. The only exception is educational level, as the opposite is true there. Respondents with a Surinamese interviewer show a higher mean score than respondents with Dutch interviewers (positive difference) in most cases. Only on three scales are the scores of respondents with a Dutch interviewer higher (negative difference). No univocal pattern is visible here. One can notice positive differences between Dutch and Surinamese interviewers with both respondent backgrounds (full and half Surinamese) on (1) self-definition, (5) orientation towards contacts with Surinamese and (6) loneliness. With the other scales we see nearly no difference between Surinamese and Dutch interviewers, for instance, on (2) orientation towards the Surinamese language and culture, (3) contacts in Surinam and (4) position allocation. Surprisingly in the case of (7) educational achievement, the background of the interviewer has the opposite effect in the two groups of respondents.

In section 5.3, I formulated assumptions about the extent to which interviewer effects are expected based on various considerations. I will judge the correctness of these assumptions after the multi-level analysis. For now I will only remark that three scales show positive differences for both background groups, namely orientation towards contact in the Surinamese groups (ethnic and personal relations), the self-definition scale (ethnic) and loneliness (personal relations). With the other scales no systematic differences occur.

Results based on multi-level analysis

The multi-level analysis takes into account that the data on respondents was gathered at a different level from the data on the interviewers. This procedure was also followed by Smit, Van den Eeden, Deeg and Beekman (1995) and Van Tilburg (1998). We controlled for the influence of background, main daily activity, educational level and the age of the respondents on the scale scores. The analysis was done in three steps. The basis is a model with two levels, in which the scale scores of respondents and interviewer number are processed as independent variables, so that the (general) interviewer variance can be computed (Dijkstra 1983a, 1983b).

In the first step, gender, age, ethnic background, education and main activity of respondents are added as independent variables in the measurement model. In the second step, the ethnic background of the interviewer is added to the analysis. In the third step, the interaction between the background of the interviewer and the background of the respondent is added as an independent variable. A judgement is made after every step based on chi-square values as to whether the explanative power of the model improves.

In the first row of Table 5.2 the percentage of variance that is explained by the interviewers is shown. This is the variance per interviewer, so not only the variance as related to the ethnic background of interviewers, but also that related, for example, to sex, interviewer style and precision. The results show that most variance is explained by interviewer effect on the scale 'orientation towards contacts with the Surinamese group'. By contrast, the influence of the interviewer is zero on the scale 'contacts with Surinamese'. A percentage between three and seven is found for the other scales. Groves (1989) states that an interviewer variance above 2 per cent means that interviewers have too much influence on the answers of respondents. In our research, interviewer variance below 2 per cent occurs only with questions on contacts with Surinam via letters and telephone. On all other measures the interviewer variance is above Grove's limit.

This means it is useful to analyse the interviewer variance further. It should be noted that no interviewer held more than 25 interviews, which is, compared to other research, a relatively small number. Because of this small number, the variance per interviewer can turn out to be relatively high. Steps one, two and three are shown in Table 5.2, indicating whether the model improves significantly (chi square). In the cases of significant improvement the un-standardised regression coefficients are shown (*B* coefficients). Step one, adding background, sex, age, main daily activity and educational level of respondents, significantly improves the model with the five ethnic-related subjects and with education, but not with loneliness. This means that the background of the respondents influences the answers on ethnic-related subjects.

Step two of the analysis focuses on the influence of the background of the interviewer. This explains part of the total interviewer variance. Adding the background of the interviewer to the model leads to significant improvement of the model compared to step one only in the case of orientation towards the Surinamese group. With the other subject matters, there was no significant improvement. The measure 'orientation towards contact with the Surinamese group' attracted our attention earlier with the highest interviewer effects. It is possible that it is not the background of the interviewer itself which explains the different answering patterns found between Surinamese and Dutch interviewers, but that the background of the interviewer and the background of the respondent influence each other. A

Table 5.2 *Multi-level analysis of interviewer effect and four control variables (only significant B coefficients are shown)*

	1. Ethnic self-definition	*2. Orientation Surinamese language and culture*	*3. Contacts in Surinam*	*4. Position allocation*	*5. Orientation contact in Surinamese group*	*6. Loneliness*	*7. Education*
Interviewer effect	5.9%	4.9%	0.0%	3.7%	10.7%	3.9%	6.6%
Step 1 improved model compared to an empty model by adding respondent characteristics:	$^2_{(7)}$ = 112 ***	$^2_{(7)}$ =99.9 ***	$^2_{(7)}$ = 17.7 *	$^2_{(7)}$ = 35.5 ***	$^2_{(7)}$ = 42.6 ***	$^2_{(7)}$ =11.4	$^2_{(6)}$ = 74.3 ***
- sex				-0.3368			0.4820
- age		-0.3569		-0.3780	-0.0472		
- two Surinamese parents/ one Surinamese parent one Dutch parent	0.8526	0.7373	0.1719	0.3625	0.5386		
- one Surinamese one other parent/ one Surinamese one Dutch parent	0.1003	0.6749					
- education				0.3928			
- working versus others			0.4993				0.2165
- at school versus others			0.5026	-0.6642			0.6965
Step 2. Improved model by adding:	$^2_{(7)}$ = 2.7	$^2_{(7)}$ = 3.3	$^2_{(7)}$ = 0.2	$^2_{(7)}$ = 1.3	$^2_{(7)}$ = 7.3 **	$^2_{(7)}$ = 1.2	$^2_{(6)}$ = 0.5
Background interviewer					.4090		
Step 3. Improved model by adding:	$^2_{(7)}$ = 0.2	$^2_{(7)}$ = 1.3	$^2_{(7)}$ = 0.0	$^2_{(7)}$ = 0.7	$^2_{(7)}$ = 0.2	$^2_{(7)}$ = 0.6	$^2_{(6)}$ = 2.5
Interaction between background interviewer and background respondent							

Source: Van Heelsum (1997)

Note: In this analysis it is necessary to convert categorical scores into zero-one scores, so the variables 'ethnic background of respondent' and 'main activity' appear twice in the table.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

respondent of mixed Surinamese/Dutch parentage could, for example, feel less distant from a Dutch interviewer than a respondent with two Surinamese parents. Therefore it is useful to add step three to the multi-level model on the interaction between the background of interviewer and respondents. As the third row of Table 5.2 shows, this addition does not lead to significant improvement on any of the scales.

The multi-level analysis shows that 'orientation towards contacts in the Surinamese group' is more susceptible to interviewer effects than any of the other ethnic-related subjects; actually, this is the only subject area where the background of the interviewer influences the answers of respondents. The subject is both ethnic-related and personal. This confirms our hypothesis that the strongest effect will occur with a combination of characteristics. Our hypothesis that influence of the background of the interviewer would also be visible with ethnic-related subjects and subjects of a personal nature is not confirmed. The background of respondents influences all scale scores of ethnic-related subjects, as would also have been shown with a simpler analysis of variance. The background of the respondents did not matter for non-ethnic-related subjects like loneliness and education. The difference between the multi-level analysis and an analysis of variance (ANOVA) is one extra variable and two levels. The multi-level analysis shows that age also influences three measures, namely, orientation towards contacts in the Surinamese group, orientation towards the Surinamese language and culture and position allocation, while this was not shown with ANOVA. But for the influence of sex on contacts in Surinam the opposite is true: this was found with ANOVA but not with the multi-level analysis.

5.5 Conclusion

Our main research question asked whether results might differ depending on the ethnic background of the interviewer in our survey on ethnicity among second-generation Surinamese. I suggested that there would be an order in the strength of the interviewer effects from strongest for subjects that combine ethnic and personal issues, to less strong for ethnic-related subjects alone, to even weaker for personal issues and nearly zero for neutral subjects. Results based on mean scores have shown that nearly all measures and scales used in this study were sensitive to interviewer effects. This is true for the scale with ethnic-related subjects but also for educational level and loneliness. The only subject matter which revealed no differences between the two groups of interviewers was that measured by the scale on contacts with Surinam via post and telephone, composed of rather factual questions. In all other instruments 3 to 11 per cent of the variance was explained by the ethnic background of the interviewer. The scale scores of

respondents with a Surinamese interviewer were systematically higher than the scale scores of respondents with a Dutch interviewer. This means that it is important that future research takes interviewer effects into account.

But, when we used a more sophisticated method of analysis – the multilevel analysis – the interviewer effects diminished. Only for one of the seven scales was the interviewer effect significant, namely the scale 'orientation towards contact with the Surinamese group'. This was the scale combining ethnic-related and personal subjects. On other ethnic-related, personal and neutral subjects, the results were not significant. This more sophisticated method reveals that there is much more interaction between variables than can be seen using simpler methods of analysis. This means that the use of multi-level analysis methods should be considered in future research.

Regarding explanations for the interviewer effects found in this study, it seems clear that the social desirability theory is supported. Pointing in this direction is the fact that questions such as 'do you like to meet Surinamese friends' are more frequently answered positively with a Surinamese interviewer and questions like 'do you like to meet Dutch friends' are more frequently answered positively with a Dutch interviewer. The question of which answers are 'correct' has not been answered. Further study of the actual interaction between interviewer and interviewee during the interview process is necessary. Particularly the way in which interviewer and respondent react to each other might provide an explanation for the interviewer variance shown in this study. Because the interview situation is always one in which two people meet, respondents relate questions about interethnic relations directly to the relationship with the interviewer. This common feature explains why the interviewer effect is particularly noticeable regarding ethnic-related subjects. As with the subject of feminism and a male interviewer and female interviewees (Kane & Macaulay 1993), the combination of ethnic-related and personal subjects is not neutral in the interview situation. When the ethnic background of the interviewer differs from that of the interviewee, the interviewee will stress the similarities with the interviewer, or at least try to diminish differences.

Future research must be aware of the different kinds of interviewer effects, and it would be wise to look not only into the characteristics of interviewers but also into the nature of the interaction between interviewer and respondent.

Notes

1 Because most of the literature refers to black and white interviewers, I also use this terminology, though it combines many different ethnic groups.

2 Dutch municipalities define ethnic groups on the basis of birthplace and birthplace of parents.
3 Surinamese populations of African, Indian, Native American (Arawaks Akurio, Trió, Wayarekule, Warrau and Wayana), Chinese, Jewish, Javanese and Dutch descent exist and other Surinamese are very often people of mixed background, so actually there is no general skin colour.

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6 Surveying migrants and migrant associations in Stockholm

Gunnar Myrberg

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents two surveys conducted in the metropolitan region of Stockholm during 2004 and 2005. The first is an individual survey with a sample of migrants and descendants of migrants from Chile and Turkey together with a 'control sample' of native Swedes. The other is a survey of voluntary associations organising different migrant groups from Chile and Turkey. Together, these two surveys form the empirical core of the Swedish research project *Ethnic Organisation and Political Integration in the City*.[1]

This chapter will pay little attention to the issue of sampling. Thanks to the high accuracy and completeness of Swedish population statistics, the technical aspects of sampling were not exceedingly problematic in our study. Thus, we had the opportunity to concentrate on how to achieve high participation rates and, equally important, high response quality in our two surveys. As we were not performing any kind of methodological experiments as part of our study, we are generally not able to prove that our choices resulted in a better study than would otherwise have been the case. Nevertheless, we hope that our work may serve as a source of inspiration for researchers who are considering similar projects.

This chapter consists of five sections. The first provides a brief description of our research project. The second, and longest section, is devoted to the preparatory phase of the individual survey. Here we consider issues of questionnaire development, translation, interview methods and other practices with bearing on survey participation and response quality. In the third, we look at one aspect of the 'outcome' of these preparations, namely nonresponse. In the fourth section, we present the associational survey and compare it to the individual survey with regard to preparations and outcome. In the fifth and final section, we draw conclusions on our experiences from these two surveys and discuss to what extent surveys of migrant populations actually require different methodological steps and measures from other surveys.

DOI: 10.4324/9781003704577_CH06

6.2 The project

Like many European countries, Sweden today can be described as a 'monocultural' nation with a few multicultural cities, at least in terms of demography (see Rogers, Tillie & Vertovec 2001; Borevi 2002). Currently, about one sixth of Stockholm's population was born abroad and another tenth have at least one parent born abroad (Statistics Sweden 2004). Consequently, the number of inhabitants with a background from other parts of the world is by now large enough to permit the inclusion of fairly substantial subgroups of ethnic minorities in survey research.

The overarching aim of the project *Ethnic Organisation and Political Integration in the City* was to study the role of voluntary associations as a political resource for a number of migrant groups in Stockholm.[2] There is also a strong comparative stance to the project thanks to a close collaboration with scholars involved in similar projects in other European cities (see chapter 7 in this book). One of the theoretical assumptions underlying this comparative project is that organisational life may facilitate members' political participation both by increasing their political competence and efficacy and by offering a channel of influence through the association itself (Myrberg 2007; Strömblad & Bengtsson 2009). Following this assumption, a proper assessment of the political integration potential of voluntary associations has to be grounded in data collected both at the individual level (an individual survey) and at the associational level (an associational survey).

Our project is focused on migrants from Chile and Turkey and their descendants. However, due to the ethnic diversity among migrants from Turkey, we are really studying *four* different migrant groups in this project: 1) Chileans, 2) Turks, 3) Kurds with a background from the present territory of Turkey, and 4) Syrian Christians from the same territory.

Both Chile and Turkey are important countries of migration to Sweden and the Stockholm region. Moreover, a considerable number of immigrants from Chile and Turkey have been living in Sweden for a long time, which means that they have had the opportunity to create an associational life of some political importance (Hjarnö 1998; Mella 1990; Westin 2003). Yet, these groups do not seem to have reached a degree of social and political integration where their ethnically based associational life has lost its political relevance. We also know from other research that migrants from these two countries still face prejudice and discrimination in Swedish society (Lange 1995; Myrberg 2007).

6.3 Preparing the individual survey

In a review of existing practices to improve migrant survey participation in Europe, Barnes (2008: 25) concludes that the main reasons for low survey

participation among migrants are 'language difficulties, a limited sampling frame, non-contact/broken appointments and refusals'. According to Barnes, the most widely used practices to counter these problems are translation of survey materials – mainly the questionnaire of course, but also advance survey letters, show cards and other information – followed by the use of multi-lingual interviewers and a combination of native interviewers and interpreters.

We believe that both translation of survey materials and the use of interpreters or multi-lingual interviewers are necessary measures in order to achieve acceptable levels of survey participation among migrants. However, this does not mean that other aspects of the preparatory phase, such as questionnaire development and interviewer training, can be neglected. In the following five sub-sections, we will describe how we approached a number of steps and challenges involved in the preparation of the individual survey: questionnaire development; translation; interview method and interviewer training; pilot interviews; and the information letter and incentives.

Questionnaire development

The questionnaire used in the individual survey mainly includes well-tried questions that enable comparisons with traditional surveys about associational affiliation and political participation.[3] There are, however, a few innovations in our questionnaire that deserve to be mentioned.

First, we had to find a way to handle the above-mentioned fact that migrants from Turkey belong to different ethnic groups and demand recognition as such, not least in terms of organisation and political action. For instance, the Kurdish and the Syrian Christian groups are both visible and vocal in the Swedish political arena (Deniz 2001).[4] However, there is no recording of ethnic belonging in Swedish population registers, which means that the only available sampling procedure in a study of this kind is one based on country of birth. Thus, all we knew in advance about the respondents of Turkish descent was that either they or their parents were born in Turkey. For this reason, we explicitly asked the respondents belonging to this category about their ethnic identity.[5] Thanks to this question, it became possible to analyse not only differences between migrants with Turkish descent and Chilean descent but also between respondents defining themselves as ethnic Turks, Kurds and Syrian Christians.

Second, voluntary associations organising immigrants in Sweden sometimes carry the label 'immigrant organisation' in their name. In many cases, however, although voluntary associations mainly organise immigrants, often from the same ethnic group, the primary aim of the association is related to a specific kind of activity rather than to organising a

specific group of people. This is, for instance, the case with a large number of sports associations in Stockholm. Since one of our research questions was to what degree people belonging to different ethnic groups in Stockholm affiliate with ethnic associations as compared to other kinds of associations, we decided to ask all respondents of Chilean and Turkish descent to give a rough estimate of the proportion of members with a migrant background in the associations to which they were affiliated.[6] Thanks to this question, we were able to show that in some ethnic groups, mainly those with a background in Turkey, affiliation with ethnic associations is more widespread than has been shown in earlier research (Myrberg 2009).

Third, in the sections regarding political attitudes and political participation, we asked about the 'direction' of the respondents' political interest and activities, in terms of different political arenas.[7] For example, we asked all respondents separate questions about their interest in local and national politics in Sweden and in international politics. Respondents with an immigrant background were also asked questions about their interest in politics in Chile and Turkey. Interestingly, the analysis of these questions revealed that 'native Swedes' are somewhat more interested in local politics than respondents with migrant backgrounds, while there is no difference at all between natives and migrants in terms of interest in national and international politics. We also found that the average level of interest in politics in Chile and Turkey among the migrant respondents was considerably lower than their level of interest in Swedish national politics. The only exception was a relatively high interest in politics in Turkey among respondents defining themselves as Kurds.

Fourth, parts of the questionnaire used in the individual survey were developed in close collaboration with our partners in the European research network 'Multicultural Democracy in European Cities'. In this process, we had to cope with the fact that individual researchers, including ourselves, tend to think quite idiosyncratically about issues of migration and ethnic relations. To give an example, the working definitions of who is considered to be a migrant and what it means to belong to an ethnic group vary considerably between different European countries. This calls for a questionnaire construction that allows both meaningful comparisons across countries and meaningful use of the materials in different social and political contexts. The solution that we finally settled for was to create a number of detailed factual questions about the country of birth, year of migration and cause of migration of the respondent and of the respondent's parents. We also asked about the respondents' sense of belonging to different kinds of groups, including ethnic groups. These questions could then be used in different combinations in different contexts, while still maintaining the potential for cross-country comparisons.

Translation

Both the questionnaires and the show cards used in the individual survey were translated into (Chilean) Spanish and Turkish. The main reason was that we felt uncertain about migrant respondents' proficiency in Swedish. We also had the idea that it would be more convenient, and cheaper, to translate the questionnaires and the show cards, than to use professional interpreters in every single interview with migrant respondents. As it turned out, a majority of the migrant respondents, including those with a high level of proficiency in Swedish, expressed their appreciation for the possibility to look at the translated questionnaires and show cards during the interviews, just to make sure that they had understood the questions correctly. In addition, the need for professional interpreters was greatly diminished. In total, only 16 respondents asked for a professional interpreter while another 24 interviews were conducted with the assistance of a relative.

As mentioned above, the 'common core' of the individual survey was developed in English. This meant that we first had to translate these parts of the questionnaire into Swedish before we could translate the entire questionnaire into Spanish and Turkish. We conducted the translation from English into Swedish ourselves, and then we hired translators, trained in political science or sociology, with (Chilean) Spanish and Turkish as their respective mother tongue to complete the translation. Their translations were then double-checked by researchers in our team with some fluency in Spanish and Turkish. In the terminology of Behling and Law (2000: 16-24), we thus used a form of modified direct translation with medium levels of informativeness, source language transparency and security.[8]

Interview method and interviewer training

The questionnaire used in the individual survey was highly demanding for the respondent and our fear was that using either telephone or mail surveys would result in devastatingly low response rates (Hox & De Leeuw 1994). For instance, similar individual surveys in Sweden and Norway using telephone interviews have produced response rates below 20 per cent among some migrant groups and also surprisingly low response rates among the native population (Bäck & Soininen 2004; Rogstad 2007). Another argument in favour of face-to-face interviews was that they allow the use of translated versions of the questionnaire and the show cards.

The amount of training that interviewers receive has been shown to be critically important to the way they do their jobs (Groves, Fowler, Couper, Lepkowski, Singer & Tourangeau 2004; Fowler & Mangione 1990; Billiet & Loosveldt 1988). In our case, we had the opportunity to work with professional interviewers from Statistics Sweden, which meant that we could

focus the interviewer training on the specific challenges involved in our survey, rather than on basic skills.

Before training day, the interviewers received written instructions comprising about thirty pages. The first five to six pages provided a background to the research project and some information about the different ethnic groups covered by the study. This was followed by about ten pages of general information about the survey, including the general disposition of the questionnaire and the construction of scales and show cards. This part also included the information given to the sample persons in the contact letter, together with a number of arguments that might be helpful in persuading the sample persons to participate. Finally, the instruction included ten to fifteen pages of detailed instructions about question phrasing, probing of inadequate answers and recording.

The persuasive arguments probably formed the most innovative part of these written instructions. These arguments are also interesting since they reveal how we perceived the methodological challenges facing us at the contact stage:

> If the sample person says that he or she is not interested in politics, please stress the fact that the survey is not primarily about government issues or about political parties, but about the possibilities for ordinary people to improve their daily lives.
> If the sample person says that he or she is too busy, please show understanding but also try to insist on finding a time for an interview.
> If the sample person shows concern about his or her personal integrity, please explain the concepts of confidentiality and anonymity, and emphasise that the protection of the respondent's personal integrity is protected both by the scientific community's rules of conduct and by Swedish law.

Thanks to the written instructions that we had sent to the interviewers in advance, and probably also to the fact that we had involved some of the interviewers at an early stage of the questionnaire development process, the training day went very smoothly. In fact, we were much encouraged to discover that the interviewers seemed genuinely interested in our research questions and that they were highly dedicated to their task.

Pilot interviews

Three months before the actual fieldwork of the individual survey, eight pilot interviews were conducted by interviewers from Statistics Sweden. Two of these interviews were conducted in the presence of researchers from our research team. All eight respondents were migrants born in Chile or

Turkey. At this stage, however, we had not translated the questionnaire and the show cards into Spanish and Turkish. The pilot interviews consisted of two parts. First, there was the actual interview averaging about 90 minutes. Then, there was a follow-up interview in which the respondent and the interviewer freely discussed different aspects of the questionnaire. The latter conversations were tape recorded and later transcribed into a fifty-page report that turned out to be extremely valuable in the final stage of questionnaire development.

Three things became particularly clear during the pilot interviews. First, the average duration of the interviews was far too long. After about an hour, the respondents became tired and rapidly started to lose concentration. Second, some of our question schemes simply did not work out in practice. This was most apparent in the section about participation in voluntary associations where our ambition to be as conclusive as possible only resulted in the respondent becoming frustrated by the repetitive character of our questions. Third, the wording used in the questionnaire was still far too abstract. There was also a strong need for translations of the questionnaire and the show cards into the respective mother tongues of the respondents. Taken together, these lessons gave us a lot of work during the last months before the start of the actual fieldwork. Among other things, this work resulted in a 40 per cent reduction of the questionnaire, including much simpler constructions of the question schemes concerning both associational affiliation and political participation.

Information letter and incentives

Prior to the individual survey, our research team informed the national associations of the respective migrant groups in Sweden, including the Kurdish and the Syrian Christian national associations, about our project and received their consent for the study. The interviewers were instructed to inform sample persons of this consent if they were asked, but as far as we know that never occurred.

All sample persons received a letter containing information about the purpose of our study together with information about confidentiality and use of data in official registers such as age, gender, income and place of residence. The letter was written in Swedish on one side and translated into either Spanish or Turkish on the other side. The letter also stated the following information: 1) that each sample person had been selected purely by chance and could not be replaced by any other person, 2) that the survey was financed by public research funds and that no commercial or political interests were involved, and 3) that each respondent would be rewarded with an € 11 gift voucher. Shortly after the letter had been sent, an interviewer contacted the selected individual by telephone to decide a time and place for the interview.

The use of economic incentives is contested in the survey methodology literature. We find it reasonable to offer a small compensation to the respondents for the time and energy they spend during the interview, but concerns have been expressed that respondents who participate in surveys only to reap the benefit of the incentive will increase problems of response bias and internal non-response (Dodd 1998). However, in their literature review on the issue of monetary incentives in social surveys, Simmons and Wilmot (2004) find little evidence to substantiate these fears. On the contrary, Simmons and Wilmot (2004: 1) and others (Singer 2002; Davern, Rockwood, Sherrod & Campbell 2003; Goyder 1994; Hopkins & Gullickson 1992) argue that in general, 'the use of incentives, however small in monetary terms, is effective in increasing response rates in postal, telephone and face-to-face surveys'. They also stress that monetary incentives have repeatedly been found to increase cooperation among certain groups: 'low-income and low-education groups, larger households and households with dependent children, minority ethnic groups and younger respondents' (Simmons & Wilmot 2004: 6). These are exactly those groups that survey researchers normally find it most difficult to reach.

6.4 Non-response in the individual survey

The population of the individual survey was defined as all residents in the region of Greater Stockholm, aged 18-74 years, and belonging to one of the following three categories: individuals born in Chile and individuals born in Sweden with at least one parent born in Chile (Chilean descent); individuals born in Turkey and individuals born in Sweden with at least one parent born in Turkey (Turkish descent); individuals born in Sweden with both parents born in Sweden (Swedish descent).[9]

Within each category, the central government authority for official statistics and government statistics, Statistics Sweden, was assigned to conduct a random sampling procedure with gender stratification based on continuously updated register data. The gross sample size was 500 individuals in each category. Due to an over-coverage of 47 individuals, the total net sample size was 1,453 individuals.[10]

As we see in Table 6.1, the proportions between the sample and the population differ markedly between the three main categories. For example, our sample of people of Chilean descent in the region of Stockholm actually corresponds to about 4 per cent of the entire population. This fact has at least two important consequences. First, a survey of this kind will be known rapidly within the entire migrant community. If the survey is perceived as interesting and fair, this may turn out to be an advantage. If, however, the first respondents dislike the survey for some reason, the likelihood of achieving a good response rate plummets. Second, and on a

Table 6.1 *Population and sample in the individual survey*

	Turkish descent		*Chilean descent*		*Swedish descent*		*Total*
	Men	*Women*	*Men*	*Women*	*Men*	*Women*	
Gross sample (N)	260	240	255	245	250	250	1,500
Population (N)	9,180	8,426	6,012	5,899	355,187	354,257	738,961
Gross sample/population (%)	2.8	2.8	4.2	4.2	0.07	0.07	-
Net sample (N), excluding over-coverage	254	231	243	235	246	244	1,453

Source: Author's own elaboration, based on *Ethnic Organisation and Political Integration in the City* (individual survey)

different note, the high probability of migrants being selected in random samples of surveys of migrants, in combination with the increasing number of these surveys, is likely to cause serious problems of survey fatigue among migrants in the years to come. In other words, the rapidly growing 'industry' of migrant surveys in Europe is facing a collective action dilemma, which it has yet to address in a structured manner.

Returning to our survey, the fieldwork started in February 2004 and ended in October the same year. The survey was carried out as computer-assisted face-to-face interviews averaging about 55 minutes in length. Most of the interviews took place in respondents' homes. However, about one third of the interviews were carried out in other places, such as libraries, restaurants and cafés. In general, this had to do with people saying that it was more convenient for them to meet the interviewer near their workplace than at home.

The initial fieldwork reports were very positive. Sample persons rarely refused to participate and the interviews worked much better with the final version of the questionnaire than with the pilot version. Gradually, however, a disturbing pattern emerged in terms of response rates. As it turned out, the interviewers were unable to even locate a large number of the sample persons of migrant background, particularly those with a background in Turkey.

After three months, the response rates were 60 per cent among native Swedes, 42 per cent among people with a background in Chile and only 32 per cent among people with a background in Turkey. At this point, Statistics Sweden informed us that we would have to make a strategic decision about the direction of the fieldwork in the months following the summer break. Either the interviewers should be instructed to maximise the average response rate, which in practice would mean that they would concentrate on the 'easy targets' (i.e. native Swedes). Or they should be instructed to maximise the response rates among people with a background in Chile and Turkey. Since we were beginning to feel rather uneasy about the low response rates among the migrants and their descendants, we chose the latter strategy. Following this decision, all interviewers involved in the

survey were instructed to focus exclusively on sample persons with a background in Chile and Turkey during the last two months of the fieldwork. As a result, the response rates increased by 15 and 17 percentage points, respectively, in these two categories during the final two months of fieldwork, compared to only 6 percentage points among native Swedes.

In total, 838 interviews were completed, producing an overall response rate of 57.7 per cent. An analysis of the response figures reveals considerable variation between the three sample categories: 48.9 per cent among the Turks, 57.9 per cent among the Chileans, and 66.1 per cent among the native Swedes. Importantly, however, partial non-response levels were consistently low across all three categories and throughout the questionnaire.

A closer look at the non-response in Table 6.2 reveals some interesting facts. First of all, we see a stable gender pattern across all three categories. In each category, we find a gender gap of about 5 percentage points, with women constantly showing higher response rates than men. Interestingly, however, this gender gap seems to be for somewhat different reasons among migrants than among native Swedes. The main difference between men and women of Turkish and Chilean descent has to do with locating the respondent. For example, about one fourth of the male sample in these two categories was never located by the interviewers, despite the fact that the interviewers' contact information was collected straight from the registers of Statistics Sweden. In contrast, the gender gap among native Swedes has to do with men being less cooperative than women. Native Swedish men are simply more likely to say that they cannot be bothered or that they never participate in surveys than native Swedish women.

Table 6.2 *A closer look at non-response (percentages)*

	Turkish descent		*Chilean descent*		*Swedish descent*	
	Men	*Women*	*Men*	*Women*	*Men*	*Women*
Not capable due to disease or mental handicap	1.5	3.5	2.5	2.6	1.2	0.8
Language difficulties	0.0	1.3	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0
Unknown address/no telephone	13.4	10.0	14.4	12.3	3.7	3.7
Not found for other reasons	8.7	7.4	9.5	7.7	4.1	5.3
Too busy	9.8	6.1	4.9	3.4	7.3	6.6
Cannot be bothered/voluntariness	14.1	15.6	9.0	8.5	13.8	9.8
Never participates in surveys	2.3	1.7	2.1	1.3	2.4	0.8
Disliked survey matter	0.8	0.4	0.0	0.4	0.8	0.4
Concerns about confidentiality	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8
Refused to participate for other reasons	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	3.3	2.9
Total non-response	53.5	48.5	44.9	39.1	36.6	31.1
Completed interview	46.5	51.5	55.1	60.9	63.4	68.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Ethnic Organisation and Political Integration in the City (individual survey)

Secondly, it is encouraging to see that almost nobody refused to participate in the survey due to concerns about confidentiality or because they disliked the survey subject matter. Of course, these reasons may form part of saying that one cannot be bothered or saying that one refuses for other reasons. Yet, we are happy to see that our efforts in presenting the survey and explaining the issues of confidentiality as clearly as possible seem to have been effective.

Thirdly, and on the more negative side, it is difficult to see what can be done about the remaining reasons for non-response. If information and incentives, in combination with a highly accurate sampling frame, is not enough to attract more than about half of the sample among certain migrant groups, we need to ask ourselves what more could possibly be done to raise response rates in these categories.

6.5 The associational survey

Turning to the associational survey, we first want to stress the similarities in terms of preparations and fieldwork between this survey and the individual survey. For example, we used professional interviewers from Statistics Sweden in both surveys. We also used the same procedures for translation, although we added a language to the associational survey. We also put the same effort into developing the questionnaire and preparing the interviewers in order to achieve as high a response rate and response quality as possible in both surveys.

This being said, there are of course also differences between the two studies. In the individual survey, we decided to exclude the relatively peripheral municipalities of Norrtälje, Nykvarn, Nynäshamn and Södertälje in order to reduce travelling time and expenses for the interviewers. This turned out to be a mistake, however, since a fairly sizeable portion of migrants with Turkish descent in the Stockholm region actually lived in the municipality of Södertälje, particularly people defining themselves as Syrian Christians. When preparing the associational survey, we thus had to decide whether we should repeat this mistake, and probably lose several Syrian Christian associations from the population, or if we should include the four peripheral municipalities, although this would lead to slightly different geographical demarcations between the individual and the associational surveys. In this situation, which we admittedly had put ourselves in, we chose the latter alternative in order to reach as many associations in the survey as possible. Thus, the population of the associational survey was theoretically defined as all associations in the County of Stockholm, including the four peripheral municipalities, organising migrants and descendants of migrants from Chile and Turkey.

In terms of content, the questionnaire used in the associational survey was less conventional than the one used in the individual survey. The aim of the associational survey was to get a picture of the internal organisation of associations organising immigrants and of their external contacts with authorities and other kinds of associations. The most sensitive issue that we had to deal with was how to ask about the economic situation of the associations. This information was clearly important to our study, not least in the comparative perspective. However, we were afraid that some of these questions would cause suspicion on the part of the representatives and that some of them would even end the interview if they started to think that we were performing an audit of their association. For this reason, all questions about the economic situation were placed in the final section of the questionnaire. We also took great care in phrasing these questions in as unprovoking, yet informative, terms as possible.[11]

Another challenge in the associational study was how to feasibly map the external contacts of the associations in a way that would capture their range as well as their intensity. Our solution here was to divide different possible kinds of contacts into different sections of the questionnaire, thus dividing what was in fact one extremely ambitious question scheme into a number of smaller and therefore more easily digested schemes.

In the absence of reliable register data about voluntary associations in Stockholm, our research team expended great effort to construct as complete a population as possible. Associations were located through a variety of sources, such as documentary analysis, interviews with experts and internet searches.[12] Most importantly, the interviews were preceded by a period of three months when associations were tracked down by research assistants with backgrounds in Chile and Turkey. During this phase, the associations that we located were asked to provide the name and address of a representative whom the interviewers could contact later. This representative was often, but not always, the chairperson of the association. In the end, this work produced a list of 141 associations, including the names of a representative of each association together with an address and a telephone number for the association or for the representative.[13]

The associational survey was preceded by five pilot interviews ranging in length from 54 to 72 minutes. These interviews did not include the same kind of follow-up conversation as in the individual survey, but judging from the comments we received from the interviewers the pilot questionnaire was working much better in this survey than in the individual survey.

The fieldwork for the associational survey was carried out in the autumn of 2005. This time, the face-to-face interviews averaged about 75 minutes. Questionnaires and show cards were available in Swedish, Spanish, Turkish and Kurdish. The translation procedure was the same as in the individual survey, only this time we also performed translations into

Kurdish, since we had been warned that presenting questionnaires in Turkish to representatives of Kurdish associations could be problematic.

In total, 106 interviews were completed, which represents a response rate of 87 per cent. Needless to say, this response rate clearly exceeded our expectations.[14] Not even the fact that the representatives were asked to provide written material about the associations in connection with the interviews seemed to deter them from participation.[15]

6.6 Concluding remarks

Do surveys of migrant populations and migrant associations require different methodological measures than other surveys? The best answer to this question is both 'yes' and 'no': yes, in the sense that there are some instruments in the methodological toolbox that become particularly important in surveys of migrants; no, in the sense that many of the instruments that are important in surveys of migrants are also important, although sometimes neglected, in other kinds of surveys.

To give an example, translation of information letters, questionnaires and show cards is obviously an important measure in surveys of migrants. Translating the information letter into the languages spoken by sample persons signals the importance of their participation in the study. Translating the questionnaire and show cards also carries this signal but, even more importantly, this measure facilitates the interview situation both for the interviewer and for the respondent. It is also a much cheaper and more convenient way of solving the language problem than hiring professional interpreters for each interview. Thus, translation is definitely important in surveys of migrants. Given that most countries in the world are becoming increasingly multicultural and multilingual, the issue of translation is bound to become more and more important in surveys with purely representative samples, not to speak of the fact that social surveys today are increasingly being designed with the explicit aim of cross-national comparison.

Another example is the importance of a continuous dialogue between researchers and professional interviewers. In our study, we had the opportunity of engaging Statistics Sweden to conduct the fieldwork. This included meetings with an advisory board at Statistics Sweden, help with interviewer training and pilot interviews, administration, coding, data delivery and technical reports, which, all in all, greatly facilitated our work. Of course, we as researchers need to be very clear in such a dialogue that we are the ones making the scientifically relevant decisions. This being clear, however, there is much to learn from professional interviewers regarding the nuts and bolts of the actual interview situation. If the interviewers say that a certain question or a certain question scheme simply doesn't work,

our experience is that it is much more productive in the long run to make changes in the questionnaire than to stubbornly hold on to the original formulations. Of course, this is not always possible in cross-national surveys, but this means that one should probably include professional interviewers in the initial stage of such cooperation.

While we obviously did commit some mistakes during the preparations for our two surveys – particularly the geographical demarcation of the region of Greater Stockholm in the individual survey – we do feel that we did the best we could in the methodological design of this study and we would basically follow the same lines if we were to conduct a follow-up study.

Notes

1 This project was funded by the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation and by the Swedish Council for Working Life and Social Research. Principal investigators were Bo Bengtsson and Nils Hertting at the Institute for Housing and Urban Research, Uppsala University, and Gunnar Myrberg at the Department of Government, Uppsala University.

2 In the individual survey, the region of Greater Stockholm was defined as the County of Stockholm, except for the four relatively peripheral municipalities of Norrtälje, Nykvarn, Nynäshamn and Södertälje. This definition of Greater Stockholm is used by the municipal agency for research and statistics in Stockholm (Stockholm Office of Research and Statistics 2003). The total population in the region of Greater Stockholm is about 1.7 million, of which 18.5 per cent are immigrants (Statistics Sweden 2004).

3 The questionnaire comprises eight sections in total. The first section regards the demographic background of the respondent including country of birth and migration history. This section also includes questions about the respondent's family and social life. The second section is about affiliation with voluntary associations. This section is dominated by a rather lengthy question scheme including twenty different types of associations. The next two sections deal with political attitudes and political participation; the latter section is dominated by a question scheme about participation in twenty different kinds of political activities. The remaining three sections include questions about housing, employment and education, and media consumption. Finally, there is a brief section directed at the interviewer which includes questions about the language proficiency of the respondent.

4 The Syrian Christian group in Sweden is, in turn, divided into two subgroups: *'Assyrians'* and *'Syrians'*. The distinction between these two subgroups is based on rather opaque grounds, and its importance seems to vary between different spheres (Deniz 2001). Its most visible expression in Sweden is in the names of several successful football clubs, most notably the two Södertälje teams *'Assyriska'* and *'Syrianska'*.

5 'Which of the following national or ethnic identities do you identify yourself with the most? 1. Assyrian identity, 2. Kurdish identity, 3. Syrian identity, 4. Turkish identity, 5. None of these identities.'

6 'Speaking of [association(s) in which respondent is member], would you say that a majority of the members in this association are migrants?'

7 'You mentioned that you had participated in [name of political activity]. Which of the following categories of people would you say that this activity primarily concerns? 1. Myself, my family or a few other people, 2. People in my neighbourhood, 3. People in the region of Greater Stockholm, 4. People in Sweden, 5. People in [Chile/Turkey], 6.

People in one or more other countries, 7. People in the whole world.' This question is an adapted version of a question developed by the Swedish Government Commission Inquiry on the Political Integration of Immigrants, which was run by colleagues of ours at the Department of Government at Uppsala University.

8 Behling and Law (2000: 17) define *informativeness* as 'the degree to which the technique produces the researcher with objective indications of the semantic equivalence of the target language version of the instrument and pinpoints the nature of the specific problems with it'. *Source language transparency* is defined as 'the degree to which the technique produces useful information to the researcher who lacks fluency in the target language'. Finally, *security* is defined as 'the degree to which the technique builds in opportunities to check the work of the original translator'.

9 In the text, we sometimes use the looser formulations 'Chileans', 'Turks' and 'native Swedes' to denote these three categories. However, the definition of the categories is the same throughout.

10 The over-coverage consists of individuals who had moved permanently from the sample region before the fieldwork started or who had died.

11 'What is the size of your annual budget?' 'Could you please indicate which of the following are the main posts of your budget and their size? 1. Income from sales and services, 2. Income from events, 3. Membership fees, 4. Private contributions, 5. Contributions from companies, 6. Contributions from other associations, 7. Contributions from the municipality, 8. Contributions from the state, 9. Contributions from the European Union, 10. Contributions from [Chile/Turkey].'

12 This approach was inspired by the associational surveys performed in Aalborg, Aberdeen, Bern, Enschede, Mannheim and Sabadell by the so called CID-network (Citizenship, Involvement and Democracy) funded by the European Science Foundation (see Maloney & Rossteutscher 2007).

13 The population consisted of 47 Turkish associations, 42 Kurdish associations, 21 Syrian Christian associations (of which 10 defined themselves as 'Assyrian' while the remaining 11 defined themselves as 'Syrian') and finally 31 Chilean associations.

14 As a point of reference, the above-mentioned CID-surveys achieved response rates ranging from 32 per cent in Sabadell to 55 per cent in Bern. However, these surveys had a much larger scope and therefore also much larger populations. For example, the actual number of completed interviews in the Mannheim study was 1,618 (Font, Geurts, Maloney & Berton 2007: 23).

15 These materials mainly included statutes and descriptions of the associations' activities.

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7 Comparing the response rates of autochthonous and migrant populations in nominal sampling surveys: The LOCALMULTIDEM study in Madrid[1]

Laura Morales and Virginia Ros

7.1 Introduction

Immigration flows have continued or intensified in the last two decades in many West European countries, some of which have been attracting large numbers of immigrants since the 1950s and 1960s. Countries that were previously net senders of emigrants – such as Ireland, Italy, Portugal and Spain – have become, since the 1980s and 1990s, net receivers. Together with Ireland, nowhere has this reversal of population flows changed so dramatically and rapidly as in Spain (see chapter 3 in this volume).

The strong and sustained growth of the Spanish economy during the first half of the 2000s, together with its ageing population structure, has favoured the inflow of migrant workers mostly from Eastern Europe, Latin America and the Maghreb – resulting in a steep surge, especially since the late 1990s. Moreover, the spatial distribution of this immigrant population was initially concentrated in a limited number of areas and regions in Spain, but in the 2000s considerable immigrant populations spread all over the country, even if EU immigration tends to concentrate in very specific areas – mainly coastal and islands.[2]

In the context of such massive and rapid social change, it has become increasingly important in recent years to be able to adapt survey sampling methods and strategies so as to get an accurate representation of the opinions, attitudes and behaviours of the various groups of newcomers to the country (for more details, see chapter 9 in this volume).[3] What is lacking is a systematic integration of immigrants in the daily and ordinary surveys that are conducted in Spain; in other words, a 'normalisation' of their inclusion in the typical survey, regardless of whether they have naturalised as Spanish citizens.

Often, underlying this exclusion of non-naturalised immigrants is the feeling or sense on the part of opinion polling institutes and their fieldwork organisations in Spain that it is very difficult and costly to reach this target

DOI: 10.4324/9781003704577_CH07

population, and that response rates are poor for this subgroup. Furthermore, as we will review in the following section, some of the existing survey research scholarship reinforces this view that the response rates of immigrants and individuals of migrant-background are substantially lower than those of the autochthonous population. In this chapter, we examine how much truth there is to these widely held beliefs for the Spanish case, and we analyse the main elements that impinge on the final response rate of a sample of autochthonous and migrant populations in Madrid in the context of a survey conducted within a comparative European project that aimed at studying the social capital and participation levels of various groups of immigrants across European cities: the LOCALMULTIDEM project.

One of the main challenges of the LOCALMULTIDEM project was to design a set of common methodological guidelines that would allow for the conducting of comparable surveys across a number of different European cities. One first obstacle to that task was related to the very different nature of the available sampling frames – or the lack of appropriate sampling frames altogether. The second hurdle involved the substantial differences in the composition of the immigrant-origin population. Though the solutions are never fully satisfactory, the project approached both difficulties by aiming at producing the best possible random probability samples with a selection of 'functionally equivalent' groups.

Thus, in each of the cities studied, we conducted surveys of representative samples of residents, stratified by national/ethnic origin. In each city, the surveys included at least two – and in most cases three – groups of immigrant origin, and a control group of autochthonous population; and we aimed at obtaining sub-samples for each of the groups of between 200 and 300 individuals.[4] Moreover, in our selection of immigrant-origin groups in each city, we balanced a number of aspects that enhanced comparability: their population size needed to be large enough to allow for the extraction of a sample of 300 individuals and they had to be 'relevant' in each of our cities; we included groups of more distant and more recent migration waves; we included at least one group of predominant Muslim faith; and we aimed at maximising the comparability of national origins across cities whenever possible.

As having identical administration methods and sampling frames was not a feasible option, we opted for the solution prescribed by the *European Social Survey* (ESS): choosing the best practice available in each place. In Barcelona, Budapest, London, Madrid, Milan and Stockholm (see chapter 6 in this volume) the interviews were conducted face-to-face, whereas – due to cost issues or sampling frame availability – in Geneva, Lyon, Oslo and Zurich they were undertaken by telephone. The sampling strategies had to adapt to the different availability of registers or lists that covered the population of interest. Hence, in Barcelona, Budapest, Geneva, Madrid,

Oslo, Stockholm and Zurich nominal individual samples were randomly drawn from the local population registers. In London, focused enumeration within postal districts was employed (see chapter 2 in this volume for a description of this procedure). In Milan, a method of random selection within centres of aggregation was employed for the migrant groups, while the autochthonous group was selected from telephone registers. Finally, in Lyon, the lack of any available register that includes information about the country of birth or nationality of the individual or on that of the parents led to a sample design that proceeded by randomly generating telephone numbers – within the area code – and screening respondents through a short list of questions about their country of birth and their ancestry.

Given this variation in the methods, in this chapter we have opted to focus on just one of the surveys, to illustrate the main issues related to the response rates of immigrant-origin populations. We believe that our study is of particular interest because there is limited information about response rates of immigrant populations in 'new destination' countries and because a large share of the immigrant population shares Spanish as their mother tongue while many others do not. Hence, this allows for a comparison of the response rates of different immigrant groups of relatively recent arrival with different language barriers.

The LOCALMULTIDEM survey was undertaken in Madrid in 2006-2007 with around 1,200 individuals stratified by country of origin. As we will explain in detail in the next sections of this chapter, the original sample had been designed to be nominal, with 2,400 individuals randomly extracted from the municipal population register, and the study aimed at employing the same methodology as the ESS, compiling contact forms that are almost identical to those used by the ESS team in Spain. With the information stemming from these contact forms, we analyse in detail the various challenges faced in achieving high response rates from migrant populations, and we provide comparative elements with the ESS in Spain. In particular, we focus on the problems of participation refusal, non-contact, and relocation of the sampled individual, and the extent to which they affect autochthonous and migrant populations differently.

The chapter is structured as follows. First we review the scant literature that addresses the issue of response rates for immigrant and ethnic minorities in established democracies, and point out the main gaps in our knowledge about this aspect. We then describe in detail the context of the study and the methods of sampling and data collection for the survey. The next section compares the response rates of immigrant-background and autochthonous individuals in the LOCALMULTIDEM survey and in the Spanish ESS. The final empirical section examines how successful the strategies are for refusal conversion and repeated location attempts for this group when compared to the autochthonous Spanish. We conclude the chapter with some general thoughts about the most effective and efficient way to

approach the study of immigrant populations in Spain, and reflect on how applicable these findings may be in other countries.

7.2 Response rates in survey research: What do we know about interviewing immigrants?

Achieving a high response rate has been a common target for most quality surveys, as there is a general consensus that this reduces the likelihood of obtaining biased sampling results and estimates (Bradburn 1985).[5] The general recommendation is that random probability sampling at all stages of the unit selection process, avoiding substitution and pursuing a high response rate are the best ways to achieve a sample that is truly representative of the target population (Fowler 2002; Stoop 2005). In Europe, the *European Social Survey* (ESS) has become a quality standard in social survey research by requiring highly demanding methodological practices of all the participating countries (see Stoop, Billiet, Koch & Fitzgerald 2010 for a detailed description). Among other strategies, the ESS seeks to enhance response rates by: 1) setting a minimum sample size of 2,000 individuals and an *effective* sample size of 1,500;[6] 2) asking participating countries to aim at a response rate of at least 70 per cent; and 3) requiring that four visits or contact attempts be made before giving up on any sample individual or household, at least one of which should take place during the late afternoon or evening and one during a weekend. Moreover, putting in place conversion refusal and location strategies is strongly encouraged by the central coordinating team of the ESS; and all contact attempts and their results are duly registered in standardised contact forms that are used in all participating countries (see Billiet, Philippens, Fitzgerald & Stoop 2007 for more details).

As Stoop et al. (2010) report, the goal of achieving a high response rate that reaches at least 70 per cent has resulted in varying success across countries and over time. In the first round of the ESS (2002-2003) only 5 of the 25 participating countries were able to meet this target, and in the fourth round of the ESS (2008-2009) 7 of 28 achieved it; though many participating countries have been able to gradually improve their response results, as has the Spanish team of the ESS, which has implemented various strategies to improve response rates (see Riba, Torcal & Morales 2010). This has resulted in an increase from the initial response rate of 53.2 per cent in the first round, to the 66.8 per cent achieved in the fourth round.[7] The Spanish results are especially important for our own study as it is the benchmark against which we can evaluate the quality and success of our own survey of individuals of immigrant origin in Madrid.

However, an important limitation of the ESS and other general-purpose surveys is that they include a very small number of persons of immigrant

origin or include none at all. In fact, for the fourth round, the technical reports for at least two countries – Israel and France – acknowledge that foreigners (i.e. non-citizens) are not included in the sampling frame, while the information is not sufficiently clear for Estonia, Finland and Poland. Moreover, most ESS participating countries that use a population register as their main sampling frame, even if the register includes resident foreigners, exclude unauthorised immigrants, with Spain being a notable exception (see chapter 3 in this volume for more details). Hence, for some countries, this additional group of the resident immigrant population is not represented in the ESS survey.[8] Altogether, this limits our capacity to learn much about different inclinations to respond among immigrants from one of the major social surveys in Europe, and it is more appropriate to turn our attention to surveys that are specifically designed to cover populations of immigrant origin.

However, a first limitation when framing the study of the survey response rates of individuals of immigrant origin is the limited availability of research that focuses primarily on this subgroup of the population. Often, the analysis of immigrants' survey response rates is confounded with the lower response rates of urban dwellers, thus, the evidence is inconclusive (see Stoop et al. 2010: 125-126). On other occasions, results of surveys of immigrants and ethnic minorities are treated as if they were strictly equivalent. Beyond the fact that some ethnic minorities are not part of (relatively recent) migration flows, but may have been members of the given society for centuries, key differences between first and subsequent generations of individuals of immigrant background are present in regards to their country of socialisation. In fact, this differential socialisation across generations of individuals of immigrant background is probably the origin of the reversal in survey response inclinations among ethnic minorities reported in Feskens, Hox, Lensvelt-Mulders and Schmeets (2006) in comparison to Bronner's (1998) earlier diagnosis.

For this reason, it is better to focus on the analyses of fieldwork efforts and results that pertain specifically to surveys of immigrants and their immediate descendants. In this regard, one interesting finding from reviewing the few existing studies is that, in certain contexts, immigrants show overall higher response rates than the respective autochthonous or native population, while they are less likely to be covered in other contexts. For example, Blohm and Diehl (2001) show that when appropriate and adapted fieldwork operations are put in place – such as bilingual interviewers and the possibility to respond in the native language – response rates from immigrants can be 20 percentage points higher than for the overall population.[9] In contrast, Deding, Fridberg and Jakobsen (2008 and chapter 8 in this volume) show that, even with interviewing available in their native language, the three immigrant groups they study – from Iran, Pakistan and Turkey – have response rates 20 percentage points lower.

Response rates are, fundamentally, determined by the capacity to locate individuals at the address or place related to sampling, their ability to respond to the survey – sometimes limited by illness, disability or language proficiency – and their eventual cooperation with interviewers when contacted. Locating immigrants is the initial obstacle in many societies, as immigrants are commonly a younger, less stable population, and often work longer hours. As Feskens et al. (2006) show, non-contact rates are higher for immigrant-origin individuals in several European countries, and these substantially lower contact rates hold when socio-economic status, urbanisation and several other demographics are controlled for (Feskens, Hox, Lensvelt-Mulders & Schmeets 2007).[10]

Furthermore, Blohm and Diehl (2001), in analysing the nationwide German ALLBUS survey, report that wrong or false addresses are quite a problem with this sector of the population. This is the source of a large part of the non-locations in the survey. But these authors note that the problem of tracking immigrants who have moved elsewhere can be overcome with appropriate fieldwork strategies. Also, it is not clear that locating immigrants is significantly more difficult than for the majority population – other than in the case of wrong or false addresses.

An interesting result that Blohm and Diehl (2001) uncover is that certain groups within the immigrant population can be particularly difficult to contact; in their case, older immigrants and men. Similarly, Deding et al. (2008) underscore that immigrants of certain national origins are much more difficult to locate than others – in Denmark, Pakistanis even after controlling for socio-demographics. Hence, blanket statements about, and response-enhancement strategies relating to, 'all' immigrants can be potentially misleading. Additionally, Feskens et al. (2007) show that certain socio-demographic characteristics – such as age – are differently related to non-contact likelihoods in immigrant and native populations.

With regard to language barriers, which are so commonly a source of non-response in surveys with immigrants and ethnic minorities (Feskens et al. 2006), several of these studies show that with the appropriate fieldwork practices in place – bilingual questionnaire and bilingual interviewers – their impact can be reduced to a minimum; although they are still potentially problematic with immigrants originating from multi-lingual countries (Blohm & Diehl 2001; Deding et al. 2008). However, one possible problem with offering multi-lingual interviews is that differential language administration can introduce measurement errors related to translation, cultural framing and situational cues (Peytcheva 2008a, 2008b). These are in addition to the difficulties introduced in the process of supervising the work of the interviewers.

The evidence regarding whether immigrants are more or less cooperative than the rest of the population is mixed (Feskens et al. 2006). Blohm & Diehl (2001) show that immigrants have lower refusal rates both in their

own local survey of immigrants and in the nationwide ALLBUS survey; but Feskens et al. (2007, 2008) suggest that this might be limited to immigrants of certain origins. They find differing cooperation patterns between Western and non-Western immigrants in the Netherlands.[11] In contrast, Deding et al. (2008) find that cooperation is lower – sometimes substantially so – for immigrants (in their case all non-Western groups) than for native Danes. Similar results of higher refusal rates among immigrants in the United Kingdom are provided by Thomas (2008).

Additionally, it is not clear that monetary incentives necessarily increase cooperation rates from immigrants even if they seem to be successful with native respondents, partly because baseline cooperation rates for these groups are already higher in some countries (Van den Brakel, Vis-Visschers & Schmeets 2006; Feskens et al. 2008). There is limited information in previous studies about the success of refusal conversion attempts. However, Blohm and Diehl (2001) find that the geographical proximity of interviewers to the location of respondents' addresses increases the inclination to cooperate, which is probably indicative of the success of (some) such strategies.

Finally, with respect to the effect of interviewer characteristics on success rates, the evidence is also mixed. Blohm and Diehl (2001) find that they matter for the case of Turks in Mannheim and that – unlike common preconceptions – male interviewers yield higher response rates from female respondents. In contrast, Deding et al. (2008) find no evidence of interviewer effects related to their socio-demographics, but only an effect related to interviewing experience.

In summary, an examination of the existing studies on non-response in surveys of individuals of immigrant origin suggests a number of elements that are worth considering in this chapter. First, we have found no previous study of immigrants' response rates in 'new destination' countries – such as South European countries. The Spanish case is of particular interest because a large share of immigrants to Spain are of Latin American origin and share their mother-tongue with the autochthonous population, while other immigrant groups do not. This permits a comparison on the various issues pertaining to response rates in different subpopulations. Second, a common conclusion of all studies is that urbanisation is a confounding variable with immigrant status, hence the fact that we are analysing the subject in the largest city in Spain substantially reduces this problem, as both the native and the immigrant groups reside in the same highly urbanised city. Third, some of the studies suggest that contact and cooperation rates might vary across immigrant origin groups. In this regard, our systematic comparison of five different national origin immigrant groups – one Maghrebian and four Latin American – allows us to explore this further. Finally, our comparison of the LOCALMULTIDEM survey with the ESS in Spain enables us to ascertain whether using equivalent methods for

locating respondents and for converting refusals is similarly successful among immigrant populations.

7.3 The context and the study

The immigrant population in Madrid: An overview

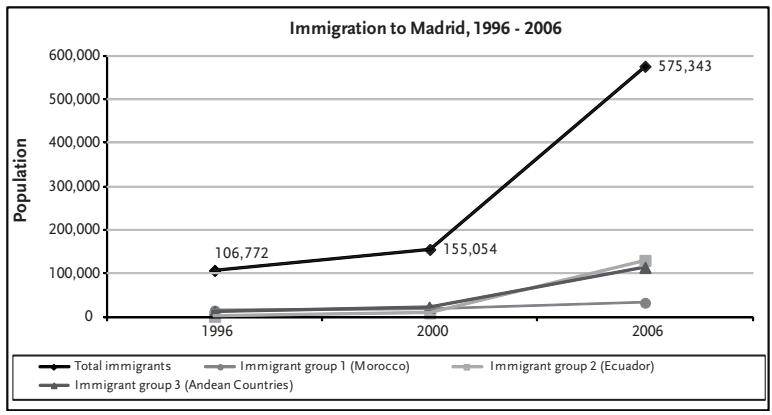
Along with high rates of undocumented status, a major characteristic of the immigrant population in Spain is its uneven geographical distribution throughout the country. In 1996, approximately 53 per cent of the total foreign population in Spain resided in four out of the country's seventeen regions: Andalusia (16 per cent), Catalonia (16 per cent), Valencia (14 per cent) and Madrid (17 per cent). In 2005, these four regions concentrated about 67 per cent of the total foreign-born population living in Spain. These figures provide an idea of the extent to which immigration is a relatively geographically delimited issue. Madrid, as the capital city, has attracted a large percentage of the total immigration to Spain. In 1996, the immigrant population living in the city of Madrid represented approximately 10 per cent of the total foreign-born residents in Spain; ten years later, the corresponding percentage had increased to 12.5 per cent. Even if the immigrant population living in the city of Madrid is not necessarily representative of the overall immigrant population, many of its features are also applicable to the description of the immigrant population living in other large Spanish cities.

Foreign-born individuals represented approximately 3.7 per cent of the total population of Madrid in 1996;[12] in ten years this percentage increased to 18 per cent. In other words, the proportion of the immigrant population in the city increased from less than one-twentieth to almost one-fifth of the total population over just one decade. In addition, such substantial growth has not been evenly distributed over this time period, but occurred primarily after 2000 (Figure 7.1)

Hence, the immigrant population in the city of Madrid has increased about 400 per cent since 1996, and has multiplied by approximately three since 2000. A conflation of factors helps explain this evolution. First, migration chains and networks – especially within older immigrant communities in the city, such as Moroccans or Peruvians – made Madrid a magnet for the incoming migration flows at a time when the Spanish economy was expanding in low-skilled sectors. Second, a large part of the immigration boom was due to the economic and political crisis in Ecuador at the end of the 1990s – which was responsible for a substantial share of the total growth in immigrant population not only in Madrid but in the whole country, facilitated by the lack of requirement of a visa to enter Spain.

In terms of the composition of the immigrant population, in 1996 immigration flows to the city of Madrid were primarily formed by EU

Figure 7.1 *Foreign-born population registered in the city of Madrid, 1996-2006*



Source: Municipal Population Register

citizens. Out of the 241,970 foreigners with residence permits in Spain in 1985, 65.5 per cent were European, a large majority of them nationals from ECC countries. The rest were mainly Moroccans and political refugees who had fled from dictatorships in Latin America. Although citizens from the latter world region still form a substantial share of the total immigrant population living in Madrid, flows from Latin American countries

Table 7.1 *Ten largest immigrant groups in the city of Madrid, 1996 and 2006*

2006			*1996*		
Country of origin	*Percentage of total city foreign-born population*	*Number of inhabitants*	*Country of origin*	*Percentage of total city foreign-born population*	*Number of inhabitants*
Ecuador	21.1	124,949	*Morocco*	13.8	14,794
Colombia	7.8	45,759	France	8.7	9,347
Peru	7.1	41,866	*Peru*	7.4	7,951
Romania	6.7	39,646	Argentina	7.0	7,475
Morocco	5.7	32,741	Germany	5.8	6,165
Bolivia	5.4	31,919	Cuba	4.9	5,007
Dominican Rep.	4.8	28,394	Dominican Rep.	4.2	4,519
Argentina	4.1	23,947	Portugal	3.6	3,895
China	3.8	21,694	Philippines	3.4	3,679
France	2.3	13,517	*Colombia*	3.1	3,368
Total 10 largest	68.8			61.9	
Total	100	589,179			106,772

Source: Population Register ('Padrón')
Note: Countries in italics are those corresponding to our study groups

have substantially changed over time in terms of their internal composition (Table 7.1)

Overall, immigration coming from the four Latin American countries analysed in our survey (Ecuador, on the one hand, and Peru, Colombia and Bolivia on the other) represented in 2006 almost 43 per cent of the total foreign-born population in Madrid, whereas Moroccan immigration only represented 5.7 per cent. Transnational network links have obviously contributed to this transformation in the composition by country of origin within the immigrant population of Madrid. While immigrants coming from Latin America have traditionally settled in Madrid rather than in other Spanish destinations such as Barcelona or Alicante, the opposite happened with regard to Moroccan immigration, where a larger pre-existing Moroccan community resided and was reinforced to a greater extent by migration chains.

Description of the study and the survey

As mentioned in previous sections, in the context of the LOCALMULTIDEM project a survey of 1,170 individuals was undertaken in Madrid. The sample design was stratified by the country of birth of the individuals, with the aim of obtaining around 300 individuals for each of four different groups: autochthonous Spanish, Ecuadorian, Moroccan, and a mixed group of other Andean countries (Bolivia, Colombia and Peru). Individuals were selected on the basis of their country of birth, and not their nationality, because we wanted to include naturalised immigrants as well. Thus, we obtained from the statistical office of the municipality of Madrid a simple random sample of individuals who were born in Spain, Ecuador, Morocco, Bolivia, Colombia and Peru, respectively.[13]

Fieldwork took place between January 2007 and February 2008, and was mostly organised in-house by a fieldwork network purposefully set up for this study in Madrid by the University of Murcia (UoM). However, severe difficulties and delays in fieldwork progression forced us, in some cases, to adapt the sampling methods to include various modes of respondent selection. The gross sample included 2,400 named individuals – 600 per group. In the end, only 608 interviews were obtained with the originally sampled individuals. An additional 115 interviews were obtained by substitution within the dwellings of the sampled individuals, 180 interviews for the autochthonous Spaniards were obtained through random routes, and 267 interviews were achieved through spatial sampling for the Moroccan group – and to a smaller degree the Latin American groups. The reasons for employing multiple sampling methods are explained below at greater length, but they were mostly related to sampling frame deficiencies, the excessive length of fieldwork, the higher rates of ineligible sample units extracted, and the lack of time to get additional nominal sample units from the local statistical office.

It is important to highlight, though, that despite the use of different sampling methods the results we obtained in terms of the socio-demographic profile in our sample are strikingly similar to the known distribution of some of these variables within the population register and to the figures one can obtain for these same groups from the 2007 Spanish National Immigrant Survey (analyses not shown here). Hence, the employment of various sampling methods to respond to fieldwork difficulties has not biased our sample in socio-demographic terms. Moreover, several substantive analyses we have carried out elsewhere (Morales, Anduiza, Rodríguez & San Martín 2008, 2010) found no significant effect of the sampling method on a number of different variables related to the socio-political attitudes and behaviours of the respondents.

Table 7.2 describes the sample structure of the survey and Table 7.3 provides the descriptives of the main socio-demographic characteristics of the interviewed respondents. All interviews were conducted face-to-face and completion of the questionnaire took on average approximately 50 minutes. The respondents of the Moroccan group could choose to do the interview in Spanish or in Arabic, and a number of bilingual interviewers were available for this.[14] This aspect was crucial, as many Moroccan respondents were not able to communicate in Spanish with sufficient fluency.

As mentioned in the first pages of this chapter, one important aspect of the LOCALMULTIDEM survey conducted in Madrid is that – as far as it was feasible – it tried to replicate the same fieldwork procedures and strategies put in place for the ESS in Spain.[15] To this end, a contact form that replicated – with minimal necessary improvements – those employed in the Spanish fieldwork operations of the ESS was used for the LOCALMULTIDEM survey in Madrid. Interviewers were trained by the UoM team with a handbook that contained very similar materials to those

Table 7.2 *Description of the gross and net samples*

	Original nominal sample	*Interviews nominal sample*	*Interviews replacement from original sample*	*Interviews from spatial sampling*	*Interviews from random routes*	*Total interviews*
Spanish	600	91	19	0	180	290
'False' Moroccan	107	16	1	0		17
True Moroccan	493	95	32	171		298
Ecuadorian	600	232	32	27		291
Mixed Andean	600	177	31	69		277
Bolivia	162	52	12	15		79
Colombia	219	58	9	35		102
Peru	219	67	10	19		96
Total	2,400	608	115	267	180	1,170

Sources: LOCALMULTIDEM and CAPSOCINMIG survey, 2007

employed by the ESS team in Spain. A letter with the UoM logo presenting the survey and announcing the visit of the interviewers was sent one month in advance of the starting date of fieldwork.[16] As in the ESS in Spain, interviewers were offered a number of salary incentives that were linked to their results, so that the baseline payment was increased gradually with higher response rates achieved per assignment.[17] Unlike the ESS we had no budget for monetary incentives for respondents, so our results need to be interpreted in light of this (possibly) important difference. Before an individual in the sample was abandoned as 'unproductive' by the interviewer, four visits, including one in the evening (after 8pm) and another during the weekend, were required; and the fieldwork coordinator would reassign the case to another interviewer so that at least another visit in the evening and on a weekend would take place. Fortnightly reports of fieldwork progress were produced by the fieldwork coordinator.

As will become clear in the next sections, a number of fieldwork difficulties were encountered that required some adaptations in strategies and sampling methods. First, response rates for the autochthonous Spanish population were extremely low and distracted interviewers from concentrating on the difficult task of locating immigrant respondents in their households.[18] This led us to change the initial plans and complement the final sample with random route interviews conducted by a professional survey institute for 180 autochthonous individuals.

Second, once fieldwork was under way, we discovered that almost 20 per cent of the original sample for the Moroccan group was in fact what we termed 'false' Moroccans: autochthonous Spanish who were born in territory that is now Morocco but was a Spanish colonial enclave when they were born.[19] This meant that, all of a sudden, a large part of our sample could not be used, and response rates for Moroccans turned out to be insufficient to reach or approximate the 300 individuals required. Hence, we decided to substantially complement the sample with spatial sampling that was conducted in a number of locations – immigration information offices, public spaces in the neighbourhoods and, above all, the queue outside the Moroccan consulate. In a few cases, we did this as well for the Latin American groups to complement our sample, particularly as a result of the high refusal rates of the Colombians.

Third, for all immigrant groups – but especially for the Latin American ones – it was quite common that the sampled individual no longer lived in the dwelling but that individuals of the same national origin did. Whenever the sampled individual had moved within the city, interviewers were instructed to try to get the new address and attempt a new contact. However, this was not feasible in many cases, and hence during fieldwork we decided to allow for substitution within the dwelling or the adjacent dwellings with individuals of the same country of origin, gender and age group.[20]

Table 7.3 *Main descriptives of the net sample in Madrid*

	ES (*n*=307)	*MA* (*n*=298)	*EC* (*n*=291)	*AND* (*n*=277)
Percentage female	51	39	55	59
Age				
16-25	12	18	18	17
26-35	15	49	40	33
36-45	16	25	25	27
46-55	17	6	12	16
56-65	14	2	4	4
65+	26	0	1	3
Education				
Illiterate or primary not completed	17	18	4	3
Primary completed	37	50	55	36
Secondary completed	22	24	30	40
University degrees	23	8	11	21
Religious attendance				
Atheist/never attends	44	38	22	31
Attends at least once a year	31	57	60	44
Attends at least once a week	25	5	18	25
Percentage Muslim	-	98	-	-
Years since arrival in Spain				
Two years or less	-	14	2	12
3-5 years	-	22	11	32
6-10 years	-	43	76	41
More than 10 years	-	21	11	15
Mean value	-	8	8	7
Administrative situation				
Short-term permit 5 years or less	-	70	53	44
Long-term permit more than 5 years	-	10	13	8
Renovating expired permit	-	8	23	17
Never had a permit	-	11	3	23
Percentage Spanish citizenship	100	11	18	20

Sources: LOCALMULTIDEM and CAPSOCINMIG survey, 2007
Legend: ES=Spanish, MA=Moroccan, EC= Ecuadorian, AND=Andean

Finally, the fact that we decided to conduct the fieldwork mostly in-house and with a purposefully built fieldwork network resulted in additional difficulties related to high interviewer turnover and limited experience with nominal samples – which are not that common in Spain.

Although, of course, we do not claim to have been able to replicate the efforts and success of the fieldwork operations of the ESS in Spain – given the substantial difference in funding – we want to highlight that our fieldwork efforts and reach were not very far from those achieved in the first round of the ESS in Spain completed in 2002, as shown when comparing the number of visits received by the units (Table 7.4).

In the next sections we describe in detail how successful these efforts were in terms of achieving high responses rates and how they compare

Table 7.4 *Number of visits the units received, percentage over total sample assigned*

	ESS Spain		*LOCALMULTIDEM Survey, 2007-2008*					
	2002	*2006*	*ES*	*MA*	*EC*	*BO*	*CO*	*PE*
0	1.5	0.0	3.3	1.9	1.8	1.7	2.8	2.5
1	36.9	18.7	42.4	60.9	32.3	37.5	34.5	28.0
2	20.6	24.5	16.8	14.4	15.7	18.2	17.1	19.9
3	13.2	18.0	10.6	11.6	15.2	13.6	13.5	13.6
4	9.4	13.9	9.7	4.3	12.0	11.9	10.7	11.0
5	9.5	9.8	6.6	1.7	7.2	6.3	7.1	8.1
6	4.2	6.6	5.1	1.9	6.4	3.4	5.6	3.4
7	2.9	3.7	3.1	1.3	4.6	4.0	5.2	5.5
8	1.2	1.7	1.4	1.3	3.4	1.7	2.0	3.4
9	0.6	1.2	0.5	0.4	1.0	0.6	0.8	1.7
10 or more	0.2	2.2	0.6	0.2	0.6	1.1	0.8	3.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	3,702	3,290	885	466	626	176	252	236
Minimum	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Maximum	10	17	14	10	15	12	13	15
Average	2.64	3.38	3.00	2.38	3.16	2.89	3.23	3.50
St. deviation	1.89	2.21	2.14	1.83	2.26	2.14	2.26	2.69

Sources: Authors' own elaboration with data from Riba, Torcal and Morales (2010) for the 2006 Spanish ESS and from the LOCALMULTIDEM survey in Madrid
Legend: ES=Spanish, MA=Moroccan, EC=Ecuadorian, BO=Bolivian, CO=Colombian, PE=Peruvian

with the high quality benchmark of the ESS in Spain. In this sense, we will mostly focus on the sample that pertains to the nominal random sample originally issued, as this is what is comparable with the ESS figures; but we will occasionally give some background information about the success and effort involved in the other sampling strategies. Finally, we will from now on be using the 2006 ESS Spanish survey as our comparative standpoint, as this was the one fielded closest to the time when our survey was also conducted, even if this means that we are drawing a comparison with the third round of the survey in Spain, rather than the first – which would be a fairer comparison to our own survey.

7.4 Comparing the response rates of migrant-background and autochthonous individuals

In this section we focus on providing an overall view of the outcome patterns for all contact attempts with individuals and households. First we concentrate on the original nominal sample and on those sample units for which at least one visit was attempted.[21] Table 7.5 compares the overall results of the LOCALMULTIDEM in Madrid with the 2006 ESS in Spain.[22]

Table 7.5 *Fieldwork results in Madrid (nominal sample only) compared to the ESS*

	ESS Spain 2006		*LOCALMULTIDEM (overall)*		*LOCALMULTIDEM (groups, %)*					
	N	%	*N*	%	*ES*	*MA*	*EC*	*BO*	*CO*	*PE*
Completed interviews	1,876	57	726	36	22	44	45	40	32	36
Refusal	559	17	350	17	33	14	10	6	12	13
No contact	225	7	276	14	19	10	10	11	14	15
Unavailable	167	5	193	9	13	9	7	9	8	9
Ineligible	430	13	423	21	11	20	25	30	31	23
Appointment not followed	0	0	6	0.3	0.2	1	0.2	0.6	0	0
Other, invalid or incomplete	33	1	53	3	2	2	4	2	2	3
Total	3,290	100	2,027	100	100 (578)	100 (286)	100 (586)	100 (158)	100 (208)	100 (211)

Sources: Authors' own elaboration with data from *Riba, Torcal and Morales (2010)* for the 2006 Spanish ESS and from the LOCALMULTIDEM survey in Madrid
Legend: ES=Spanish, MA=Moroccan, EC=Ecuadorian, BO=Bolivian, CO=Colombian, PE=Peruvian

First, we notice that the LOCALMULTIDEM survey had a substantially smaller proportion of completed interviews than the ESS. However, this is not due to higher refusal rates, but to substantially higher non-contact rates and ineligible cases, which are always higher in urban areas due to geographical mobility and lifestyle patterns. Second, it is important to underscore that refusal rates varied substantially across origin groups, with more than double the amount of refusals among Spanish than all immigrant groups.[23] Third, surprisingly given the contrasting evidence reviewed in the literature, non-contact rates also tended to be higher among Spanish and among the two migrant groups with a longer history of migration to Spain: Colombians and Peruvians. Finally, it is the much higher rates of ineligible cases among migrants – especially the Latin American ones – that explain the lower success rates in our survey. There were between two and three times more ineligible cases among the migrant groups than among the Spanish, and our percentage of ineligible cases for the Spanish is very similar to that produced by the ESS, hence rendering greater credibility to our results among immigrants.

The stark contrast between the autochthonous Spanish and immigrant groups is even more evident when we compare the final response rates as calculated with the ESS standard formulae.[24] As we see in Table 7.6, the 'true' and 'fieldwork' response rates that exclude ineligibles from the calculations provide encouraging results for several immigrant groups, in particular Ecuadorians and Bolivians – two of the larger Latin American

Table 7.6 *Final response rates, nominal sample only*

	ESS Spain 2006	*LOCALMULTIDEM*					
		ES	*MA*	*EC*	*BO*	*CO*	*PE*
Gross response rate	57.0	22.0	44.4	45.1	40.5	32.2	36.5
'True' response rate	65.6	24.6	55.2	59.7	58.2	46.9	47.5
'Fieldwork' response rate	68.1	27.0	57.7	61.4	61.0	47.9	49.7

Sources: Authors' own elaboration with data from Riba, Torcal and Morales (2010) for the 2006 Spanish ESS and from the LOCALMULTIDEM survey in Madrid
Legend: ES=Spanish, MA=Moroccan, EC=Ecuadorian, BO=Bolivian, CO=Colombian, PE=Peruvian

groups in the city of Madrid. We should note, additionally, that the response rate for the ESS in the region of Madrid was lower (53 per cent), and even more for Madrid city.

Although we resorted to complementary sampling methods, Table 7.7 shows that these did not necessarily require less effort on the part of interviewers, but they were often quicker to handle within the time constraints of the need to complete the study. In particular, substitution within the dwelling or the adjacent dwellings when ineligibility was due to the individual having moved elsewhere (or not having lived there at all) also resulted in high failure rates. Random routes for the autochthonous population also suffered from very high rates of failed contacts, especially due to non-contacts and ineligibility. Spatial sampling proved to be relatively successful, as refusal rates were low – especially among the individuals who were queuing for long hours outside the consulate premises – but often the incapacity to locate anyone in certain public spaces required changing the intersection points.

Thus, overall, with sufficient time for conducting fieldwork and a strong fieldwork network of professional interviewers, the success rates of nominal sampling seem to outperform other alternatives. Only in the absence of sufficient time or resources would we recommend spatial sampling of immigrants in Spain.[25]

7.5 Does trying harder pay off? The success of refusal conversion and additional location attempts

The general recommendation in the survey research literature and, in particular, the strategy followed by the ESS is to try achieving response rates as close as possible to 70 per cent by increasing efforts to locate respondents and by attempting to convert refusals, especially 'soft' ones. In this section we focus on the results of following that advice for the

Table 7.7 *Main descriptives of ease or difficulty of access and cooperation for modes of respondent selection*

Mode of respondent selection	*ES*	*MA*	*EC*	*BO*	*CO*	*PE*
Substitution of nominal sample individual number of visits in which...						
... Nobody answered	Average=2.1 Median=0 Stand.dev=3.4	Average=1 Median=0 Stand.dev=1.4	Average=2.3 Median=2 Stand.dev=0.6	Missing	Missing	Average=2.3 Median=2 Stand.dev=2.5
... Nobody cooperated / refusal	Average=3.2 Median=1 Stand.dev=5.7	Average=0 Median=0 Stand.dev=0	Average=0.7 Median=1 Stand.dev=0.6	Missing	Missing	Average=2 Median=3 Stand.dev=1.7
... Nobody eligible	Average=0.6 Median=0 Stand.dev=1.4	Average=0 Median=0 Stand.dev=0	Average=0.33 Median=0 Stand.dev=0.6	Missing	Missing	Average=0.3 Median=0 Stand.dev=0.6
... Someone eligible but not available	Average=0.7 Median=0 Stand.dev=1.7	Average=0 Median=0 Stand.dev=0	Average=0 Median=0 Stand.dev=0	Missing	Missing	Average=0 Median=0 Stand.dev=0
Random routes (number of visits in which...)		–	–	–	–	–
... Nobody answered	Average=12.6 Median=6 Stand.dev=16.1					
... Nobody cooperated / refusal	Average=6.2 Median=4 Stand.dev=6.6					
... Nobody eligible	Average=7.8 Median=3 Stand.dev=10.9					
Total number of unsuccessful contact attempts prior to interview	Average=26.1 Median=18 Stand.dev=27.0					
Spatial sampling	–					
Refusals before interview		Average=1 Median=1 Stand.dev=1.0	Average=0.4 Median=0 Stand.dev=0.7	Average=0.1 Median=0 Stand.dev=0.3	Average=1.0 Median=1 Stand.dev=0.8	Average=1.7 Median=2 Stand.dev=1.1
Percentage of cases where change of location was needed		62.6%	0	7.1%	3.1%	7.1%
Number of occasions that change of location was needed		Average=1.1 Median=1 Stand.dev=0.4		Missing	Missing	Missing

Source: LOCALMULTIDEM survey in Madrid, own elaboration
Legend: ES=Spanish, MA=Moroccan, EC=Ecuadorian, BO=Bolivian, CO=Colombian, PE=Peruvian

Table 7.8 *Fieldwork efforts and refusal conversion, nominal sample only*

Effort indicators	*ESS Spain 2006*	*LOCALMULTIDEM*					
		ES	*MA*	*EC*	*BO*	*CO*	*PE*
Visits the individual received	Average=3.4 Median=2 St.dev=2.2	Average=3 Median=2 St.dev=2.1	Average=2.4 Median=2 St.dev=1.8	Average=3.2 Median=3 St.dev=2.6	Average=2.9 Median=2 St.dev=2.1	Average=3.2 Median=3 St.dev=2.6	Average=3.5 Median=3 St.dev=2.7
Percentage who received 5 or more visits	25.0	22.4	10.8	24.2	18.6	24.9	27.2
Percentage of households visited but contact never achieved	2.5	13.1	5.6	5.6	4.4	7.1	9.5
Percentage of households that refused in any visit	23.4	37.2	15.4	12.1	7.0	13.3	16.6
Percentage refusals where conversion attempted	28.0	10.6	15.9	22.5	9.1	17.9	14.3
Percentage of conversion attempts that were successful	73.0	52.2	57.1	43.8	100.0	40.0	60.0

Sources: Authors' own elaboration with data from Riba, Torcal and Morales (2010) for the 2006 Spanish ESS and from the LOCALMULTIDEM survey in Madrid
Legend: ES=Spanish, MA=Moroccan, EC=Ecuadorian, BO=Bolivian, CO=Colombian, PE=Peruvian

LOCALMULTIDEM survey in Madrid and on how its results compare with those obtained by the ESS team in Spain.

In Table 7.8 we see that the average and median number of visits was in most cases very similar to that put in place by the ESS fieldwork institute in Spain. Equally, except for the case of Moroccan individuals, the number of individuals that received five or more visits fluctuated around 25 per cent, as in the ESS. However, given that our survey was conducted in the largest city in Spain – as opposed to the nationwide figures available for the ESS – successful contact is much lower for all cases and, particularly, for the Spanish sub-sample. In addition, refusals in at least one of the visits are much lower for all immigrant groups than for the Spanish.

We attempted refusal conversion whenever there was some chance of success. This was more often the case among the immigrant groups than among the Spanish, an indication of how uncooperative the autochthonous population has become in urban areas in Spain. Soft refusals were more common among the Ecuadorians, and hence they were the target of more conversion attempts. Given these different rates of conversion attempts, it is not surprising that there were considerable differences in the extent to which they were successful. Between 40 and 100 per cent of the conversion attempts ended in a completed interview. Success was highest among the Bolivians, but they were the least exposed to such attempts; success was lowest among Ecuadorians and Colombians, but the former were subjected to conversion attempts in a greater proportion. The main corollary is that these attempts at converting refusals into interviews actually work, but not necessarily more among the immigrant population than among the Spanish.

Similarly, we examined the success of additional contact attempts beyond the standard four visits recommended by the ESS international coordination team (Table 7.9). As can be seen, the Spanish were more difficult

Table 7.9 *Efforts and success in locating respondents, nominal sample only*

	ESS Spain 2006	*LOCALMULTIDEM*					
		ES	*MA*	*EC*	*BO*	*CO*	*PE*
Units resulting in no contact with anyone after four visits (%)	7	14	8	8	7	11	11
Non-contacts after four visits in units that received more than four visits (%)	87	82	92	89	73	100	92
Successful interviews after four visits (if no previous contact) (%)	34	6	27	25	25	22	4

Sources: Authors' own elaboration with data from Riba, Torcal and Morales (2010) for the 2006 Spanish ESS and from the LOCALMULTIDEM survey in Madrid
Legend: ES=Spanish, MA=Moroccan, EC=Ecuadorian, BO=Bolivian, CO=Colombian, PE=Peruvian

Table 7.10 *Comparing the results of fieldwork efforts, nominal sample only (%)*[a]

	ESS Spain 2006	*LOCALMULTIDEM*					
		ES	*MA*	*EC*	*BO*	*CO*	*PE*
Interview obtained with normal protocols	62	26	60	65	67	49	53
Refusal converted into interview	6	3	2	2	1	2	2
Non-contact converted into interview after fourth visit	2	1	3	3	2	4	1
Final refusal	21	45	20	15	11	21	20
Final visit no contact	9	25	14	16	19	24	23
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Sources: Authors' own elaboration with data from Riba, Torcal and Morales (2010) for the 2006 Spanish ESS and from the LOCALMULTIDEM survey in Madrid

[a] The figures of LOCALMULTIDEM are calculated excluding units that were ineligible, unavailable or pending an appointment in the last visit

Legend: ES=Spanish, MA=Moroccan, EC=Ecuadorian, BO=Bolivian, CO=Colombian, PE=Peruvian

to contact after the four standard visits, while a number of immigrant groups show patterns that are more similar to the nationwide averages provided by the ESS in Spain. In the vast majority of cases where no contact was achieved, extra visits were programmed, following standards applied by the Spanish ESS team. However, extra visits were unevenly successful across groups and systematically less so than they were for the ESS in Spain in 2006. The Spanish and the Peruvians are particularly difficult groups to locate, whereas the remaining four immigrant groups show similar success rates of around 25 per cent.

All things considered, refusal conversion and extra contact attempts are only moderately successful and result in a meagre four percentage points of additional completed interviews for the Spanish and between three and six extra percentage points for the immigrant groups studied (the sum of rows 2 and 3 in Table 7.10). Hence, its use needs to be considered carefully and in relation to how much pressure it will put on the fieldwork organisation.

7.6 Concluding discussion

The purpose of this chapter was to evaluate how response rates to a social survey might differ between autochthonous and immigrant populations in an urban setting in Spain. We presented information from the contact forms collected during fieldwork for the LOCALMULTIDEM survey in Madrid. This was compared with the equivalent results produced by the ESS in Spain. LOCALMULTIDEM is the first such large-scale survey conducted

of an extensive sample of the immigrant population in a single major city in Spain, and one of the first large-scale socio-political surveys conducted of immigrants in Spain attempting to use nominal random sampling. As such, this should be viewed as a first promising step forward in what should become now increasingly common in Spain. Hence our findings regarding fieldwork operations should be of use to other social scientists designing similar surveys in similar contexts.

A number of conclusions can be derived from our findings. First, even if funding cannot match the resources deployed by the ESS, it is possible to conduct a survey employing nominal random sampling from population registers with immigrant populations in Spain. Our study shows that it is feasible, and it suggests that using a professional and well-established fieldwork organisation should substantially improve results. In most cases, our failures were related more to the instability of our network of interviewers than to cost issues – though funding is certainly important and we would have obtained better results had we been able to pay interviewers more.

Second, the main obstacle to obtaining high response rates from immigrant populations is not related primarily to non-contacts or refusals, but to the relatively high proportion of ineligible cases one will encounter. In this regard, our results are in line with those that indicate that immigrants are usually more cooperative than the autochthonous population, but our findings are at odds with those that indicate that immigrants are more difficult to locate. In our case, the fact that we were controlling for 'urbanicity' – as both autochthonous and immigrant individuals were located in the same highly urbanised city – and that immigrant households are, on average, inhabited by more people than those formed by autochthonous Spanish, counteracted the longer average hours of work of the immigrant population. Thus, any survey that aims at studying the immigrant population in Spain using random samples of population register individual records should take this into consideration and obtain samples that are approximately two and a half times larger than the final sample they want to achieve. In addition, if comparisons with an autochthonous population group are to be included, sample preparations should take into account the very high rates of refusals and non-contacts that the Spanish display in urban settings, as this implies issuing samples at least four times larger than the desired number of completed interviews.

Third, because situations of ineligibility among the immigrant population – especially due to relocation or to fictitious registration in the population register – are relatively common, it is advisable to contemplate either substitutions within the dwelling and adjacent dwellings, or to design the samples as household samples rather than individual samples – as was done in the Spanish immigrant survey carried out in 2007 (ENI, for more details see chapter 3 in this volume). Of course, this is an alternative to

simply extracting a larger sample, but one that might facilitate fieldwork operations in certain cases.

Finally, our results have provided evidence of the existence of different patterns of response rates across immigrant groups, but in most cases the largest gap is with the autochthonous population, clearly indicating that surveys that aim to combine responses from both will have to design fieldwork strategies tailored to the considerably different survey response behaviours of these groups. This notwithstanding, we believe that there are grounds for optimism and that good fieldwork planning should help overcome most of the obstacles and result in achieving relatively high response rates from immigrants in Spain, at least for the next few years.

Notes

1 The data for this chapter have been collected, processed and analysed with the support of the LOCALMULTIDEM project (CIT5-CT-2005-028802) funded by the European Commission's 6th Framework Programme, and the CAPSOCINMIG Project (SEJ2005-07733/CPOL) funded by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Education. Further information on the projects can be found on their websites: www.um.es/LOCALMULTIDEM and www.um.es/capsocinmig. A previous version of this chapter was presented at the ESF Exploratory Workshop 'Surveying Immigrant Population in Studies of Social and Political Participation: Methodological and Technical Challenges' organised in Madrid. We thank the participants in that workshop, the volume editors and the three IMISCOE anonymous reviewers for their thoughtful comments on previous versions of this chapter. The authors also wish to sincerely thank Elisa Rodríguez – the fieldwork coordinator in Madrid – and all interviewers for their hard work for this study. Laura Morales closely monitored fieldwork preparations and progress throughout the study, and Virginia Ros was part of the fieldwork and interviewing operations, so they know very well how difficult this study was.

2 See Cebolla and González-Ferrer (2008) for a thorough introduction to recent immigration trends and policies in Spain.

3 Until the Spanish National Immigrant Survey was conducted in 2007, there was no comprehensive survey information on the immigrant population in Spain (see chapter 3 in this volume).

4 The samples are described in greater detail in Morales and Giugni (2011).

5 However, see Groves (2006), Keeter et al. (2000) and Keeter et al. (2006) for illustrations of how substantially different response rates due to varying fieldwork strategies need not bias the distribution of responses on a number of attitudinal and behavioural indictors. Groves and Peytcheva (2008) conduct a meta-analysis of the factors that drive response bias in relation to high non-response.

6 The effective sample size is the size of a simple random sample which would produce the same precision (standard errors) as the design actually used.

7 These figures are available from the ESS documentation reports for each of the rounds that can be found on <http://ess.nsd.uib.no/ess/>.

8 This is the case for Belgium, Denmark, Germany and Hungary, where the sample frames do not include this population. The documentation is insufficiently clear in this regard for the Czech Republic and Sweden.

9 One limitation, though, of Blohm and Diehl's study of immigrants in Mannheim is that they did not include a sub-sample of the autochthonous German population in their survey and, hence, their comparisons are with the German ALLBUS nationwide results. Higher response rates in the Mannheim study could, possibly, have affected autochthonous Germans as well, so there is a certain amount of uncertainty in their conclusions about overall response rates from immigrants.

10 Nevertheless, the results by Feskens et al. (2007) indicate that a large part of the lower contact and response rates of immigrant minorities are due to their living disproportionately in highly urbanised areas.

11 See also Sasao (1994).

12 The current system of population registers started in 1996. Statistical information on the immigrant population in Spain before this date is poor and unreliable. Therefore, we only report on changes in the size and composition of the immigrant population in Madrid between May 1996 and July 2006, the relevant date prior to our survey.

13 Once the individuals were located for interview, the country of birth of their parents was checked. For the autochthonous group, any individual born in Spain with both parents born elsewhere than the other five foreign countries included in the study qualified as an 'autochthonous' individual. If any of the parents had been born in any of the other five countries, then this individual was deemed as a second-generation migrant and relocated to the corresponding group by the national origin of the parent. Equally, when we found individuals who had been born in these five countries but of both parents born in Spain, they were relocated to the 'autochthonous' group. The latter situation was very frequent for the sample of individuals born in Morocco, as around 20 per cent of our Moroccan sample turned out to be autochthonous population that had been born in the former colonial cities of North Africa under Spanish rule. The unanticipated magnitude of this problem resulted in serious problems with the Moroccan sample for which we had to adapt our sampling methods.

14 Spanish is the main language of the studied Latin American groups, and we did not encounter any case of respondents of indigenous origin who were not fluent in Spanish because of Quechua or Aymara ancestry.

15 This was facilitated by the fact that Laura Morales – who coordinated the LOCALMULTIDEM project – had been a member of the Spanish ESS coordination team between 2001 and 2007 and was well acquainted with fieldwork organising and monitoring practices for the ESS in Spain.

16 In this aspect our operations were more modest than those in place for the ESS, as the larger funding of the latter allows for three different deliveries: a first one two months prior to the commencement of fieldwork, another two weeks prior to the starting dates of interviews that also includes a leaflet about the ESS in Europe, and a third one targeted specifically for the non-contacts and the refusals.

17 The following ranges were used for the incentives: up to 30 per cent, between 30 and 39 per cent, between 40 and 49 per cent, between 50 and 55 per cent, and over 56 per cent. Furthermore, interviewers were presented with two payment models, one with lower baseline and maximum payments but with a per unit payment just for completing the contact forms, and another with higher baseline and maximum payments but with no per unit payment. They preferred the latter.

18 Response rates in the region of Madrid were consistently and repeatedly the lowest (together with those in Catalonia) for the ESS in Spain. For the 2006-2007 survey of the third round of the ESS, the gross response rate for the region of Madrid was 53 per cent, but in previous rounds it had been closer to 45 per cent. Yet, this is for the whole region, while our survey was conducted only in the capital city of Madrid. Riba et al. (2010: Tables 13, 14 and 15) show that the response rates for large cities are often half that of

the overall sample. Hence, our very low response rates for the autochthonous population are not very surprising, and are similar to those reported in that work for large cities.

19 In fact, we believe that in many cases this is due to malpractice by the local population registers, as back then these areas were part of Spain and, hence, the country of birth should have been registered as Spain and not Morocco.

20 Interviewers were given the following instructions: (1) when they encountered an ineligible unit (the individual had moved to another city, the individual was unknown to the current dwellers, the individual had moved to an unknown destination, the individual had moved to an institutional residence), interviewers were allowed to attempt a substitution within the dwelling they were visiting if the current dwellers were of the same national origin as the sampled individuals, and were instructed to select the potential respondent with the last birthday rule; (2) when they encountered a refusal or a non-contact, interviewers were allowed to seek a substitution with respondents of the same national origin in the first instance among the dwellings of the same building and, failing that, the two adjacent buildings in the street – for example if the sampled dwelling was in number 17, they could seek substitutions in numbers 15 and 19 – and were to use the last birthday method to select respondents in dwellings with multiple occupants.

21 The sample units for which no attempt to visit was made are, primarily, of individuals coming from the Spanish and Moroccan sub-samples. In the case of Moroccans, this was due to the high number of 'false' Moroccans – as described above – that were in reality not eligible under that sub-sample. In the case of the Spanish, the high non-response rates forced us to commission an external fieldwork institute to conduct random routes at a quicker pace, which meant that some – though few – of our original sampled units were never approached because the in-house fieldwork efforts were diverted to completing the immigrant sub-samples.

22 It is important to note that we are comparing our results in the city of Madrid with the overall sample results for the whole country in the ESS. The reader must be warned that response rates are substantially lower for urban areas in Spain and that, in particular, Barcelona and Madrid are especially complicated areas for fieldwork with much lower response rates than obtained nationwide (see Riba et al. 2010).

23 Again, the high refusal rates for Spanish individuals are in line with the results for large metropolitan cities found in Riba et al. (2010).

24 The gross response rate is the total number of valid interviews over the total sample that was actively pursued during fieldwork. The 'true' and 'fieldwork' response rates are calculated as per the ESS technical definitions: the 'true' response rate is the number of completed and valid interviews divided by the number of units sampled minus pure ineligible units (deceased respondents, respondents moved out of the country/city studied, derelict or demolished addresses, addresses corresponding to buildings not yet built or not ready for occupation, non-residential addresses, addresses not occupied, individuals unknown in the dwelling or who have never really resided there). The 'fieldwork' response rate also subtracts units that are ineligible in practical terms (respondents who are away during the whole fieldwork period, respondents mentally or physically unable to participate, respondents with language problems, or dwellings for which the address was not traceable or insufficient). In the LOCALMULTIDEM sample there were no sampled individuals with language barriers, as this would have only applied to the Moroccan group and the questionnaire was translated into Arabic for this very reason.

25 As mentioned before, in papers analysing the substantive responses provided by respondents we have been able to confirm that the sampling method has no significant effect on our variables of interest (Morales et al. 2008).

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8 Non-response among immigrants in Denmark

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8.1 Introduction

In Denmark, as in other European countries, it has turned out to be very difficult to achieve a satisfactorily high participation of different immigrant groups in surveys. Both in general population surveys and in surveys specifically targeted to immigrant populations, non-response rates are typically relatively high, and the basic lesson from these surveys is that interviewing immigrants requires considerations other than those applied to interviewing the majority population. Nonetheless, few studies have focused on non-response among immigrants (see, e.g. Feskens, Hox, Lensvelt-Mulders & Schmeets 2007; Dale & Haraldsen 2000; Van den Brakel, Vis-Visschers & Schmeets 2006).

The main reason for concern about high non-response rates is that non-response may generate bias problems. In particular, non-response poses a problem if it is correlated with the variables of interest. Previous research has shown that while non-response bias occurs, the non-response rate of a survey alone is not a good predictor of the magnitude of the bias (Groves 2006). Blind efforts to reduce non-response may increase the bias problems. Instead, efforts at reducing non-response should be guided by knowledge about the character of the non-response bias and about the ways in which groups are affected by efforts to reduce it (Groves 2006).

A survey on education and labour market affiliation among persons in the 18-45 age group from three different immigrant groups (with origins in Iran, Turkey and Pakistan) and native Danes, carried out in 2006, provided the opportunity to look further into the characteristics of non-respondents in the different groups of the population.[1] Although great effort was made in the survey design and data-collection process, the survey more than fulfilled the expectation that non-response among the immigrant groups would be high – on average the response rate among the three immigrant groups was about 20 percentage points lower than for the Danes.

However, as the sample for the survey was drawn from the Danish population register, we were able to compare the groups of respondents and non-respondents within each of the four population groups on the basis of administrative register data available at Statistics Denmark. Furthermore, we had access to some information on the interviewers from the survey

DOI: 10.4324/9781003704577_CH08

organisation and to rather detailed data on the number of contacts and information on reasons for non-response. By using this information we were able to look into the influence of the characteristics of the sample persons and the influence of the interviewers on the non-response.

The survey collection revealed large differences between the immigrant groups in reasons for non-response – for instance, contacting immigrants from Pakistan was very difficult, while refusals were a great problem among immigrants from both Turkey and Pakistan. For this reason we distinguished between non-contacts, refusals and other reasons for non-response, and did separate analyses on how contacts, as opposed to non-contacts, and cooperation, as opposed to non-cooperation, depend on various characteristics of the sample persons and of the interviewers. Different types of non-response are likely to have different causes and different consequences, and separate analyses of contact and cooperation give us information that will be useful in designing future immigrant surveys. But we also analysed how overall response, as opposed to non-response, depends on various characteristics of both sample persons and interviewers. Looking at overall response and non-response gives us information about the nature of the non-response bias in the data. For the estimations, we used multilevel models.

The findings of the survey show differences between the three immigrant groups investigated (Iran, Turkey and Pakistan) and this is at least partly related to the specific migration history of the immigrant groups. From Turkey and Pakistan, immigration started in the late 1960s and continued in the beginning of the 1970s, where male immigrants from the two countries (together with male immigrants from the former Yugoslavia) came to Denmark to work as unskilled workers ('guest workers') in the Danish manufacturing industry. In 1973, Denmark tightened its labour recruitment policy and introduced measures to reduce the influx of foreigners.[2] After 1973, only two major channels of legal immigration from non-Western countries to Denmark remained: family reunification and asylum (Bauer, Larsen & Matthiessen 2004). Many of the male guest workers stayed in Denmark and brought their families to the country. Moreover, many of the children of the Turkish and Pakistani guest workers have continued to find their spouses in the country of origin (Schmidt & Jakobsen 2000).

In the second half of the 1980s and in the 1990s, immigration to Denmark increased. Family reunions (especially from Turkey and Pakistan) were still part of the picture, but the number of refugees seeking asylum also increased strongly. The immigration from Iran was part of an extensive increase in the number of refugees coming to Denmark in the second half of the 1980s together with refugees from Iraq, Lebanon and Sri Lanka; while in the 1990s many refugees came from Bosnia-Herzegovina and Somalia (Pedersen & Smith 2002).

After 2000, rules for family reunion and asylum were further tightened and the number of immigrants obtaining residence permits due to family reunion or asylum in Denmark decreased. Instead, immigration became dominated by economic migrants (among others those from East European countries) and by students (Statistics Denmark 2011, Christensen 2010).

The chapter is organised as follows. Section 8.2 describes our hypotheses about the relationship between various background characteristics of both sample persons and interviewers and the probability of contact and cooperation. Sections 8.3 and 8.4 describe the population sampling and the data collection, respectively. Section 8.5 presents the contact, cooperation and response rates in our survey, while section 8.6 presents the results of the estimations of the relationship between the background characteristics and probability of contact, cooperation and response. Finally, section 8.7 concludes the chapter, discussing the main challenges and strategies adopted and their outcomes.

8.2 Hypotheses linking characteristics of sample persons and interviewers with contact and cooperation

The sample person characteristics most widely studied are socio-demographic characteristics, such as age, marital status, household structure, education, employment status, income and urbanisation (Groves & Couper 1998).[3] Widely studied interviewer characteristics are gender, age and experience as an interviewer (Campanelli & O'Muircheartaigh 1999). These factors may affect the contact rate and cooperation rate in different ways. This section describes our hypotheses linking characteristics of sample persons and interviewers with contact and cooperation (a summary of the hypotheses is shown in Table 8.3 in section 8.6).

Characteristics of sample persons and contacts

The probability of making contact with the sample persons may be related to the time they spend at home. Likewise, the time spent at home may be correlated with characteristics of the sample persons. For example, people who are busy with activities outside of the home (e.g. work and education) will be more difficult to contact (Abraham, Maitland & Bianchi 2006). This is in accordance with previous studies, which have shown that students and employed persons are more difficult to reach than those outside the labour force and those who are unemployed, just as people who work long hours are more difficult to reach than people who work part-time (Stoop 2004, Abraham et al. 2006). Time spent on activities outside the home, such as engagement in sports, may also be related to age. Empirical studies typically find that contact rates are lowest

for young people (Groves & Couper 1998; Stoop 2004; Abraham et al. 2006).

The family or household structure may also matter for contact probability. The larger the number of adults in the household, the larger the probability of establishing contact with someone who can then give information about the sample person (e.g. mobile phone number) or information about when the sample person is at home (Groves & Couper 1998). The implication is that singles are more difficult to contact (Stoop 2004). In addition, the presence of young children may affect the contact probability if households with young children have an adult caregiver at home more often than households without young children. Empirical studies thus show that having children in the household has a positive effect on the contact rate (Groves & Couper 1998; Stoop 2004). Furthermore, adult caregivers most often are women, implying that women are easier to contact than men, other things being equal.

Characteristics of the housing conditions and urbanisation may affect the interviewer's probability of getting in contact with the sample person. Special security features, which may limit interviewer access, are typically more widespread in high-crime areas and in blocks of flats (i.e. in urban areas). Empirical studies have found a negative effect of urbanisation on the contact rate (Stoop 2004; Groves & Couper 1998). Living in an urban area may also be correlated with other individual characteristics that affect the probability of contact. For example, time spent outside the home may be higher in urban areas because more entertainment options are available; people in rural areas may be away from home more because of longer commutes; and there may be differences in employment rates and age structures between urban and rural areas.

Thus, we expect that employment, a high level of education (through its positive effect on employment probability), and young age will have negative effects on contact probability, because individuals with these characteristics are at home less often. Urbanisation is also expected to negatively influence contact probability. On the other hand, being married and having children are expected to have positive effects on contact probability.

In addition to the factors that are relevant both for Danes and immigrants, we look at some specific immigrant factors: the greater the number of years since migration and having Danish citizenship are expected to have a negative effect on contact probability for two reasons. One is that both factors are positively related to economic assimilation (e.g. employment probability and wage rate) (Ekberg 1994; Chiswick, Cohen & Zach 1997; Husted, Nielsen, Rosholm & Smith 2001). The other is that both factors may be positively related to participation in cultural and sports activities in the local community, thereby suggesting lower contact probabilities after controlling for the employment situation.[4] Another very important factor for the immigrants is language problems, which may make contact

more difficult. Not only communicating with the sample person, but also getting information about the sample person (e.g. from a spouse) will likely be more difficult. Hence, the effect of marriage on contact probability may be smaller for immigrants than for native Danes.

Characteristics of sample persons and survey cooperation

Our expectations regarding the relationship between sample person-specific characteristics and the probability of cooperation are based on the social isolation hypothesis (see Groves & Couper 1998). According to this hypothesis, social isolates are out of touch with mainstream culture, behaving in accordance either with sub-cultural norms or in rejection of the dominant norms. The hypothesis is that socially isolated persons will be less likely to cooperate with a survey request that represents the broader society (e.g. government agencies).

Individuals with lower socio-economic status are expected to have lower cooperation rates, as they are likely to be alienated from central social institutions. Conversely, individuals with higher socio-economic status may perceive themselves as occupying an important social place and consequently either have a higher sense of civic duty or recognise the value of survey data as a common good. However, the empirical evidence on the relationship between income and education on the one hand and cooperation rates on the other is mixed. For instance, some studies find a positive relationship between the cooperation rate and education, while other studies find the opposite result (Groves & Couper 1998).

The age of sample persons may affect the cooperation rate in different ways. However, the hypotheses concerning age mainly focus on the cooperation rate for the elderly, who are not included in our survey (one hypothesis is that the elderly have lower cooperation rates because of disengagement; another hypothesis is that the elderly have a higher sense of civic duty, leading to higher cooperation). With respect to gender, most studies find either no gender effect on the cooperation rate or lower cooperation rates for men. The explanations for the latter can also be related to the social isolation hypothesis, if women take more responsibility for social relations than men (Groves & Couper 1998).

The social isolation hypothesis also predicts that household indicators affect cooperation: people living in single-person households are expected to have lower cooperation rates (tendency to social isolation), households with children tend to have higher cooperation rates (through schools and networks of friends) and those living in large blocks of flats have lower cooperation rates (less contact with neighbours, greater transience). Thus, sample persons in urban areas are likely to have lower cooperation rates than those in rural areas, because large blocks of flats are urban phenomena. Empirical studies show without exception that the presence of children

increases the cooperation rate, while the evidence with respect to single-person households is mixed (Groves & Couper 1998).

Ethnicity (here measured by country of origin) may also effect the cooperation rate, for example, if the ethnic minorities not do feel accepted by the majority society. Therefore, we expect that belonging to an ethnic minority group will have a negative effect on the cooperation rate (after controlling for demographic and socio-economic factors which are correlated with ethnicity).

Given the social isolation hypothesis, we expect being employed, having a high level of education, living in rural areas, being married and having children have positive effects on the cooperation rate. The number of years since migration and having Danish citizenship are also expected to have a positive effect on the cooperation rate, as these factors are related to the assimilation of immigrants into Danish society, while belonging to an ethnic minority group is expected to have a negative effect on the cooperation rate.

Characteristics of interviewers and non-response

No matter whether interviews are carried out by telephone or face-to-face, they involve both an interviewee and an interviewer, and it is natural to expect that the interviewer may unintentionally affect the response rate. For instance, the interviewer's expectations of and attitudes towards non-response may influence the response rate (Campanelli & O'Muircheartaigh 1999). Although we have no information on the expectations and the attitudes of interviewers, socio-demographic characteristics of the interviewers and interviewers' experience may affect their expectations and behaviour and therefore the response rate (Groves & Couper 1998). One study thus found that female interviewers are more likely than male interviewers to be perceived as friendly. However, little empirical evidence supports the view that female interviewers in general have higher response rates.

Results concerning the age of the interviewers are also mixed (Campanelli & O'Muircheartaigh 1999). Interviewer experience is supposed to have a positive effect on the response rate (Groves & Couper 1998). Pickery and Loosveldt (2002) find that both the chances of refusals and non-contacts are subject to interviewer effects and that the experience of the interviewer is particularly important.

8.3 Population sampling of immigrants and Danes

This section discusses the sampling of the survey analysed. The sampling was based on the Danish population register. In Denmark, every individual is assigned a personal identity number that is registered in the Danish

National Register of Persons (CPR). The CPR includes all individuals born in Denmark as well as individuals moving to Denmark and expecting to stay in the country for at least three months. Coverage of the CPR is approximately 99.9 per cent. The existence of the CPR register makes it possible to directly sample among individuals in the target population and, thus, the gross sample is representative of the targeted population.

The sample was drawn in January 2006. The gross sample included a representative sample of approximately 1,000 immigrants from Iran, 1,000 immigrants from Pakistan, and 1,000 immigrants from Turkey, as well as a representative sample of approximately 1,100 Danes. All persons included were 18-45 years of age and the immigrants included all came to Denmark before 1 January 2006. A total of 4,045 individuals were selected for the survey.

The selection of immigrants from the three countries is based on the definition of immigrants in the Danish administrative registers. All individuals in the Danish registers are placed in three categories: immigrants, descendants and native Danes. Immigrants are defined as persons who are foreign born and whose parents are foreign born or have a foreign citizenship. Descendants of immigrants are defined as persons born in Denmark, whose parents are foreign born or have a foreign citizenship. Native Danes (Danes for short) are defined as persons, who have at least one parent who is born in Denmark and is a Danish citizen (Pedersen 1991). In addition, all immigrants and descendants are linked with their country of origin – based on country of birth or mother's country of birth. For the survey, only immigrants and Danes were sampled while descendants were excluded. To summarise, the sampling was done by linking information on personal identity numbers (CPR), immigrant status (immigrant or native Dane), country of origin for the immigrants (Iran, Pakistan and Turkey) and age (18-45 years).

In addition to the sampling information, the Danish administrative registers include information on a large range of issues. This information is available for all individuals in the gross sample, regardless of whether they responded to the survey. This provides us with a unique opportunity for analysing the distribution of various background characteristics for respondents compared to non-respondents. The information available from the administrative registers used in the analysis include gender, age, family situation, region, citizenship, education obtained in Denmark, employment history in Denmark and years since migration. All of these background variables are from 2006, except for the variables on education and employment, for which the latest available information is from 2005 and 2003, respectively.

8.4 Data collection

Data collection was carried out in relation to a research project on the integration of young immigrants into the Danish educational system and the labour market. The questionnaire included questions about family structure, years since migration, education (in both Denmark and the country of origin), employment, working hours, job search, working experience, proficiency in Danish, social networks, housework, religion, and attitudes towards employment and gender roles. The length of the questionnaire was approximately forty minutes.

The survey was announced by an introductory letter stating that an interviewer would contact the sample person by telephone or by visit to make an appointment for the interview. The immigrants received two letters: one in Danish and one in Farsi, Urdu or Turkish. The interview was primarily to be carried out in Danish, but the sample persons were informed that if this was too difficult, the interview could also be carried out in Farsi, Urdu or Turkish. For this purpose, the questionnaire was translated into the three languages.

The interviewing was done by a professional interviewer from the survey organisation (SFI Survey), either by telephone (CATI) or by face-to-face interviews (CAPI). The data collection was expected to be difficult and, hence, the interviewers were allowed a great deal of flexibility in trying to get in touch with the sample persons. The suggested starting point from the survey organisation was that the interviewer try to make contact by telephone at least six times at different hours of the day and on different days of the week. If the interview could not be done by telephone, the interviewer was to try to make an appointment for a visit. If telephone contact did not work, the interviewer was to visit the address at least three times. But as mentioned, the interviewers were allowed to make their own judgements and, for instance, start by making visits to the address if they believed this to be more feasible (and also if no telephone number could be found). Furthermore, if the interview could not be carried out in Danish the interviewer could pass on the sample person to an interviewer speaking the relevant language (the majority of interviewers were only Danish-speaking). Finally as the last alternative, the interviewer could leave a questionnaire at the address with a stamped addressed envelope for self-completion.

A relatively long data-collection period was planned, from February until June 2006. However, by June the response rate was unacceptably low, especially among the immigrants from Pakistan. A main reason for the poor result was, among others, that language proved to be a larger obstacle than expected. In principle, the possibility to pass on interviews to bilingual interviewers would imply that no interviews were given up due to language problems. In reality, however, this created logistical problems as

well as queues. In addition, for some interviewers, data collection was so difficult that they more or less gave up. Therefore, the survey organisation decided to extend data collection until November 2006 and, furthermore, many sample persons were reassigned to other interviewers.

A number of variables regarding the data collection are available from the survey organisation. This includes the mode of data collection. The majority of the completed interviews were carried out by CATI – 93 per cent of the interviews for the Danes and between 67 and 76 per cent for the immigrants. A large part of this difference is due to the language problem, as almost no interviews were carried out by telephone in languages other than Danish. Language problems were especially prevalent among the Turkish immigrants, with 43 per cent of the Turkish women and 37 per cent of the men interviewed by a Turkish-speaking interviewer. Among the immigrants from Pakistan, the figures were almost as high. Some 38 per cent of the Pakistani women and 33 per cent of the men were interviewed by an Urdu-speaking interviewer. The figures for the Iranian immigrants were lower, with 27 per cent of the women and 21 per cent of the men interviewed in Farsi. The number of interviews done in a language other than Danish was substantially higher than expected and points to the necessity of having enough bilingual interviewers for such a data collection effort.

In addition to the mode of data collection, we have information about reasons for non-response, if applicable, and number of contact tries. Furthermore, we have information about the interviewers from the survey organisation (SFI Survey), including their age, gender, experience as an interviewer (tenure in the survey organisation), and the number of interviews the interviewer was assigned. As mentioned, some of the sample persons were reassigned to other interviewers during the data-collection period. Unfortunately, in these cases we only have information about the last interviewer assigned to the sample person. Likewise, we do not know how many different interviewers each sample person was assigned to during the interviewing period.

8.5 Response and non-response rates

The response rates are much lower for the immigrant groups than for Danes (Table 8.1). This clearly demonstrates that the immigrant groups are more difficult to survey than the native population. However, the response rate also varies greatly across immigrant groups. Roughly speaking, the response rate is approximately 80 per cent for the Danes, 55 per cent for the Turks, 60 per cent for the Iranians, and 40 per cent for the Pakistanis. Gender, on the other hand, does not appear to be important. The only group with a significant gender difference in response rates is the Danes: women have a higher response rate than men (Table 8.1).

Table 8.1 *Response and non-response (%)*

	Denmark		*Iran*		*Pakistan*		*Turkey*	
	Men	*Women*	*Men*	*Women*	*Men*	*Women*	*Men*	*Women*
Response (completed and partial interviews)	76.9	82.0	62.7	64.9	41.4	42.3	55.0	55.3
Non-response	23.1	18.0	37.4	35.1	58.6	57.9	45.0	44.7
Causes of non-response:								
Non-contact	8.2	4.1	16.8	14.4	32.8	29.7	16.1	12.6
Refusals	13.6	12.8	13.4	14.4	16.9	17.1	22.9	25.5
Other reasons	1.3	1.1	7.2	6.4	9.0	11.0	6.0	6.6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of observations	536	562	573	390	510	475	516	483

*Source: Enrolment in Education and Jobs among Immigrants 2006 (*www.dda.dk)

Furthermore, we find marked differences across the four groups with respect to causes of non-response. We divide the non-response into three categories: 'non-contacts', 'refusals' and 'other reasons'. Generally, the share of non-contacts is much larger for the immigrants than for the Danes, as the interviewers experienced greater difficulties in making contact with immigrants than with Danes. Pakistani immigrants were especially difficult to contact: the share of non-contacts for Pakistani immigrants is about twice the share of each of the other two immigrant groups. Refusals, however, appear to be greatest among the Turkish immigrants. Indeed, the share of refusals is relatively similar among Danes, Iranians and Pakistanis.

The two non-response categories 'refusals' and 'other reasons' are broken down into sub-categories, which give us more information about the causes of non-response.[5] The dominant 'refusals' sub-categories are 'refusal due to lack of time' (especially among men) and 'refusal for other reasons'. Furthermore, for 4-5 per cent of the Turkish and Pakistani women, their husbands refused on their behalf (whereas no woman refused on behalf of her husband). This situation poses a special problem for the interviewers, who have to convince another person to allow the interview before they get the chance to convince the actual sample person.

'Other reasons' includes sample persons who could not participate in the survey because they were ill, hospitalised, away from home, disabled or deceased, had moved out of the country or because of language problems. Non-response due to 'other reasons' is a greater problem among the immigrants than among the Danes (Table 8.1). The immigrants are more likely to have either temporarily left the country or be unable to participate because of language problems. Whereas language problems were seldom a reason for non-response among the immigrants from Iran and for the men from Pakistan and Turkey, about 5 per cent of the women from Pakistan and Turkey could not be interviewed because of language problems. In

principle, the language problem category should not exist because of the availability of bilingual interviewers, but as described earlier, the great need for bilingual interviewers created some logistical problems and queues. An additional problem might have been that some of the immigrants only spoke a minority group language, such as Kurdish.

To capture the probability of making contact with the sample persons and the willingness of the sample persons to participate in the survey, in this chapter we focus on the cooperation rate and the contact rate, together with the overall response rate. The cooperation rate is the share of interviewed out of the total number of those who were interviewed plus those who refused to be interviewed. The contact rate is the share of sample persons that the interviewers made contact with out of the total number of sample persons. The response rate is defined as the number of completed and partially completed interviews as a share of the total number of sample persons.

Table 8.2 shows the contact rate, cooperation rate and response rate for the four groups split into men and women. As mentioned, the contact rate is lower for immigrants than for the majority population, a result in accordance with other European studies (Feskens, Hox, Lensvelt-Mulders & Schmeets 2006). However, unlike Feskens et al. (2006), we do not find that the cooperation rate is higher for immigrants. On the contrary, we find that the cooperation rate is lower for immigrants than for Danes (although the cooperation rate for the Iranian immigrants is close to the Danish rate). Furthermore, notice that the cooperation rate is nearly the same for Turks and Pakistanis. Thus, the two groups do not differ much with respect to refusals given contact. Differences in the composition of the immigrant groups between Denmark and other European countries may explain why cooperation rates for immigrants are lower than for the native population in Denmark.

Table 8.2 *Response, contact, refusal and cooperation rates (%)*

	Denmark		*Iran*		*Pakistan*		*Turkey*	
	Men	*Women*	*Men*	*Women*	*Men*	*Women*	*Men*	*Women*
Response rate	76.9	82.0	62.7	64.9	41.4	42.3	55.0	55.3
Contact rate	91.8	95.9	83.2	85.6	67.2	70.3	83.9	87.4
Cooperation rate	85.0	86.5	82.3	81.9	71.0	71.3	70.7	68.5

Source: Enrolment in Education and Jobs among Immigrants, 2006 (www.dda.dk)
Note: The calculations of the response, contact and cooperation rates are based on the standard definitions issued by the American Association for Public Opinion Research (AAPOR 2006). The cooperation rate we use is cooperation rate 4. Response rate = (I+P)/(I+P+R+NC+O); Contact rate = (I+P+R+O)/(I+P+R+O+NC); Cooperation rate = (I+P)/(I+P+R). I=Completed interview, P=Partial interview, R=Refusal and break-off, NC=Non-contact, O=Other

Overall, our results confirm that surveying immigrants is a challenge both for contact and for cooperation and that large variations exist across groups. That country-specific experiences should not be generalised to all immigrant groups is very clear; for example, Iranian immigrants are much more similar to Danes with respect to non-response than the Pakistani and Turkish immigrants.

8.6 Analyses of contact, cooperation and response

The previous section has shown that the two largest components of non-response are non-contacts and refusals; a result in accordance with most surveys. As mentioned in earlier, different types of non-response are likely to have different causes and different consequences. In the empirical analyses, we focus on the determinants of contact and cooperation to learn more about the causes of non-response and about the bias that results from non-response. In the model, we included sample person-specific variables as well as interviewer-specific variables. However, we found little impact from the interviewer-specific variables (age, gender, experience as an interviewer and number of interviews per interviewer) and therefore show only the results for the sample person-specific variables.[6]

The explanatory variables for the sample persons include information on gender, age, family situation (couple/single, no children/children) and region (Copenhagen/other urban/rural). As mentioned, these register variables are from 2006. Education is from 2005 and consists of the official duration of education obtained in Denmark. While there is some information in the registers about education obtained outside Denmark, the quality and coverage of this information is poor. Instead, we include a dummy variable for everybody without Danish education. Employment status is from November 2003 (the latest available information). For a minor share of the sample, no employment information is available – primarily because some immigrants were not in Denmark in 2003 but had immigrated or re-immigrated in 2004 or 2005.

For the immigrants, we include two specific variables: years since migration and having Danish citizenship (having Danish citizenship/not having Danish citizenship). The latest information in the registers regarding time of immigration is from 2004; however, using other register information we can identify individuals who immigrated in 2005. Consequently, 'years since immigration' is only unknown for about 1 per cent of the immigrant sample.

Our expectations of the impact of the sample person characteristics on contact probability and cooperation probability, respectively, are summarised in Table 8.3 and follow the discussion in section 8.2. Column 1 shows our expectations regarding contacts and column 2 shows those related to

Table 8.3 *Overview of hypotheses linking characteristics of sample persons with contact, cooperation and response*

	(1) Contact	*(2) Cooperation*	*(3) Response*
Gender (men opposed to women)	-	(-)	-
Age	+	?	?
Couple (as opposed to single)	+	+	+
Children	+	+	+
Urban (as opposed to rural)	-	-	-
Education	-	+	?
Employment	-	+	?
Years since migration	-	+	?
Danish citizenship	-	+	?
Country of origin (origin in Turkey, Iran or Pakistan opposed to origin in Denmark)	?	-	?

Source: Authors' own elaboration

cooperation. Overall response is a weighted average of contact and cooperation. If the bias in contact and cooperation point in different directions, the results may be that the overall response is unbiased. However, if a factor has a negative impact on both contact and cooperation, we would expect the factor to also have a negative impact on response rate (column 3 in Table 8.3).

The immigrants and the Danes differ with respect to the distribution of the characteristics in Table 8.3 and these differences in characteristics may be part of the explanation of the between-group differences in the contact and cooperation rates.[7] The immigrants from Pakistan and Turkey have lower employment rates and fewer years of education than Danes. According to the hypotheses this should imply higher contact rates and lower cooperation rates for immigrants than for Danes (other things being equal). Furthermore, a greater proportion of the immigrants from Turkey and Pakistan live in urban areas (especially the Pakistanis), which should imply lower contact and cooperation rates. They are also married and have children in greater proportion than Danes, which should imply higher contact and cooperation rates for immigrants. The Iranian immigrants also have lower employment rates than Danes, but are very similar to the Danes with respect to years of education. Furthermore, they are single and without children in greater proportion than Danes. However, as this survey demonstrates, the differences in composition of the four groups do not explain the large differences in contact and cooperation rates between the groups.

Results

The estimation results for the pooled sample of immigrants and Danes are shown in Table 8.4. Apparently, to a great extent there are different

characteristics that affect contact and cooperation. Furthermore, the characteristics that affect either cooperation or contact also affect overall response (one exception is gender).

The demographic variables affect the probability of contact and response, but not the probability of cooperation. We find that contact is more likely for the age group 18-29 years compared to the left-out category, 30-39 years. Although young people are typically considered to be more difficult to contact, this assumption is not confirmed here and we find that being young is associated with a higher response rate. The contact probability is higher for women than men. In accordance with our hypotheses we also find that individuals who live in couples and have children are easier to contact and have a higher response rate.

Several studies have shown that urbanisation has a negative effect on the probability of contacting the sample persons. We likewise find that the probability of contact is significantly lower in Copenhagen than in other areas. Yet, no significant difference exists between the response in other urban and rural areas. Besides a negative influence on the probability of

Table 8.4 *Probability of contact, cooperation and response, pooled sample*

	Contact	*Cooperation*	*Response*
Women	0.2834**	-0.0005	0.1024
Age group: 18-29	0.5069***	0.1875	0.2735***
Age group: 40-45	0.2181	0.0802	0.0989
Single	-0.5831***	-0.0635	-0.3313***
Children	0.3370**	0.1218	0.2304**
Copenhagen	-1.3747***	-0.5909***	-0.8731***
Rural area	0.2322	-0.0428	0.0177
Danish education (in years)	0.0487	0.0713**	0.0613***
No Danish education	0.5198	0.4558	0.3736
Non-employed	-0.1844	-0.1864***	-0.2784***
Employment unknown	-0.1211	0.9187	0.2607
Years since migration	0.0052	0.0005	0.0063
Years since migration unknown	0.4263	-2.1114***	-1.5050***
Danish citizen	0.2664*	-0.0356	0.2318**
Iran	-0.6427***	0.0068	-0.5301***
Pakistan	-1.1389***	-0.1864	-0.8772***
Turkey	-0.3608	-0.4941**	-0.8181***
Interviewer-variables	Yes	Yes	Yes
Constant	2.7325***	0.7908	0.6102
Number of level 1 units	3,836	3,098	3,836
Number of level 2 units	55	53	55
Log L	-1,218	-1,495	-2,172

Sources: Enrolment in Education and Jobs among Immigrants, 2006 (www.dda.dk) and register data from Statistics Denmark

Note: The model applied is a logistic random intercept model. *significant at 10%, ** significant at 5%, *** significant at 1%

contact, living in Copenhagen also has a negative effect on the probability of cooperation. Thus, as expected, living in a metropolitan area has a strong negative effect on the response.

We do not find any effect of 'years since migration' and socio-economic status – measured by education and employment variables – on the contact probability. Thus our expectation that employed people, for example, would be more difficult to contact because they spend more hours away from home than unemployed people, is not confirmed. We do, however, find a positive effect on contact probability of having Danish citizenship, a factor that is related to economic assimilation. On the other hand, years of education and employment have – in agreement with the social isolation hypothesis – a positive influence on cooperation. Those with a Danish citizenship, several years of education and employment have a relative high response rate.

The country dummies show that, after controlling for all other factors, the contact probability is lower for immigrants from Pakistan and Iran than for Danes.[8] The contact rate is lower in all the three immigrant groups than for Danes (see Table 8.2). However, for the immigrants from Turkey this result is attributable to the characteristics included in the model. On the other hand, the probability of cooperation is lower for immigrants from Turkey than for the other groups. That immigrants from some countries have a lower cooperation rate is in accordance with the isolation hypothesis. The probability of response is lower for all three immigrant groups than for Danes.[9]

We can summarise the bias in overall response as follows: being young, living in couples and having children, more years of education, being employed and having Danish citizenship increase the probability of response, while living in Copenhagen has a negative influence on the probability of response. Furthermore, the country dummies for Iran, Turkey and Pakistan are also significant – having controlled for all other variables, immigrants from the three countries exhibit lower response rates than Danes.

8.7 Challenges and strategies

In this survey, both contact rates and cooperation rates are lower for immigrants than for Danes, leading to a significantly lower overall response rate. Furthermore, we found important differences between groups: the immigrants from Pakistan are especially difficult to contact, and cooperation is low among immigrants from both Turkey and Pakistan. In addition, language is extremely important, as a particularly large share of women from Turkey and Pakistan could not be interviewed in Danish.

To learn more about the causes of non-response, we analysed the determinants of the probability of contact and the probability of cooperation,

respectively. To learn more about the bias resulting from non-response, we analysed the determinants of overall non-response. We found that the characteristics of the sample persons are important for both the contact rate and the cooperation rate, and that different factors highly affect contact and cooperation. Gender, age and family structure significantly affect contact, while education and employment – in accordance with the social isolation hypothesis – affect cooperation. Living in Copenhagen has a negative effect on both contact and cooperation. The characteristics of sample persons that significantly affect either contact or cooperation also significantly affect overall response. Furthermore, we found that the lower probability of response among immigrants when compared to Danes persists after controlling for all the other variables. Thus, the results clearly show bias in the overall response rate with respect to characteristics of the sample persons, along with a 'country-of-origin' factor beyond the factors that we can include in the model. It should be noted, however, that non-response will also be influenced by other characteristics of the sample persons than those included in the register data. Such variables, for example, proficiency in Danish or having a network including native Danes, could explain the 'country of origin' factor.

Finally, another result is the lack of impact of the interviewer-specific variables. Unquestionably, the individual interviewer is important for the data-collecting process, but this impact cannot be measured by the type of very aggregate information that is available about the interviewers in this survey. It is worth noting that the gender of the interviewer did not affect the probability of achieving a successful interview. Female interviewers did not have more luck with female sample persons than male interviewers. However, the interviewers faced another problem: the husbands of 4-5 per cent of the Turkish and Pakistani women included in the sample refused participation on their behalf.

The analysis clearly points to the need to tailor surveys directed at immigrant groups to avoid response bias. Furthermore, the effort to reduce bias in overall response should focus on the contact phase as well as the persuasion phase.

When it comes to the contact problems it remains a puzzle why the immigrants from Pakistan were especially difficult to contact. Interviews were completed for only 40 per cent of the persons of Pakistan origin in the sample, and the proportion of non-contacts was twice that for the other groups of immigrants. The vast majority of the population of Pakistani origin in Denmark is living in the Copenhagen area. It was also more difficult for the interviewers to make contact with the selected persons among native Danes living in Copenhagen. But the difficulties were vastly greater among the Pakistanis than among the native Danes, and they cannot be explained by differences in individual characteristics as demonstrated above. A solution might be to earmark resources to allow interviewers additional

time to trace people, for example, by asking neighbours or others. Another solution might be to prolong the period for data collection in order to make contact with persons who have travelled to their country of origin.

When it comes to cooperation problems it remains a puzzle why a relatively large number of immigrants from Pakistan as well as from Turkey refuse to participate in surveys. One countermove might be to rethink how the purpose of a survey is presented in the introduction letter sent out before first contact.

It is certainly also important to address language problems. We have no information about knowledge of Danish among the sample persons, and even if we did try to find solutions we cannot rule out that language was a hindrance to cooperation. As described above, a large number of immigrants, especially women from Turkey and Pakistan, were interviewed by a bilingual interviewer. However, some interviews were never completed due to a lack of trained bilingual interviewers. It is certainly a challenge for the survey organisation to recruit and train bilingual interviewers with knowledge of the languages of the major immigrant groups. This problem might be complicated by the fact that bilingual interviewers (according to the interviewers) sometimes have more difficulty in achieving interviews with persons of other immigrant groups than would native Danish interviewers. In addition, interviewers from the same country of origin may have difficulties in gaining the trust of the sample persons – again, according to some interviewers. In small, local immigrant communities, where everybody knows everybody, respondents may fear gossip in their community and might rather prefer a native Danish interviewer. More knowledge about these issues is important in order to increase response rates in future surveys.

Notes

1 The name of the survey referred to here is 'Indvandrere i uddannelse og job, 2006' (Enrolment in education and jobs among immigrants, 2006). The survey data are available from the Danish Data Archive (www.dda.dk). The register data from Statistics Denmark are, however, restricted access.

2 Since the 1960s, Denmark has experienced positive net immigration as opposed to the period between World War II and the 1960s, during which Denmark experienced net emigration (Bauer et al. 2004).

3 Groves and Couper (1998) categorise urbanisation under the category 'societal environment'.

4 Other things being equal, we expect a person's network to be larger the longer the person has lived in the local community.

5 The distribution on all sub-categories appears in Deding et al. (2008).

6 We apply logistic random multi-level models – more precisely a logistic random intercept model to analyse the determinants of contacts, cooperation and response. For the estimations, we use the Stata Program GLLAMM (see e.g. Rabe-Hesketh et al. 2005).

7 The mean values of all the variables are shown in Deding et al. (2008).
8 That the lower contact rate for the immigrant groups is not solely attributable to a higher concentration of immigrants in Copenhagen is confirmed by separate estimation for Copenhagen (see Deding et al. 2008).
9 With the sample divided into four subgroups, the findings are highly similar to the pooled sample. Which variables are significant differs from group to group (in many cases due to the small sample size). However, there are a few differences compared to the pooled sample (see Deding et al. 2008).

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PART III

INCLUDING IMMIGRANTS IN GENERAL POPULATION SOCIAL SURVEYS

DOI: 10.4324/9781003704577_PT03

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9 Immigration and general population surveys in Spain: The CIS surveys

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9.1 Introduction

The arrival of significant immigration flows to Spain in the last two decades has been identified by many scholars as the factor with the greatest potential to trigger social and political transformations in Spain (Cebolla & González-Ferrer 2008; González-Enríquez 2009; Reher & Silvestre 2009).

Two traits characterise the way in which Spain has become a country of immigration: intensity and speed. This has created challenges in a number of areas, such as the design of public policies, provision of public services and absorption of a new labour force by the economy. A third trait worth mentioning is that Spain, in addition to being the destination of migrants from less developed countries seeking a job and better living conditions, has also been chosen as a (semi) permanent home by a considerable number of people from developed countries, primarily from the European Union. These are mostly retired persons and they are concentrated on the Mediterranean coast and the Canary Islands.

Immigration has also had an impact in the field of social and political surveys. As the presence of immigrants in Spain has grown, so too has interest in knowing the attitudes and opinions of Spaniards regarding this new phenomenon. More recently, there has been a rising demand for more knowledge about the socio-demographic profile, values and attitudes of the immigrant population.

Unlike other chapters in this book, which focus on surveys specifically addressed to immigrants and ethnic minorities, the main objective of this chapter is to analyse the extent to which the growing presence of a foreign or foreign-born population is affecting the work of a large institution which carries out a range of different types of surveys and has research goals not related to immigration. It reviews how the Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas (CIS, Sociological Research Centre) has faced the implications of the presence of significant numbers of immigrants in general population surveys. CIS is a public institution whose main task for more than thirty years has been to carry out public opinion surveys. Every year it carries out more than thirty surveys on different topics. Among these, there

DOI: 10.4324/9781003704577_CH09

are regular surveys such as monthly public opinion barometers which have a series of fixed questions that are repeated, evaluating the political and economic situation and identifying what is perceived to be the three most important problems Spain faces. Every three months a survey evaluating the government's performance is carried out, rating ministers, evaluating the main party in the opposition as well as asking questions on voting intentions.

This chapter will first look at how the target population of many of the surveys carried out by CIS has changed from including only those holding Spanish nationality to including all of the resident population (i.e., including foreigners). It will also look at the outcome of this change in terms of the presence of the foreign/immigrant population among the survey respondents. In addition, a detailed analysis is presented of the response rates of both Spaniards and the foreign population in the Spanish version of the *International Social Survey Programme* survey on religion, which was carried out in 2008. From that experience, the different potential barriers to the participation of immigrants in surveys are examined.

9.2 Immigrant population and CIS surveys

The topic of immigration has been present in the work of CIS since the very beginning of this phenomenon in Spain, especially in monitoring the perceptions and attitudes of Spaniards towards this issue. The first surveys on the topic date back to the early 1990s, when the percentage of immigrants in the total population was still very low. Since then, many surveys have been devoted to measuring and analysing the attitudes of Spaniards towards immigration, particularly after 2000, when it became a salient issue in the public agenda.

CIS was also an early pioneer in carrying out surveys specifically addressed to the immigrant/foreign population in Spain. In 1996 it did a survey of immigrants who were going through the process of regularisation of their residence in Spain. A year later it did a survey of Moroccans and Senegalese living in Spain within the project 'Push and Pull Factors of International Migration' led by NIDI/Eurostat. The main aim of that initiative was to study the push and pull factors determining international migration flows, surveying individuals in both sending and receiving countries.[2]

More recently, in 2007 the interest of CIS in surveying immigrant populations continued with a survey carried out in Arganda del Rey, a municipality on the outskirts of Madrid characterised by a high percentage of foreign population, particularly Romanians. The aim of the survey was to obtain data in order to analyse the attitudes and behaviour of Romanians regarding electoral participation (in the 2007 local elections) as well as their associational patterns. The design of the survey included a control

sample of the rest of the nationalities residing in the municipality (mainly Spaniards), so as to gain greater insight in the interpretation and analysis of the data obtained for the Romanian residents. A final example of the work of CIS in studying immigrant populations is a qualitative study based on focus groups, whose aim was to get a panorama of the attitudes and discourses of immigrant groups regarding their participation in different aspects of economic, social and political life in Spain (Colectivo IOÉ 2010).

In conclusion, CIS was a pioneer in Spain in including immigration as a major concern in its surveys, both those that measure attitudes of Spaniards towards immigrants and immigration and also, albeit to a lesser extent, in carrying out surveys to find out the profile, attitudes and values of (certain groups within) the immigrant population. However, as this chapter will show, it is only in the last decade that we have really begun to see the impact of the presence of immigrants on the way that CIS carries out its main surveys addressed to the general population.

Definition of the target population in CIS general population surveys

In general, 'the Spanish population' is the universe of the surveys done by CIS since its creation in 1977, and of its predecessor, Instituto de Opinión Publica (Public Opinion Institute). This has been the definition used in virtually all of the methodological reports of the surveys done since the 1970s. This does not appear to be an intentional decision, made to adjust the population of interest to people holding Spanish nationality. Initially, the percentage of foreign population residing in Spain was so small that in practical terms referring to the 'Spanish population' was equivalent to the 'resident population in Spain'.

The increasing presence of a foreign/immigrant population during the past decade changed the implications of the term 'Spanish population', meaning people who hold Spanish nationality. Thus, a survey addressed to the 'Spanish population', following the traditional definition used by CIS in its surveys, leaves out of its universe approximately 10 per cent of the population living in Spain (i.e. those that do not have Spanish nationality) as a result of a sort of inertia in the application of a longstanding definition of the population of interest. As a matter of fact, not all immigrants from other countries are excluded using this definition, but only the ones that have not obtained Spanish nationality.

The questioning of this definition came first in the surveys about subjects related to public policies and the provision of public services. As a result, in 2003, for the first time the population universe for the Health Barometer was the resident population in Spain and not just individuals holding Spanish nationality. This is a survey that CIS has been carrying out since the mid-1990s, commissioned by the Ministry of Health. The aim is to obtain information about the performance of health policies and the

degree of user satisfaction with the public and private health service. Since 2003 the target group of this survey has been the resident population.

In addition to this survey, from year to year the number of surveys addressed to the resident population has increased, as well as the variety of topics covered. Surveys have addressed such issues as the evaluation of public services, sexual health and attitudes towards the treatment of terminally ill patients. Thus, an important change in recent years has been that the decision on the target population is no longer 'automatic' or brought about by inertia, but is rather the result of a choice about whether to enlarge the survey to the resident population in order to include non-nationals.

However, in spite of this change, the target population for a good part of the surveys done by CIS is still the Spanish population. This is the case for the monthly barometers described above, as well as for most of the electoral studies that are carried out when regional and general elections are held. This is due to the fact that in these elections voting rights are reserved for those holding Spanish nationality.

In addition to paying more attention to the foreign/immigrant population in the definition of the universe for each survey, some effort has also been made in the adaptation of questionnaires. Although this was previously done sporadically, since 2008 all questionnaires have included at least one question regarding nationality (when a Spanish nationality sample is sought it is the first question so as to identify eligible interviewees). The question includes the option 'double nationality' in the responses, given the high number of people from Latin American countries who may have both Spanish nationality and nationality of their country of origin. Sometimes this question is complemented by others, such as when Spanish nationality was obtained. In surveys addressed to the resident population, there is a question about the country of birth so as to be able to distinguish between native born and immigrants. However, the inclusion of both questions in nearly all surveys is fairly recent, so in many of the surveys already carried out on the resident population there is usually only the question about nationality. This is the reason why in this chapter, when survey data from the CIS is used, we sometimes compare Spaniards to foreigners, and when possible, we compare native born with foreign born.

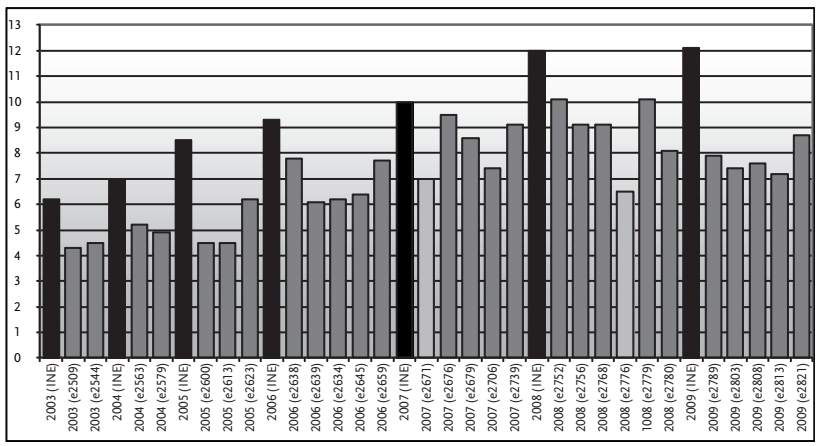
In addition to what has been done regarding questionnaires, some work has begun to check the extent to which some of the fixed socio-demographic questions initially designed in a context of high cultural homogeneity – such as the ones about education level or religious affiliation and practice – can be adapted to better reflect the new diversity brought about by immigration.

The presence of foreign population among the respondents of CIS general population surveys

Changing the definition of the target population from Spanish to resident population is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for the foreign population to be properly represented in public opinion surveys. This section looks at the presence of a foreign population among the respondents of all the surveys that CIS has addressed to the resident population in Spain since 2003. Figure 9.1 shows the percentage of the final respondents that are foreigners in surveys addressed to the resident population aged 18 years and older. The black columns show the percentage of foreigners in the total population aged 18 and older (the target population of the surveys), as provided by the Spanish National Statistics Institute on the basis of the population register ('Padrón'*),* which includes foreigners that are registered (regardless of whether they are legally authorised to reside in Spain).

All the surveys shown in the figure were done face-to-face, and most of the samples, except for two (studies 2671 and 2776), have a similar design and size (2,500-2,600 individuals). They are three-stage stratified samples. Strata are obtained by crossing two classification criteria: the Autonomous

Figure 9.1 *Percentage of foreigners in the total population interviewed in CIS surveys addressed to the resident population (2003-2009)*



Source: Authors' own elaboration with data from CIS Data Bank and from INE
Notes: The number of surveys are provided so that they can be located in the online CIS Data Bank. Black columns show the percentage of foreigners in the total population aged 18 and older (the target population of the surveys). Dark grey columns show percentage of foreigners among survey respondents. Light grey columns are surveys that used full probability samples.

Community (the name given to Spanish regions) and the size of habitat (seven categories: 1-2,000 inhabitants, 2,001-10,000, 10,001-50,000, 50,001-100,000, 100,001-400,000, 400,001-1,000,000, and 1,000,000 and over).[3] Primary (municipalities) and secondary sampling units (census sections) are drawn randomly and proportionally to the population living in each stratum, whereas the final selection of the individual to interview is made following random routes in the census sections included in the sample in order to fulfil a particular quota of individuals classified by sex and age. The two exceptions mentioned are full probability samples, since the final selection of individuals is made randomly from the 'Padrón'.

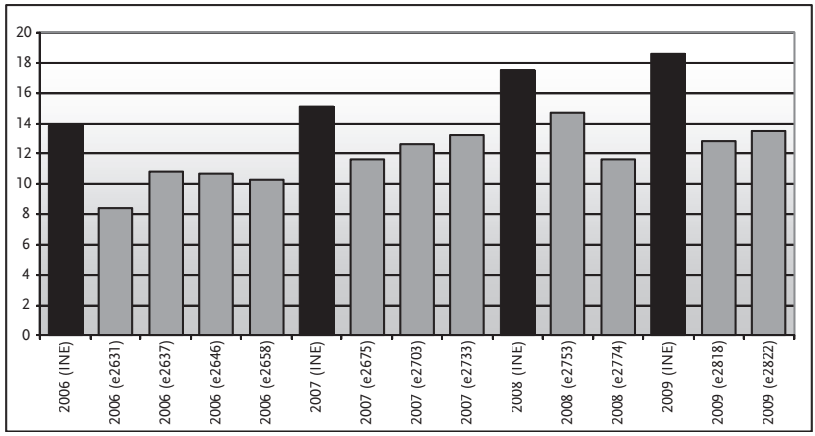
The main conclusion drawn from Figure 9.1 is clear: foreigners are under-represented in CIS surveys. The percentage of foreigners as shown in the light grey columns is always less than the percentage they represent in the total resident population in Spain 18 years and older. There are significant fluctuations in the extent to which this under-representation occurs that seem to bear no relation to the topic of the survey, given that some of the health barometers obtain a better representation in their final samples of foreigners than others.

The year 2009 stands out in particular because of the relatively constant and comparatively poor representation of the foreign population in the surveys done that year. It is not easy to find an explanation for this in the methodology used to carry out the surveys, which is the same as was used in previous years. It could be that during 2009, when the economic crisis was already hitting Spain badly, there was a greater movement of immigrants, either back to their countries or to other countries. If this was the case, the figures from the Population Register would be a less adequate yardstick with which to measure the representativeness of survey respondents than in other years when immigration was growing. These movements are always difficult to know from the 'Padrón', given that people tend to register but not to 'de-register' when they move to a different country. The new rule that registration in the 'Padrón' expires if not confirmed every two years could improve the accuracy of this register to measure the stock of foreign residents in Spain (see chapter 4 in this volume).

The under-representation of foreigners also occurs in the surveys of young people (15-29 years old) that are shown in Figure 9.2: the percentages of foreigners (in lighter grey) is lower than the percentage they constitute of the total population for those ages residing in Spain (black columns). In this case this under-representation seems to have gotten worse beginning in the second half of 2008.

These results fit with what we can expect on the basis of the literature on response rates of foreigners and immigrants. Hypotheses that might explain this have already been discussed in other chapters of this book (see chapters 7 and 8). Among the most important are greater difficulties locating immigrant/foreign population than is the case with autochthonous

Figure 9.2 *Percentage of foreigners in the total population interviewed in CIS surveys addressed to the young resident population 15-29 years of age (2003-2009)*



Source: Authors' own elaboration with data from CIS Data Bank and from INE
Notes: The number of surveys are provided so that they can be located in the online CIS Data Bank. Black columns show the percentage of foreigners in the young resident population aged 15-29 (the target population of the surveys). Dark grey columns show percentage of foreigners among survey respondents.

populations, language difficulties, cultural barriers and lack of trust (particularly in the case of unauthorised immigrants).

When interpreting the data from CIS surveys it has to be kept in mind that so far no changes have been made in the way the fieldwork is carried out to adapt to the presence of foreigners. Interviews are carried out face-to-face in Spanish, and no extra effort is made to hire interviewers with a foreign or immigrant background (though some of them do have such a background).

Table 9.1 contains the main nationalities present among the respondents of all of the face-to-face surveys done by CIS in 2008 which were addressed to the resident population. Figure 9.3 shows the main nationalities among the foreign population and the percentages they represent out of the total resident population according to the 'Padrón'. The nationalities with the highest presence among survey respondents usually match those that are also the most prevalent among the resident population. Thus, Ecuadorians, Romanians and Moroccans are usually the most numerous non-national groups of respondents, and they are also the three main foreign national groups present in Spain according to the official figures. The greater presence of Ecuadorians among survey respondents is probably due to them being native Spanish speakers, but the fact that Romanians and

Table 9.1 *Main foreign nationalities present among respondents in the surveys carried out by CIS of the resident population in Spain (aged 18 years and older) in 2008 (percentages in total final sample)*

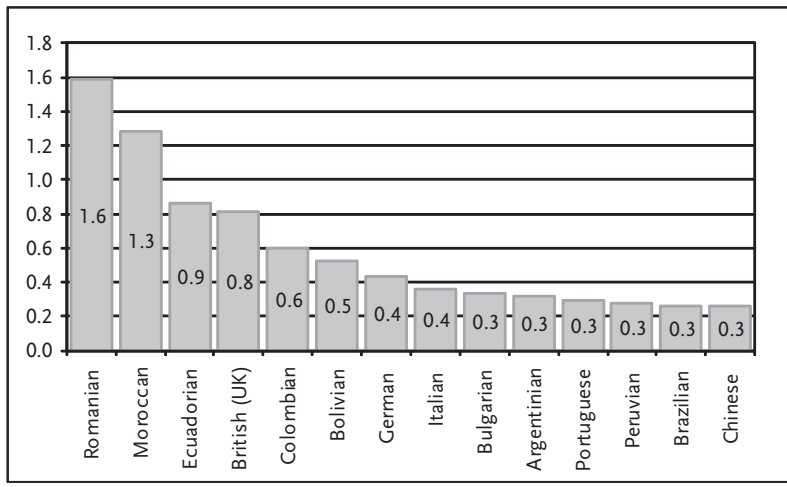
Survey main topic	*Sample size*	*Percentage of foreigners out of total respondents*	*Main nationalities*
Religion	2,500	10.1	Ecuadorian (1.7%) Romanian (1.5%) Moroccan (0.9%) Colombian (0.8%)
Health barometer (1st wave)	2,600	9.1	Romanian (1.6%) Ecuadorian (0.8%) Peruvian (0.8%) Moroccan (0.6%)
Quality of public services	4,550	6.2	Romanian (0.9%) Ecuadorian (0.9%) Colombian (0.8%) Moroccan (0.8%)
Health barometer (2nd wave)	2,600	9.1	Ecuadorian (1.3%) Moroccan (0.9%) Romanian (0.8%) Colombian (0.5%)
Religion (ISSP module)	4,000 (2,373 complete interviews)	7.6	Ecuadorian (1.3%) Moroccan (1%) Romanian (0.9%) Colombian (0.6%)
Health barometer (3rd wave)	2,600	10.1	Ecuadorian (1.1%) Romanian (1%) Moroccan (0.8%) Bolivian (0.7%)
National survey on sexual health	10,000	10.5	Ecuadorian (1.2%) Romanian (1.1%) Colombian (1%) Argentinian (0.9%)

Source: Authors' own elaboration with data from CIS Data Bank

Moroccans are not does not prevent them from being relatively well represented in the final samples. The only exception is the *National Survey on Sexual Health*, for which the three main nationalities present among non-national respondents are Ecuadorians, Romanians and Colombians.

The main explanation for this exception might be related to the topic of the survey, sexual health, which is likely to generate a greater reluctance to participate among Moroccans than among other nationalities. Unfortunately, the data regarding the reasons for refusal to participate did not include the nationality of the person who refused, and therefore it is impossible to verify

Figure 9.3 *Main nationalities among foreigners residing in Spain (percentages over the total population of 18 years old)*



Source: Authors' own elaboration with data from INE

that hypothesis. The fact that there was no gender matching between interviewee and interviewer, so that men would only be interviewed by men and women with women, was probably detrimental for the participation of Moroccan women. According to the pilot test conducted, gender matching was not considered necessary for the target population as a whole, but it might have made certain groups of people/nationalities feel more at ease about participating in the survey.

Another result that is worth pointing out is the practical absence of respondents from the United Kingdom in the surveys analysed. It is the nationality with the greatest under-representation. Individuals of UK origin are the fourth most numerous group but have extremely low participation in surveys. For example, only 0.1 per cent of the respondents of the *National Survey on Sexual Health* were born in the United Kingdom (i.e. 7 respondents out of 9,849), instead of the roughly 0.8 per cent they should have been if nationals from the United Kingdom had been accurately represented in the survey. The under-representation of this group is probably related to the fact that this is generally a population that is geographically concentrated, mainly on the Mediterranean coast and the Canary Islands. This makes it less likely that they will be present in the samples. Secondly, there is their insufficient command of Spanish to consider. A large proportion of this population is retired people living in areas where they can socialise and get by without learning much Spanish. For example, in 2009 nearly half of the UK nationals that resided in Spain were over 55 years old, while in the case of Ecuadorians, Romanians and Moroccans this figure was less than 4 per cent.[4]

All of the surveys included in the tables and figures of this section, except two ('es2671' and 'es2776' in the lightest grey columns in Figure 9.1), use probability sampling to select census sections, but the final selection of the individual to be interviewed is made on the basis of sex and age quotas. This could mean that the lower propensity of foreigners to participate in surveys (due, e.g. to longer working hours, difficulties with language) could result in their under-representation, so they would be 'substituted' with Spaniards. However, as the next section will show, the detailed analysis of one of the two surveys mentioned above, which were done with a full probability sample, prove that this under-representation cannot be attributed to the quotas. In both the 2007 ISSP 'role of government' survey and the 2008 'religion' survey, the percentage of foreigners in total respondents was lower than their actual presence in the probability sample, and lower than in the surveys with sex and age quotas that were carried out more or less during the same period.

9.3 Example of a survey with a nominal probability sample: ISSP 2008 religion survey

This section presents an analysis of the outcomes of the fieldwork of the Spanish ISSP survey on religion, which was carried out in the autumn of 2008. As was pointed out above, unlike other surveys done by CIS, the sample of this survey is probabilistic, so the selection of individuals to interview is made randomly among those residents in each census section included in the sample who are aged 18 years and older (and registered in the population register). This is the same sampling frame used by the Spanish National Statistics Institute for the ENI survey (see chapter 3) and also the one used in other important social attitudes surveys, such as the Spanish edition of the *European Social Survey*.

Table 9.2 shows the profile of the sample used and of the respondents of the survey, according to sex and age group. The foreign population amounts to 12.1 per cent of the sample, more or less in line with the 11.5 per cent that it represented in the total resident population aged 18 and older, according to the official figures. The profile of the foreign population selected corresponds to what is already known about this population. That is, more men than women are included and the age structure tends to be younger than that of the Spanish population, although there are important differences according to nationality.

The percentage of foreigners in the total number of respondents goes down to 7.6 per cent, four points less than in the initial sample. Thus, consistent with the outcomes presented in other chapters in this book, the response rate among foreigners was considerably lower than among Spaniards. While 62.4 per cent of Spaniards included in the sample were

Table 9.2 *Classification of the designed sample and the achieved interviews of the 2008 ISSP survey according to nationality (only main groups), sex and age*

	Spain		*Western Europe*		*Eastern Europe*		*Magreb*		*Latin America*		*Total*	
	Sample	*Respondents*	*Sample*	*Respondents*	*Sample*	*Respondents*	*Sample*	*Respondents*	*Sample*	*Respondents*	*Sample*	*Respondents*
Men	48.7	49.0	53.8	52.6	48.5	44.1	65.0	61.5	49.7	62.2	49.5	49.7
Women	51.3	51.0	46.2	47.4	51.5	55.9	35.0	38.5	50.3	37.8	50.6	50.3
18-24	8.5	8.2	10.8	5.3	15.8	17.6	16.0	19.2	17.7	14.6	9.3	8.7
25-34	18.1	17.3	17.2	21.1	38.6	38.2	35.0	50.0	35.4	35.4	19.8	18.8
34-44	18.9	19.0	14.0	31.6	22.8	26.5	38.0	26.9	23.4	23.2	19.7	19.6
45-54	16.2	16.5	22.6	26.3	19.8	14.7	9.0	3.8	14.9	19.5	16.2	16.5
54-64	14.8	16.1	18.3	15.8	3.0	2.9	1.0		5.1	6.1	13.8	15.3
65 and over	23.4	22.8	17.2	0.0			1.0		3.4	1.2	21.2	21.2
Number of Observations	3,516	2,193	93	19	101	34	71	26	175	82	4,000	2,373
Percentage	87.9	92.4	2.3	0.8	2.5	1.4	1.8	1.1	4.4	3.5	100	100

Source: Authors' own elaboration with data from *ISSP Religion (2008)* (CIS study 2776)

interviewed, only 37 per cent of the foreigners were. Table 9.2 shows important variations in response rate according to nationality, age group and, to a lesser extent, sex.

Regarding nationality, all foreign nationalities are under-represented among the final respondents compared to the initial sample; this is especially the case with individuals from Western European countries. There are also important differences in response rate among Latin Americans, both comparing men and women and different age groups.

Table 9.3 shows a more detailed account of the outcome of each of the cases included in the initial sample. An analysis of these outcomes permits the identification of the main barriers that foreigners/immigrants face in participating in surveys, especially general population surveys that do not tend to have the resources to make special efforts to reach certain groups of the population. Section 9.4 examines these barriers in more detail.

9.4 Immigrant/foreign population in general population surveys: Barriers to participation

Difficulties in locating immigrants and foreign population

The main reason for the lower response rate of foreigners included in the 2008 ISSP survey is the difficulty of locating (and contacting) a large percentage of them. As shown in Table 9.3, among all of the reasons for not carrying out an interview, this is by far the most important one, among both foreigners and Spaniards.

These are especially high non-contact rates compared to other surveys that use a similar methodology, such as the Spanish edition of the *European Social Survey*. The main differences between the two can be explained because the highest level of non-contact in Table 9.3 refers to the cases in which no contact has been established with the person in the sample, even if someone from the same dwelling has been contacted. There are other rules for calculating response rates and criteria for eligibility that are different: for example, having moved to another country is considered a cause for ineligibility in the *European Social Survey*, but not under the rules of the AAPOR (American Association of Public Opinion Research), which are the ones followed by the ISSP.

However, not living at the address under which the person selected in the sample is registered in the 'Padrón' stands out as the main reason for inability to establish contact with the selected person, given that in most cases the person living at the selected address could not or did not want to provide a new address to find the person in the sample. This occurred with 33 per cent of the foreign persons included in the sample, while that figure is just 6 per cent in the case of Spaniards. The higher residential mobility of foreigners is well known; the results of the 2007 Spanish immigrant

Table 9.3 *Detailed outcome of the fieldwork (% of total sample), 2008 ISSP survey on religion*

Outcome	*Spaniards*	*Foreigners*	*Detailed outcome*	*Spaniards*	*Foreigners*
Completed interviews	62.4	37.2		62.4	37.2
Refusal	13.3	3.7	Refusal of the selected person	10.0	2.3
			Refusal to open door	3.1	1.2
Non-contact	19.5	51.9	Empty dwellings	5.4	5.8
			Selected person absent all the times the interviewer visited the dwelling*	4.1	4.3
			Selected person absent during the whole fieldwork period	2.3	5.0
			Selected person does not live in the address under which he/she is registered (sampling frame)	6.0	33.1
			Other reasons for non-contact (difficulty to access the dwelling, not a private dwelling, contact letter returned, etc.)	1.7	3.7
Other non-responses	4.8	7.4	Sickness/death of selected person	3.3	0.4
			Language impediments	0.0	5.6
			Other reasons	1.7	1.4
Total	100	100		100	100
Number of observations	3,516	484		3,516	484

Source: Authors' own elaboration with data from contact sheets of the survey *ISSP Religion (2008)* (CIS study 2776)
Note: All the data refer to the information gathered at the last call the interviewers did with each person in the sample

survey (ENI) showed that nearly three out of four foreigners had changed their address at least once since arriving in Spain (INE 2007: 95). Other research points in the same direction and highlights the great difference with Spaniards, who are characterised by a relatively low residential mobility (Recaño 2002; Recaño & Domingo 2006).

The remaining reasons for not establishing contact have a very low incidence both among Spaniards and foreigners. The only one with a higher incidence among foreigners is 'absent during the fieldwork period', which was applicable to cases in which interviewers were informed, most often

by a third person, that the person selected in the sample would not be at that address for the whole time the fieldwork lasted. These could either be cases where the person selected had in fact moved to a different address, but the informant did not want to say so, or they had gone to their home countries for a visit – such visits often extending a long time (the fieldwork lasted 45 days altogether).

Survey cooperation

The refusal rate among foreigners in the 2008 ISSP study in Spain is 3.5 per cent, a figure substantially lower than that found among Spaniards (13 per cent). These figures include both the refusal of the person selected in the sample and that of another person in the household (e.g. refusing to open the door to the interviewer, or refusing on behalf of the person in the sample). To some extent, this is linked to the greater non-contact rate among foreigners. In other words, logically speaking, if refusal takes place, it is after contact has been established, which is when the person in the sample has to decide whether to participate in the survey.

However, there are other indications that point to a greater disposition on the part of the foreign population to participate in surveys in comparison to native Spaniards, as is the case in other European countries (Feskens, Hox, Lensvelt-Mulders & Schmeets 2006). Some of these indicators can be found in a survey done by CIS in 2009 addressed to the resident population aged 18 and older, which included a number of questions regarding respondents' attitudes towards surveys, their willingness to participate in them, and their preference regarding mode of administration. One of these questions asked respondents why they had agreed to partici-

Table 9.4 *Main reasons to participate in the survey*

	Immigrants	*Spanish (born in Spain)*	*Total sample*
To help the interviewer	45.0*	49.9	49.4
To see what it was like to be interviewed	18.3*	12.7	13.2
Because he/she wanted to give his/her opinion	16.4	17.1	17.0
He/she always participates in surveys when asked	5.7	5.0	5.0
Interested in the topic of the survey	5.0	3.9	4.0
Because it was done by CIS	2.0*	5.9	5.6
Other reasons	3.7	3.0	3.1
Don't know	2.4	1.9	2.0
No answer	1.5	0.7	0.7
Total	100	100	100
Number of observations	458	4,412	4,870

Source: Authors' own elaboration with data from the survey *Satisfaction of User of Telecommunication Services in Spain* (CIS 2797, 2009)

* Differences between immigrants and Spanish born statistically significant at the 0.05 level

pate in that survey in particular (results shown in Table 9.4).

There are no large differences between the two populations: for both the Spanish born and immigrants the most prevalent response to why they decided to take part in the survey was because they wanted to help the interviewer. Among the foreign born the second most cited reason was curiosity, wanting to know what it was like to be interviewed. This makes sense if we take into account that the percentage of people for whom this was the first time to participate in a survey was much greater among the foreign born than among the Spanish born respondents. For the remaining possible answers (interest in the topic of the survey, because it was done by CIS and others) the responses were similar among immigrants and Spanish born respondents.

Regarding the possibility of repeating the experience and participating again in a (face-to-face) survey, most respondents said they would agree to be interviewed on a different occasion (Table 9.5). The percentage of immigrants who said they would do so is slightly higher than that of Spanish born (67 and 62 per cent, respectively).

Among the reasons provided by those respondents who would not participate again in a survey (Table 9.6), lack of time stands out among the immigrant population, while more Spanish-born respondents give lack of trust in surveys as a reason.

Table 9.5 *Hypothetical response of the person interviewed to a request that they participate in a face-to-face survey (at his or her home)*

	Immigrants	*Spanish (born in Spain)*	*Total sample*
Almost sure I would agree to take part	31.4*	25.0*	25.6
I would probably agree to take part	35.4	37.1	36.9
I would probably not agree to take part	5.0	6.7	6.6
Almost sure I would not agree to take part	4.6	5.9	5.8
It depends (not in the questionnaire, volunteered answer)	14.6	14.2	14.3
It depends on who does the survey (volunteered answer)	1.3	2.2	2.1
It would depend on the topic (volunteered answer)	2.8	3.7	3.6
Don't know	3.9	4.5	4.5
No answer	0.9	0.6	0.6
Total	100	100	100
Number of observations	458	4,412	4,870

Source: Authors' own elaboration with data from the survey *Satisfaction of User of Telecommunication Services in Spain* (CIS 2797, 2009)

Note: These three options characterised as 'volunteered answers' were not provided in the questionnaire and show cards, but were recorded if they were spontaneously mentioned by respondents

* Differences between immigrants and Spanish born statistically significant at the 0.05 level

Table 9.6 *Reasons for declining future participation in a hypothetical face-to-face survey*

	Immigrants	*Spanish (born in Spain)*	*Total*
Because I didn't like the experience this time	4.5	3.4	3.5
Because I never have time	38.6	28.9	29.6
Because I don't trust surveys	6.8	10.9	10.6
Because I don't think my data are treated anonymously/ I don´t believe the privacy of my data is respected	15.9	14.5	14.6
Because I think surveys are useless	9.1	10.6	10.5
Other reasons	4.5	9.1	8.8
Don't know	4.5	3.0	3.2
No answer	15.9	19.5	19.3
Total	100	100	100
Number of observations	44	558	602

Source: Authors' own elaboration with data from the survey *Satisfaction of user of telecommunication services in Spain* (CIS 2797, 2009)

Table 9.7 contains other interesting information that can help us to understand why the immigrant population seems to be more inclined to participate in surveys. Some 58 per cent of the Spanish born who participated in this survey said that they had already participated in a survey prior to this one (and most people more than once). This percentage goes down to 40 per cent in the case of the foreign-born population. This might mean that the immigrant population is less affected by 'survey fatigue', an explanation that is frequently used to explain declining response rates in most Western countries.

Table 9.7 *Classification of the surveyed population with respect to their previous participation in surveys (any mode of administration)*

	Immigrants	*Spanish (born in Spain)*	*Total*
Had already taken part in other surveys (more than once)	28.2*	45.2	43.6
Had already taken part in other survey (once)	11.6	13.0	12.9
First time to take part in a survey	60.3	41.3	43.1
No answer	0.0	0.5	0.5
Total	100	100	100
Number of observations	458	4,412	4,870

Source: Authors' own elaboration with data from the survey *Satisfaction of User of Telecommunication Services in Spain* (CIS 2797, 2009)

* Differences between immigrants and Spanish born statistically significant at the 0.05 level

Language difficulties

In the 2008 Spanish ISSP survey, language difficulties, that is, not speaking Spanish well enough, was the reason why 27 people could not participate in the survey. This amounts to 5.6 per cent of the total number of foreigners included in the sample. Of those cases, eight were British and eight Moroccan; these two groups constitute 60 per cent of those who could not complete the interview due to problems with the language. The difficulties in locating a large percentage of the foreign population included in the sample does not allow us to know what percentage of that said population, if located, would have language difficulties.

However, the information gathered by CIS in other surveys leads to the tentative conclusion that in general terms, language does not seem to be a significant impediment to participation of immigrants and foreigners in surveys. At least, it does not seem to be very important in explaining the under-representation of this population in surveys.

These are the main conclusions of a recent experiment carried out to determine the extent to which language barriers would be an impediment to changing the current target population of CIS barometers from the Spanish population to the resident population (i.e. including foreigners). In the barometers done from February to December 2009 information was obtained about the people who were discarded because they did not have Spanish nationality regarding their command of the Spanish language. The interviewers were also asked to assess the language skills of the contacted person. The nationality, sex and age group of each contacted person was also registered.

With that information we can see how many people would not be able to do the interview even if they were part of the population of interest. These would include, first of all, people unable to speak Spanish at all, and it seems reasonable to include in this group those who 'speak little Spanish'. However, we do consider that individuals who speak Spanish 'more or less' would be able to do an interview. Table 9.8 follows these criteria and classifies all the foreign people contacted while doing the fieldwork for the monthly barometers. The percentage of those who would not be able to do the interview anyway, because of having an insufficient knowledge of Spanish, comprises 30 per cent of all the foreign persons contacted, while almost half of them speak Spanish well enough to be able to do the interview without difficulties.

We may wonder about the prevailing criterion, whether that of the interviewee or that of the interviewer, to determine whether someone can or cannot do an interview. However, the data show that this is not a worrying issue, given that the assessment of the potential interviewee and that of the interviewer coincide in most cases (82 per cent). In around half of the cases in which the evaluations differ, the assessment of the contacted

Table 9.8 *Classification of foreign persons contacted in the fieldwork of the barometers of the CIS (February 2009-January 2010) based on their command of Spanish, percentage of total foreigners contacted*

	Assessed by potential interviewee	*Assessed by interviewer*
(1) Does not speak it at all	5.6	6.0
(2) Speaks it a little bit	23.3	22.9
(1)+(2)	**28.9**	**28.9**
(3) Speaks it more or less well	**20.9**	**18.5**
(4) Speaks it fluently	13.9	13.9
(5) Speaks it as if it was his/her mother tongue	5.7	8.1
(6) It is her/his mother tongue	29.6	29
(4)+(5)+(6)	**49.2**	**51**
Don't know/No answer	1.0	1.6
Total (1+2+3+4+5+6)	100	100
Number of observations	5,099	5,099

Source: Authors' own elaboration from data from the Fieldwork Unit, CIS. Monthly *CIS barometers* February-December 2009

person of their use of Spanish is greater than that of the interviewer, while in the other half the reverse occurs.

The results reveal important and expected differences in the command of Spanish by the foreign population living in Spain, depending on various criteria, such as nationality of origin and age group (Table 9.9).

Following the same criterion mentioned above, according to which only those individuals who at least speak Spanish more or less would be able to do the interview, from the data in Table 9.9 we can single out three scenarios. There is a first group of people formed by nationals from Latin American countries. Most of them have Spanish as their mother tongue and would have no problem being interviewed if they were part of the target population. This does not mean that there are no occasions where some of these people would find it difficult to understand certain expressions or particular words, due to the different varieties of Spanish that exist throughout the world. But obviously such differences are minor and much less of a hindrance than the language difficulties faced by other foreigners. In a second group we find mostly Moroccans and Romanians, the two foreign nationalities most present in Spain. They are divided into two groups: those who do not speak Spanish or at least not well enough to do an interview and those who speak it fluently (or as a native speaker does). The third scenario is that of nationals from other countries, the majority of whom speak very little or no Spanish at all. They would not be able to do the interviews even if they were part of the target population. In this group we find a wide range of nationalities, such as the British and the Chinese.

Table 9.9 *Self-assessed knowledge of Spanish by contacted people, classification according to nationality (10 most numerous nationalities), column percentages*

	Total (10 countries)	*Moroccans*	*Romanians*	*Ecuadorians*	*Colombians*	*British*	*Bolivian*	*Peruvian*	*Argentinean*	*Chinese*	*German*
(1) Does not speak it at all	6.2	7.8	2.5	0.4	–	37.6	–	–	0.6	15.8	31.0
(2) Speaks it a little bit	21.9	42.1	29.4	–	0.3	36.6	1.4	1.0	–	53.5	37.0
(1)+(2)	**28.1**	**49.9**	**31.8**	**0.4**	**0.3**	**74.2**	**1.4**	**1.0**	**0.6**	**69.3**	**68.0**
(3) Speaks it more or less well	**19.5**	**33.2**	**42.0**	**1.8**	**1.6**	**11.7**	**0.5**	**1.5**	**0.6**	**21.1**	**15.0**
(4) Speaks it fluently	12.7	14.1	22.5	7.5	8.9	11.3	11.3	4.9	5.6	6.1	12.0
(5) Speaks it as if it was his/ her mother tongue	5.5	1.9	2.5	11.9	8.9	1.4	10.4	4.9	13.0	0.9	4.0
(6) It is her/his mother tongue	33.5	0.1	0.5	78.2	79.7	–	75.0	87.3	80.1	–	–
(4)+(5)+(6)	**51.7**	**16.1**	**25.5**	**97.6**	**97.5**	**12.7**	**96.7**	**97.1**	**98.7**	**7**	**16**
Don´t know/No answer	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.4	0.6	1.4	1.4	0.5	0.0	2.6	1.0
Total (1+2+3+4+5+6)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of observations	3,476	864	729	563	316	213	212	204	161	114	100

Source: Authors' own elaboration from data from the Fieldwork Unit, CIS. Monthly *CIS barometers* February-December 2009

Summing up, it is clear that doing interviews only in Spanish is not optimal, as it excludes that part of the foreign population living in Spain that has a different profile from those who are able to do the interview in Spanish. However, given the economic resources and the time needed to translate questionnaires into the relevant languages and the need for a network of interviewers that is able to administer the questionnaires in these languages, the benefits obtained from such a huge investment would also be limited. Data shown in this section reveal that, while being important, difficulty with language is a minor problem when trying to adequately represent the foreign/immigrant population in surveys.

9.5 Concluding remarks

This chapter has analysed the way in which CIS, an institution whose main mission is to carry out surveys to monitor Spanish public opinion on various political and social issues, is dealing with the new scenario created by immigration. At first, immigration was considered a phenomenon that deserved to be studied and analysed as one among other topics that were analysed through surveys; it was not thought to be an issue that would affect the way CIS carried out its surveys.

The gradual increase in the percentage of immigrants and foreigners, now constituting more than 10 per cent of the total population, and the foreseeable permanence of this demographic change has slowly changed this initial consideration. The main effect of this has been the gradual but steady increase of the number of surveys whose target population has become the resident population, rather than the Spanish population, as was previously the case. Some surveys have been addressed specifically to the non-national population. However, so far the fundamentals of CIS survey methodology have not been adapted to this new reality: there is no translation of questionnaires into other languages, no particular effort to adapt the network of interviewers, and the fieldwork organisation remains the same.

The chapter has also looked at how foreign residents are represented in the surveys in which they are part of the target population. In all of them the percentage of foreigners among respondents is less than what it should be, according to population data. As in other countries, immigrants and foreigners are under-represented in general population surveys in Spain. In the surveys done with probability samples but with final selection of respondents on the basis of sex and age quota sampling, this under-representation exists but is slightly lower than that found in nominal probability samples, such as the ones used for the ISSP surveys in 2007 and 2008. The inability to locate around a third of the foreigners included in the sample at the addresses where they were registered in the 'Padrón' (the population register used as the sampling frame) is the main explanation for the

under-representation of foreigners. Using a different type of probability sampling with a different selection of the individuals to be interviewed, for example, through Kish tables or the birthday date selection method, would perhaps help to solve that problem and achieve a better representation of foreigners and immigrants in the final sample of respondents.

Language is not a fundamental barrier to attaining a good representation of foreigners in surveys, although it is important to keep in mind that a considerable proportion of the Moroccan, Romanian and Chinese population do not speak Spanish well enough to be able to do a survey interview. Language is also a problem among the nationals of Western European countries, in particular the United Kingdom and Germany, the majority of whom do not speak Spanish; hence, the presence of nationals from these countries among respondents is very low. In any case, the population for many of the foreign nationalities residing in Spain does not reach the threshold adopted in the *European Social Survey*, which requires that if a language is spoken by at least 5 per cent of the target population then the questionnaire must be translated.

Usually, when analysing the potential impact of not being able to properly represent the foreign population in surveys, most attention is given to people who have migrated to Spain to work, rather than to those who migrate when they have reached the age of retirement (which is mostly the case among UK or German nationals living in Spain). Obviously in terms of the technical bias, the relevance of this under-representation is equal regardless of country of origin. However, the social and political consequences of this misrepresentation might be different according to nationality.

The main challenge in order to obtain a better representation of foreign residents in probability surveys if nominal/addressed samples continue to be used is to improve the contact rates, given that this is the main reason for not carrying out interviews with foreigners included in the samples. Using other types of probability samples that do not require looking for specific people at specific addresses would certainly help, but the example of the surveys done with quota samples show that this is not enough, and further, that a combination of measures would probably be the best way to achieve a better representation: slight adaptation of fieldwork procedures (adapting the timing of interviews to better suit the foreign population), providing training to interviewers to be able to adapt to different types of non-national respondents and other fairly modest similar changes would also help.

The number of general population studies that will use residents rather than Spaniards as the target population is likely to increase in the future. The decision to do so also depends on issues such as the comparability of time series which are especially valuable if they are long, as is the case with the monthly CIS barometers, which offer time series for particular questions that are more than thirty years old. The comparability of data

would be affected if the target populations of the surveys were changed. Having good information on the changes brought about by the enlargement of the definition of the target population would help to facilitate the transition from one target population to the new one. In any case, having data on the first experiences and applying those analyses to reflect on the best ways to obtain a good representation of foreigners and immigrants is a fundamental step to greater inclusion of these groups in general population surveys.

Notes

1 The views expressed in this chapter are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of CIS.
2 All the details of the survey design can be obtained in the country report (Arango, García-Pardo, Laseca & Martínez 2000). The Spanish data are stored in the CIS Databank (CIS Study 2232, 1997).
3 Ceuta and Melilla, the two Spanish enclaves in the north of Africa, are excluded.
4 Data from the 'Padrón' (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, INE).

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10 An evaluation of Spanish questions on the 2006 and 2008 US General Social Surveys

Tom W. Smith

10.1 Introduction

How much does the picture we obtain about a given society depend on whether we conduct interviews in one or two languages? This chapter provides a first attempt to answer this question through the analysis of the experience of the US *General Social Survey* (GSS) and its incorporation of Spanish as a second interviewing language.

The GSS is part of the National Data Program for the Social Sciences, a social indicators infrastructure and data-diffusion programme. Its basic purposes are three: 1) to gather data on US society in order to monitor and explain trends and constants in attitudes, behaviours and attributes and to examine the structure and functioning of society in general as well as the role of various subgroups; 2) to compare the United States to other societies to place American society in a comparative perspective and to develop cross-national models of human society; and 3) to make high-quality data easily accessible to scholars, students and others with minimal cost and waiting.

These purposes are accomplished by the regular collection and distribution of the GSS (www.gss.norc.org) and its allied surveys in the *International Social Survey Programme* (ISSP) (www.issp.org). The GSS has conducted 27 national, in-person, full-probability samples of adults living in households in the United States between 1972 and 2008. A total of 53,034 respondents have been interviewed (Davis, Smith, & Marsden 2009).

In 2006, GSS secured support from the National Science Foundation to add Spanish to its standard, English-language version. With this expansion the GSS target population became adults living in US households and able to do an interview in either English or Spanish. According to the US Census, Hispanics were 12.5 per cent of the population in 2000 and an estimated 15.5 per cent in 2010. The Census also reports that 41 per cent of Hispanics five years of age and older do not speak English 'very well'.

The main aim of this chapter is to show that the use of questionnaires in Spanish brought about the participation in the GSS of immigrants who could not have participated if the survey had only been conducted in

DOI: 10.4324/9781003704577_CH10

English, or that, at least, would not have done so in the same way. Thus it shows how an important decision in the survey design may have an impact on the survey results. The chapter describes the process by which the Spanish-language version of the GSS was developed. It then looks at the different language-use and ability groups in which Hispanics are distributed. The third section looks at the changes brought about in the coverage of the Hispanic population and in the total target population of the GSS. Section four presents evidence of language problems in the translations. The final section presents implications for trend analyses using the GSS.

10.2 Translation of questionnaires

Translation of the questionnaire from English into Spanish utilised the following procedures. First, using the committee-translation approach, translations were done by Research Support Services (RSS) (Schoua-Glusberg 2006). Under the RSS committee-translation approach, three translators simultaneously and independently translated the questions. They then met and compared their versions. Under Schoua-Glusberg's direction they reconciled disagreements and settled on a collaborative translation that provided the best functional equivalence to the original GSS wordings. In addition, the committee strove to come up with a Spanish version that was equally suitable for the various Hispanic sub-populations in the United States (e.g. Puerto Rican, Mexican, South American).

Second, RSS's translations were reviewed by a bilingual NORC staffer, and in collaboration with RSS changes were made in various items. Finally, the revised Spanish translation was reviewed by the GSS director. He and the bilingual NORC staffers discussed various points and the final Spanish version was adopted.

10.3 The 2006 GSS: Some data on the coverage of Hispanic population

Altogether, on versions 1-6 of the 2006 GSS 427 Hispanics were interviewed.[1] Of these 220 were interviewed in English and 227 in Spanish. No non-Hispanics were interviewed in Spanish.[2]

Language use/ability of respondents was divided into four categories: 1) did the interview in English, not interviewable in Spanish, 2) did the interview in English, interviewable in Spanish, 3) did the interview in Spanish, interviewable in English, and 4) did the interview in Spanish, not interviewable in English. Thus, there are the English monolinguals, two groups of bilinguals (depending on which language was used) and the Spanish monolinguals. These four categories were operationalised in four different

ways. Language of interview was a fixed attribute, so the different implementations were based on which of two measures of English ability was used to measure bilingualism among the Spanish interviewees and where the self-assessment of Spanish ability was cut among English interviewees.

The first measure of English ability among Spanish interviewees was an assessment by the interviewers. The interviewers answered the following:

> Before 2006 the GSS was only administered in English. Those without enough English to do the interview were excluded as out-of-scope, language problems. In 2006 a Spanish version of the GSS was added. If there had been no Spanish version available in 2006, could this respondent have been interviewed in English or do you think she or he would have been excluded as a language problem?
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Could have been interviewed in English | 1 |
> | Would have been excluded as a language problem | 2 |

The second measure of English ability among Spanish interviewees was a self-assessment by respondents:

> If this interview had only been available in English, would you…
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Have been able to do the interview easily in English, | 1 |
> | Have been able to do the interview with difficulty, or | 2 |
> | *Not* have been able to do the interview? | 3 |

Interviewers judged that 14.5 per cent of Spanish interviewees could have done the survey in English and that 85.5 per cent would have been excluded as language problems. Among Spanish respondents 9.9 per cent said they could have easily done the survey in English, 21.5 per cent could have done it with difficulty, and 68.6 per cent could not have done it.[3] There was a high degree of agreement between these two independent measures. Some 94.6 per cent of those who said that doing an interview in English would have been easy were rated by interviewers as interviewable in English. Conversely, 99.6 per cent of those who said they could not have done an English interview were similarly judged by interviewers. Of those who indicated that they could have done the interview with 'difficulty', 22.5 per cent were rated as interviewable in English by interviewers, and 77.5 per cent were rated as not interviewable. This largely negative evaluation is consistent with the respondents' self-assessment that an English interview would have been difficult.

On versions 1-6, respondents interviewed in English were asked the following questions:

Can you speak a language other than English?
What other language(s) do you speak?
How well do you speak that language?

Very well	1
Well	2
Not well	3
Poorly/Hardly at all	4

Spanish speakers were identified through these items. The first language-use/ability scale classifies as English monolinguals those indicating no Spanish, English/Spanish as those with any Spanish ability, Spanish/English as those judged by interviewers as able to have done the interview in English, and Spanish monolinguals as those deemed by interviewers as unable to have done an English interview. The second language-use/ability scale divides English cases the same as the first, but uses respondents' self-assessments of English ability and includes those in the easy and difficult group in the bilingual group and only those unable to have done an English interview as Spanish monolinguals. The third language-use/ability scale has English monolinguals as those with no Spanish plus those who spoke Spanish hardly at all and English/Spanish bilinguals as those speaking Spanish better than poorly. As in the first scale, Spanish respondents were divided according to the interviewers' evaluation into bilinguals and Spanish monolinguals. The fourth language-use/ability scale has English monolinguals and English/Spanish bilinguals classified as in the third scale and Spanish/English bilinguals and Spanish monolinguals according to respondent self-assessment as in the second scale.

The distribution of Hispanic respondents across these four scales on versions 1-6 of 2006 GSS is shown in Table 10.1. Thus, the second scale minimises the size of the monolingual categories and the third scale maximises the monolinguals. The bilingual groups are closest in size in the fourth scale and furthest apart in the first scale. In effect, the language-use/ability scales form a measure of general language assimilation for Hispanics that should associate with other measures of assimilation.

As expected, the addition of a Spanish-language version appreciably expanded the coverage of Hispanics. As Table 10.2 shows, by various measures the coverage of Hispanics rose from 9.1-10.4 per cent in 2004 to 14.4-16.8 per cent in 2006. In addition, the profile of Hispanics changed in certain ways.[4]

10.4 Differences in socio-demographic profile of Hispanics

As Table 10.3 indicates, with Spanish language added, the profile of Hispanics changes: they are less assimilated (fewer born in the United

Table 10.1 *Distribution of Hispanic respondents across the four language use/ability scales*

	English only	*English Spanish*	*Spanish English*	*Spanish only*	*All (N)*
First scale	42	178	29	178	427
Second scale	42	178	66	141	427
Third scale	60	160	29	178	427
Fourth scale	60	160	66	141	427

Source: General Social Survey, 2006

Table 10.2 *Trends in Hispanic coverage on GSS, 1996-2006*

	1996	*1998*	*2000*	*2002*	*2004*	*2006*	*Prob.*
Main ethnicity (ETHNIC)	7.4	7.2	8.3	8.8	10.4	16.8	.000
Any Hispanic (ETH1, ETH2, ETH3)	6.7	6.5	7.6	8.6	9.2	15.1	.000
Hispanic. vs. Other (HISPANIC)	–	–	8.1	8.1	9.1	14.5	.000

Source: General Social Survey (1996-2006)

Table 10.3 *Changes in the profile of Hispanics (%), GSS 2000-2006*

	2000	*2002*	*2004*	*2006*	*Prob.*
Male	43.9	43.4	48.3	48.3	.456
Under 30	30.7	32.2	40.2	28.1	.033
Married	53.9	50.9	49.4	52.6	.181
No children	27.2	29.0	34.4	26.2	.000
Working full-time	71.0	56.3	62.7	57.0	.131
College degree	13.8	16.4	17.8	12.0	.000
Catholic	70.7	65.1	62.6	69.5	.095
Both parents from the US	37.2	32.8	38.4	25.3	.000
Born in the US	53.2	60.0	69.5	36.9	.000
Lived in US at age 16	70.3	69.5	84.0	49.3	.000

Source: General Social Survey (2000-2006)

States, living in the United States at age 16, or with parents born in the United States), less educated, younger and fewer have no children. There were no differences on gender, marital status, labour-force status and religion.

As data in Table 10.4 show (see appendix), Hispanics differ appreciably in their socio-demographic profile by language use/ability.[5] First, there is a strong assimilation gradient with living in the United States at age 16, being born in the United States, and having parents born in the United States falling from a high among English monolinguals to lower levels among English bilingual and then Spanish bilinguals to the lowest level among Spanish monolinguals. Second, the percentage of Catholic rose from a low among the English monolinguals to a high among Spanish

bilinguals and Spanish monolinguals. This is also probably an assimilation effect. Third, living in a non-entry state had a complex and unexpected relationship to language use/ability.[6]

As expected, living outside the entry states was highest among the English monolinguals. But it was then second highest for the Spanish monolinguals, third highest for the English bilinguals and very low and last for the Spanish bilinguals. Thus, this does not follow a simple assimilation model of geographic dispersion. Fourth, education is highest among the English monolinguals and lowest among the Spanish monolinguals. Fifth, full-time, labour-force participation is highest among bilinguals and lower among both monolingual groups. Sixth, the English monolinguals have the largest proportion under 30 and the Spanish monolinguals the smallest share. Seventh, the English monolinguals have the fewest married people and Spanish bilinguals and monolinguals have the highest proportion married. Eighth, having no children is greatest among the English monolinguals and lowest among the Spanish monolinguals. Finally, gender and rural-urban residence do not vary by language use/ability.

10.5 Differences in attitudes, behaviours and other non-demographic variables

What difference does the use of Spanish make in the results of the survey? Does the inclusion of immigrants who could not have taken part in the survey because of a language problem change the final picture obtained? Table 10.3 has already shown that in 2006 the profile of the Hispanic population in the survey changed considerably. In this section attention is focused on the impact of the use of a Spanish language questionnaire in the overall results of the surveys, regarding the portrait it provides of attitudes, behaviours and other non-demographic variables in the United States. In other words, can we know what would have happened if Spanish had not been used?

In order to do so, Table 10.5 (in the appendix) examines 35 non-demographic variables by language use/ability. These items were selected to represent the full range of non-demographics in the 2006 GSS. Examples were examined from all major substantive scales (e.g. abortion, Stouffer civil liberties, confidence in institutions) and a wide range of response scales (e.g. agree/disagree, numerical, unbalanced trichotomies). First examined were the differences across the four language-use/ability levels for each of the four classifications. Overall, there was a high number of statistically significant differences (109 out of 140). These were about equally common across the four classification methods (first 25/35; second 27/35; third 28/35; and fourth 29/35).

Next, differences between just the two bilingual groups were considered. Given the smaller samples and the more limited group differentiation, considerably fewer statistically significant associations appeared (29 out of 140). Statistically significant differences were more common for classification 2 and 4 (ten each) than for 1 and 3 (respectively, five and four). This is probably mainly due to classifications 2 and 4 counting more people as bilinguals (226-244) than classifications 1 and 3 (189-207) did.

As with both the trends and language-use/ability group differences shown for the demographic variables, this variation across language-use/ability groups indicates some notable shifts in the profile of Hispanics. Table 10.5 presents the full results, but examples include that 1) support for capital punishment declines from English monolinguals to Spanish monolinguals, 2) support for more foreign aid is greater for Spanish-language cases than English-language cases, 3) support for science spending declines from English to Spanish monolinguals, 4) middle class self-identification falls from English to Spanish monolinguals, 5) financial satisfaction is lowest among Spanish monolinguals, 6) job satisfaction is highest among the bilinguals, 6) self-rated health is highest among the English monolinguals and lowest among the Spanish monolinguals, 7) finding homosexual activity 'always wrong' increases from English monolinguals to the Spanish-language respondents, 8) having close friends who are either Black or White is greatest among the English monolinguals, 9) Democratic party identification is highest among the bilinguals, and 10) presidential voting declines from among the English monolinguals to the Spanish monolinguals.

10.6 Language effects

Attitudes and behavioural questions

Besides indicating shifts in the profile of Hispanics, data in Table 10.5 can also be used to assess possible language effects. In looking for possible language effects two conditions were required: 1) that there was statistically significant variation across the language-use/ability continuum and 2) that there was a statistically significant difference between the English and Spanish bilingual groups. Next, two additional factors were considered: 1) on how many of the four classification approaches were the first two conditions met and 2) did the pattern of difference across language-use/ability groups show the largest difference between the two bilingual groups. The pattern most suggestive of a language effect would be little or no difference between the English monolinguals and English bilinguals, a large difference between the English and Spanish bilinguals, and little or no difference between the Spanish bilinguals and Spanish monolinguals. That represents an inter-language difference with no evidence of intra-language

difference across the language-use/ability groups. By contrast a pattern with a linear or at least monotonic change from the English monolinguals through the bilinguals to the Spanish monolinguals would suggest an assimilation effect more than a language effect.

Of the thirty-five non-demographic variables examined, thirteen met the first two conditions (spending on social security, spending on foreign aid, class self-identification, abortion legal if poor, abortion legal for any reason, morality of homosexuality, happiness, financial change, party identification, attending religious services, close to Blacks, anti-religious book in library, and militarist to teach in college). Of these, two (on homosexuality and the anti-religious) met the criteria on only one of the four classifications and were dropped from consideration as showing neither a strong nor robust pattern. Nine met the criteria on two classifications (social security, foreign aid, class, legal abortion for any reason, happiness, party identification, attendance and militarist). Two were statistically significant on all four classifications (abortion legal if poor, financial change). Looking at both the magnitude of the differences and their pattern across the language-use/ability continuum suggested four items as most likely to indicate a language effect (happiness, abortion legal if poor, abortion legal for any reason, financial change).

Financial change showed statistically significant variation across all four classifications with little difference within the English groups, a large difference between bilinguals with Spanish bilinguals indicating much more improvement than English bilinguals did and then with Spanish monolinguals indicating much less improvement. Thus, while the bilingual results are robust across classification schemes, the difference within the Spanish groups indicates that variation is also occurring that is unrelated to questionnaire language.

General happiness showed much lower well-being among the Spanish groups than among the English groups, with the largest difference being between the English and Spanish bilinguals. The bilingual differences were only statistically significant for two classifications, but the other two indicated a similar pattern.

The item on whether abortion should be legal for a woman with a very low income who cannot afford more children receives much higher support among English-language respondents than among those interviewed in Spanish, with a large difference between the bilingual groups; this occurs for all four classifications. The pattern is similar for being able to obtain legal abortions for any reason, but the bilingual gap was statistically significant for only two classifications.

To check whether these detected differences were due to language effects, three examinations were carried out. First, linguistically and substantively similar questions in the GSS were searched for and examined. Second, multivariate analyses were carried out on the bilinguals,

controlling for assimilation-related variables and other demographics. Finally, additional translations were conducted.

First, in looking for similar GSS items, no suitable items were found for financial change (FINALTER). General happiness (HAPPY) had an item on marital happiness (HAPMAR) which used both the same key concept term (happy/*feliz*) and the same three response options, differing only in applying to married respondents. Marital happiness showed no statistically significant variation by language use/ability on any of the four classifications, but as with general happiness, marital happiness was rated lower in the Spanish versions.

For abortion there were a total of seven sub-questions and the four not selected for initial comparison (abortion if… doesn't want to marry – ABSINGLE, pregnant due to rape – ABRAPE, doesn't want any more children – ABNOMORE, serious defect in the child – ABDEFECT) were examined. All seven items showed statistically significant differences by language use/ability. Across the bilingual groups, mother's health showed no statistically significant variation on any version, having no more children and birth defect showed marginally significant association on versions 2 and 4, for any reason and rape showed statistically significant differences on versions 2 and 4, and not wanting to marry and being too poor showed differences on all four classifications. The pattern thus leans in the direction of generally finding lower support among the bilinguals using Spanish than among the bilinguals using English, but the strength of the association is variable. It tended to be greater among those situations asked about later on (ABPOOR, ABRAPE, ABSINGLE and ABANY were 4th-7th) than the situations asked about first (ABDEFECT, ABNOMORE and ABHLTH were 1st-3rd). This raises the possibility that the meaning shifted across items as the introductory phrase receded in memory. However, since the introductory phrase appeared as an optional re-read on the CAPI screen for each follow-up question in both the English and Spanish versions, it is not obvious why order would matter.

Second, multivariate models were run to see if other variables could explain the differences in responses between the bilinguals interviewed in Spanish and those in English. Various models were tested, but ultimately one assimilation variable (born in the United States), one SES variable (education) and the demographic most closely related to happiness (marital status) were used in all models. The models failed to account for the language differences on financial situation or happiness. The differences also remain statistically significant for abortions for those with low incomes, but the association between language and abortions for any reason was not statistically significant with the controls.

Finally, the items that were identified as showing a statistically significant difference between the bilingual Hispanics that were most likely due to language were back translated from Spanish to English by three people,

two native Spanish speakers and one native English speaker. Smith then compared the back translations to the source English wordings and individually discussed the differences with the translators.

On general happiness the one clear difference between the English and the Spanish was in the response categories 'very happy, pretty happy, and not too happy' and 'muy feliz, feliz o no muy feliz'. In Spanish the middle option has no modifier. The back translators thought that 'feliz' alone might be seen as a stronger or more positively leaning category than 'pretty happy' and as such might attract responses away from 'muy feliz' and thus lower the proportion in that category versus 'very happy'. This would be especially true if 'pretty' acted in English as a de-intensifier rather than an intensifier, but its impact is not clear. There was a consensus that using 'bastante' as a modifier for the middle option might have been a better translation.

On financial change the main difference was that 'financial situation' was translated as 'situación económica' rather than using the term 'financiera'. In general, the back translators saw 'económica' as appropriate and in this question the difference between asking about one's 'economic' versus 'financial' situation in this context is probably also small in English.

On the abortion items, the back translations of the seven conditions under which a woman might be able to obtain a legal abortion did not suggest any appreciable difference between the English and Spanish. However, the part of the translation of the introductory phrase 'Please tell me whether or not you think it should be possible for a pregnant woman to obtain a legal abortion […]' into 'Por favor dígame si piensa o no que una mujer embarazada debería poder hacerse un aborto en forma legal […]' was seen as possibly problematic. The Spanish translation for 'should be possible […] to obtain' was 'debería poder hacerse'. This was back translated in one case as 'should be able to have' and as indicating that the women should be able to get an abortion for herself, as 'ought to be able to make happen' and 'ought to have'. Thus, the Spanish appears to indicate more acceptance of abortion itself rather than just its legal availability. This in turn would most likely reduce support for abortion. Moreover, while the 'ought to have' is a mistranslation, it suggests the possibility that some respondents may have also misunderstood the item as actually recommending that a woman in the situation should obtain an abortion.

For general happiness and the abortion items, experiments were conducted on the 2008 GSS with the items being administered to random half using their 2006 translations and revised translations that attempted to more closely match the original English wordings (Table 10.6).[7] For both the happiness item and the seven abortion items, the revised Spanish wordings produced statistically different distributions from the original Spanish translations and in each case the new translations had distributions closer to those exhibited by Hispanics interviewed in English than the 2006

Table 10.6 *GSS wordings in 2006 and 2008*

	Original GSS English wording	*2006 Spanish*	*2008 Spanish*
Abortion (ABDEFECT)	Please tell me whether or not you think it should be possible for a pregnant woman to obtain a legal abortion if...	Por favor dígame si piensa o no que una mujer embarazada debería poder hacerse un aborto en forma legal...	Por favor dígame si piensa que debería ser posible para una mujer embarazada obtener un aborto legal...
	a) ... there is a strong chance of serious defect in the baby?	a) ... si hay una alta probabilidad de defectos graves en el bebé	a) ... si hay una alta probabilidad de defectos graves en el bebé
Happiness (HAPPY)	Taken all together, how would you say things are these days – would you say you are very happy, pretty happy or not too happy?	Tomando todo en cuenta, ¿cómo diría que están las cosas en estos días? ¿Diría que es muy feliz, feliz o no muy feliz?	Tomando todo en cuenta, ¿cómo diría que están las cosas en estos días? ¿Diría que es muy feliz, bastante feliz o no muy feliz?
	a) Very happy b) Pretty happy c) Not too happy	a) Muy feliz b) Feliz c) No muy feliz	a) Muy feliz b) Bastante feliz c) No muy feliz

Source: General Social Survey (2006-2008)

translations did. For example, on the 2008 GSS the original Spanish wording found that 13 per cent were very happy, but the revised Spanish wording found that 39 per cent were very happy. As expected, adding 'bastante' to the middle response moved people out of this category and into 'muy feliz (very happy)' and this made the options more equivalent to the English categories of 'very' and 'pretty happy'. This indicates that translation variation had contributed to the differences observed in 2006.

Other language comparisons

Differences in 'don't know' answers

In addition to the overall differences in distributions examined in Table 10.5, attention was also focused on don't know responses (DKs). A scale was made of the number of DKs to 25 of the items appearing in Table 10.5. On average, respondents gave only 0.8 DKs for these 25 items. DK levels did not vary by language ability/use on any of the four classification schemes. Thus, DK levels do not appear to be related to language, assimilation or other factors.

Table 10.7 *Vocabulary score (WORDSUM) by language use/ability scale (mean number correct)*

	English only	*English Spanish*	*Spanish English*	*Spanish only*	*Prob.*
First scale	6.50	4.73	6.32	5.10	.000
Second scale	"	"	5.74	5.09	.001
Third scale	6.42	4.53	6.32	5.10	.000
Fourth scale	"	"	5.74	5.09	.000

Source: General Social Survey, 2008
Note: Cells with " indicate that the figures are the same as in the cell above

Finally, one special battery of questions translated was a ten-item vocabulary test designed to measure verbal ability (Krosnick & Malhotra 2007). It was not possible to attempt to develop a Spanish vocabulary test that matched the English in reliability and other psychometric properties. Instead the ten English target words and each of the five possible responses for the word being defined were simply translated into Spanish. Table 10.7 shows that there are statistically significant differences in vocabulary scores across language groups, with the highest score among the English monolinguals followed by bilinguals in Spanish, Spanish monolinguals and bilinguals in English. This order is surprising since (as discussed below) vocabulary has a substantial association with education. Mean years of schools completed (13.4) is highest among the English monolinguals, which is consistent with their top vocabulary score. But Spanish monolinguals have the lowest education (8.5 years of schooling completed) yet score above the English bilinguals with a mean of 13.0 years of schooling. Also unexpected was that the Spanish bilinguals outscored the English bilinguals even though they are lower in education (mean 12.0 vs. 13.0 years of schooling). This raises the possibility that the vocabulary test is easier in Spanish than in English.

A second comparison of vocabulary scores by language use/ability looked at the correlation between vocabulary and education (years of schooling completed). For non-Hispanics, Pearson's r equalled .415, prob. =.000. For all Hispanics it was .317 (prob.=.000), for Hispanics interviewed in English it was .358 (prob.=.000) and for Hispanics interviewed in Spanish it was .416 (prob.=.000). Thus, vocabulary has a substantial correlation with education for all groups.

Differences in comprehension and cooperativeness (on the basis of interviewer assessments)

Interviewers rated respondents on their comprehension and cooperativeness. As Table 10.4 shows (see appendix at the end of the chapter), the relationship of language use/ability to these variables is complex. Comprehension is rated highest for the English monolinguals and Spanish

bilinguals, lower for the English bilinguals, and lowest for the Spanish monolinguals. Given that comprehension correlates with education, the low ratings for the Spanish monolinguals is not surprising, but the English bilinguals show less understanding than would be predicted based on their level of education.

Cooperation is also highest among the English monolinguals and Spanish bilinguals and notably lower for both the Spanish monolinguals and English bilinguals. Thus, the two bilingual groups are quite different on these two interviewer assessments, with Spanish bilinguals rating very high on both comprehension and cooperation while English bilinguals are rated notably lower on both. One possibility is that English bilinguals may have had relatively weak English language skills making interviews with them more burdensome. However, the broader and narrower definitions of this group show no difference in ratings, which argues against this explanation.

10.7 Comparability of GSS data across years

As indicated above, the expansion of the target population to include Spanish-speakers notably changed the number and composition of Hispanics in the GSS. Consistent measurement over time is a prime goal of the GSS and a major challenge (Smith 1988, 2006). For time series from the GSS as a whole and for Hispanics in particular to be strictly comparable, analysis needs to be restricted to the English-language population, which means excluding from analysis non-English Hispanics in 2006 and subsequent years.

This can be achieved by using one or both of the language ability measures described above: 1) the interviewer's assessment as to whether the interview could have been conducted in English and 2) the respondent's evaluation of whether they could have done the interview in English. By the interviewer measure on the whole sample (versions 1-7), 329 Hispanics were interviewed in English and 323 in Spanish. Of the Spanish cases, interviewers judged that 47 could have been interviewed in English and thus 276 would be excluded as Spanish monolinguals not eligible under the previous English-only criteria. By the respondent measure, 32 say they could have done the survey easily in English and 70 with some degree of difficulty. Thus, at least 222 and a maximum of 292 would be excluded as Spanish monolinguals by this measure.

So far, it is not clear which of these approaches comes closest to duplicating the coverage of Hispanics using only English-language interviews. The best course for now is to try the various alternatives when doing trends analysis. Preliminary analysis indicates that the different approaches produce similar adjustments. Analysis adding in the 2008 GSS results should help to clarify the best adjustment.

10.8 Conclusion

As anticipated, adding Spanish-language interviews notably increased the number and proportion of Hispanics in the GSS. In addition, the composition of the Hispanic population changed in several notable ways. The adding of Spanish-language interviews shows that Hispanics are notably less assimilated than indicated in the previous English-only samples and also differ on several other demographics. This variation across demographics is often, but not always, linked to the differences in level of assimilation across the language-use/ability groups. The analysis of non-demographics further indicates that Hispanics more often than not significantly differ across language-use/ability groups. However, no differences in levels of opinionation appear across groups. As such, the coverage of the Hispanic population is now more complete and its profile more accurate.

Achieving translation equivalency is one of the most challenging goals in cross-lingual research (Smith forthcoming). But as Smith (2008) has noted, 'Perhaps no aspect of cross-national survey research has been less subjected to systematic, empirical investigation than translation.' Even using the most rigorous of translation procedures will not always ensure translation equivalency (Harkness 2007; Harkness, Pennell & Schoua-Glusberg 2004; Smith 2008). To enhance both the process of translation and the equivalency of the translation results, quantitative and experimental procedures should be utilised. For the 2006 GSS the analysis of the differences across language-use/ability groups focusing on the English and Spanish bilinguals identified a few items on which language effects may be occurring. These suspected translation problems were then tested in Spanish-wording experiments in the 2008 GSS. The experiments developed new translations, which produced results both different from the original translations and more equivalent to the source English wordings. Such experiments are a way of formally testing for translation effects and developing better translations.

Some of the techniques used in developing the Spanish version of the 2006 and 2008 GSS could be used in multilingual, cross-national studies. First, the committee method of translation has some definite advantages over the back translation approach, especially since it pays more attention to wordings in the target language. Second, for nations with indigenous, multilingual populations (e.g. Switzerland, Belgium and Canada) and those with appreciable immigrant populations, the procedure of analysing differences across monolinguals and bilinguals could be employed to assess the equivalence of translation. Finally, experiments using alternative wordings could be used to improve translations and to quantify the difference produced by alternative translations.

Appendix

Table 10.4 *Socio-demographics and interview variables by language use/ability*

Socio-demographics		*Language use/ability*				
		English only	*English Spanish*	*Spanish English*	*Spanish only*	*Prob.*
Both parents US (%)						
	First	86.0	24.5	11.7	14.1	.000
	Second	"	"	9.9	15.6	.000
	Third	79.2	20.0	11.7	14.1	.000
	Fourth	"	"	9.9	15.6	.000
Born US (%)						
	First	94.4	57.8	34.3	2.9	.000
	Second	"	"	18.5	2.2	.000
	Third	95.4	53.2	34.3	2.9	.000
	Fourth	"	"	18.5	2.2	.000
Lived US age 16 (%)						
	First	100.0	76.7	54.7	13.9	.000
	Second	"	"	38.2	11.1	.000
	Third	99.8	74.4	54.7	13.9	.000
	Fourth	"	"	38.2	11.1	.000
Catholic (%)						
	First	43.9	63.5	78.8	78.0	.000
	Second	"	"	77.8	78.3	.000
	Third	41.7	66.5	78.8	78.0	.000
	Fourth	"	"	77.8	78.3	.000
Non-entry states (%)						
	First	65.0	28.3	1.5	41.6	.000
	Second	"	"	11.9	47.2	.000
	Third	56.3	27.4	1.5	41.6	.000
	Fourth	"	"	11.9	47.2	.000
Large central city (%)						
	First	21.0	27.2	41.4	23.1	.262
	Second	"	"	37.0	20.5	.031
	Third	18.4	29.0	41.4	23.1	.092
	Fourth	"	"	37.0	20.5	.008
White (%)						
	First	23.2	14.8	15.3	21.8	.002
	Second	"	"	21.8	20.4	.003
	Third	17.6	15.9	15.3	21.8	.009
	Fourth	"	"	21.8	20.4	.016
Male (%)						
	First	58.7	53.4	59.2	44.2	.002
	Second	"	"	56.5	41.6	.066
	Third	57.9	53.2	58.2	44.2	.009
	Fourth	"	"	56.5	41.6	.016

Table 10.4 *(continued)*

Socio-demographics		*Language use/ability*				
		English only	*English Spanish*	*Spanish English*	*Spanish only*	*Prob.*
White (%)						
	First	23.2	14.8	15.3	21.8	.002
	Second	"	"	21.8	20.4	.003
	Third	17.6	15.9	15.3	21.8	.009
	Fourth	"	"	21.8	20.4	.016
Male (%)						
	First	58.7	53.4	59.2	44.2	.002
	Second	"	"	56.5	41.6	.066
	Third	57.9	53.2	58.2	44.2	.009
	Fourth	"	"	56.5	41.6	.016
Less than 30 (%)						
	First	53.6	34.0	27.6	20.3	.006
	Second	"	"	24.3	19.9	.004
	Third	53.3	31.9	27.4	20.3	.003
	Fourth	"	"	24.3	19.9	.002
Married (%)						
	First	28.8	46.6	58.4	58.1	.010
	Second	"	"	62.5	56.1	.005
	Third	26.2	49.5	58.4	58.1	.006
	Fourth	"	"	62.5	56.1	.003
No children (%)						
	First	46.9	33.4	34.9	15.5	.003
	Second	"	"	20.1	17.4	.003
	Third	44.4	32.8	34.9	15.5	.004
	Fourth	"	"	20.1	17.4	.003
Working full-time (%)						
	First	43.5	64.6	61.3	52.8	.000
	Second	"	"	61.7	50.4	.000
	Third	53.2	63.4	61.3	52.8	.000
	Fourth	"	"	61.7	50.4	.000
College degree (%)						
	First	23.5	16.2	10.9	5.5	.000
	Second	"	"	8.8	5.1	.000
	Third	22.5	15.8	10.9	5.5	.000
	Fourth	"	"	8.8	5.1	.000
Friendly (interviewer) (%)						
	First	92.8	76.7	97.1	73.1	.024
	Second	"	"	92.0	69.2	.002
	Third	86.7	77.1	97.1	73.1	.040
	Fourth	"	"	92.0	69.2	.040

Table 10.4 *(continued)*

Socio-demographics		*Language use/ability*				
		English only	*English Spanish*	*Spanish English*	*Spanish only*	*Prob.*
Comprehension good (interviewer) (%)						
	First	94.8	78.6	94.1	59.8	.000
	Second	"	"	90.2	52.8	.000
	Third	91.8	77.9	94.1	59.8	.000
	Fourth	"	"	90.2	52.8	.000

Source: General Social Survey, 2006
[a] Entry states are California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Florida, New York, and New Jersey. Non-entry states are the remaining states and Washington, DC
Note: Cells with " indicate that the figures are the same as in the cell above

Table 10.5 *Non-demographics by language use/ability*

		Language use/ability				
		English only	*English Spanish*	*Spanish English*	*Spanish only*	*Prob.*
For death penalty (%) (CAPPUN)	First	63.3		59.5		45.1
	Second	"		"		47.1
	Third	64.8		58.6		45.1
	Fourth	"		"		47.1
For tough courts (%) (COURTS)	First	68.7		56.5		70.8
	Second	"		"		56.7
	Third	62.0		57.6		70.8
	Fourth	"		"		56.7
For gun regulations (%) (GUNLAW)	First	66.9		84.3		93.8
	Second	"		"		91.2
	Third	76.5		82.9		93.8
	Fourth	"		"		91.2
More spending for social security (%) (NATSOC)	First	52.3		65.6		51.2
	Second	"		"		49.1
	Third	52.6		67.0		51.2
	Fourth	"		"		49.1
More spending for Parks (%) (NATPARKS)	First	33.8		43.5		43.8
	Second	"		"		40.0
	Third	46.6		39.8		43.8
	Fourth	"		"		40.0

Table 10.5 *(continued)*

		Language use/ability				
		English only	*English Spanish*	*Spanish English*	*Spanish only*	*Prob.*
More spending for foreign aid (%) (NATAID)	First	6.2	16.0	28.4	25.0	.000
	Second	"	"	19.1	28.4	.000
	Third	14.2	14.1	28.4	25.0	.000
	Fourth	"	"	19.1	28.4	.000
More spending for science (%) (NATSCI)	First	41.9	38.7	31.4	29.9	.003
	Second	"	"	26.4	31.8	.023
	Third	43.0	37.9	31.4	29.9	.003
	Fourth	"	"	26.4	31.8	.003
More spending for children (%) (NATCHILD)	First	50.4	53.5	67.8	50.8	.679
	Second	"	"	53.8	53.0	.739
	Third	49.5	54.2	67.8	50.8	.812
	Fourth	"	"	53.8	53.0	.863
Believing in afterlife (%) (POSTLIFE)	First	68.2	68.2	80.2	51.7	.002
	Second	"	"	66.3	50.8	.010
	Third	69.6	67.7	80.2	51.7	.002
	Fourth	"	"	66.3	50.8	.012
Attending church weekly (%) (ATTEND)	First	29.1	18.6	13.2	16.5	.001
	Second	"	"	13.2	17.3	.000
	Third	24.2	19.2	13.2	16.5	.004
	Fourth	"	"	13.2	17.3	.000
Middle/upper class (%) (CLASS)	First	41.9	33.8	29.3	15.9	.002
	Second	"	"	22.5	15.5	.001
	Third	41.4	33.1	29.3	15.9	.001
	Fourth	"	"	22.5	15.5	.001
Own home (%) (DWELOWN)	First	60.0	51.4	35.0	43.7	.067
	Second	"	"	45.3	40.7	.073
	Third	51.1	53.8	35.0	43.7	.042
	Fourth	"	"	45.3	40.7	.046
Financially satisfied (%) (SATFIN)	First	29.0	23.8	22.5	9.3	.000
	Second	"	"	19.7	7.2	.000
	Third	24.7	24.8	22.5	9.3	.000
	Fourth	"	"	19.7	7.2	.000

Table 10.5 *(continued)*

		Language use/ability				
		English only	*English Spanish*	*Spanish English*	*Spanish only*	*Prob.*
Better financial position (%) (FINALTER)	First	41.0	37.3	73.5	48.5	.000
	Second	"	"	60.8	48.0	.000
	Third	41.6	36.7	73.5	48.5	.000
	Fourth	"	"	60.8	48.0	.000
Very satisfied with job (%) (SATJOB)	First	31.0	53.0	55.9	36.1	.015
	Second	"	"	50.9	33.2	.002
	Third	38.8	53.0	55.9	36.1	.032
	Fourth	"	"	50.9	33.2	.006
Very happy (%) (HAPPY)	First	26.6	37.1	18.9	13.7	.000
	Second	"	"	15.0	14.2	.000
	Third	27.8	37.9	18.9	13.7	.000
	Fourth	"	"	15.0	14.2	.000
Health excellent (%) (HEALTH)	First	52.4	27.2	33.6	12.0	.000
	Second	"	"	26.8	9.3	.000
	Third	44.6	26.8	33.6	12.0	.000
	Fourth	"	"	26.8	9.3	.000
Fear of walking at night (%) (FEAR)	First	22.3	37.0	55.4	50.0	.082
	Second	"	"	46.8	52.0	.077
	Third	22.4	39.0	55.4	50.0	.042
	Fourth	"	"	46.8	50.0	.039
Great deal of confidence in federal government (CONFED)	First	20.5	15.4	19.3	13.9	.351
	Second	"	"	10.9	16.8	.018
	Third	14.6	17.0	19.3	13.9	.025
	Fourth	"	"	10.9	16.8	.001
Great deal of confidence in Congress (%) (CONLEGIS)	First	26.9	11.7	27.1	20.0	.066
	Second	"	"	23.5	19.8	.157
	Third	19.1	13.0	27.1	20.0	.093
	Fourth	"	"	23.5	19.8	.213
Great deal of confidence in religion (%) (CONCLERG)	First	11.1	24.2	19.3	32.9	.447
	Second	"	"	26.5	33.1	.510
	Third	12.4	25.2	19.3	32.9	.060
	Fourth	"	"	26.5	33.1	.073

Table 10.5 *(continued)*

		Language use/ability				
		English only	*English Spanish*	*Spanish English*	*Spanish only*	*Prob.*
Homosexuality always wrong (%) (HOMOSEX)	First	44.9	51.0	73.9	68.4	.000
	Second	"	"	55.6	74.1	.000
	Third	48.0	50.6	73.9	68.4	.000
	Fourth	"	"	55.6	74.1	.000
Premarital sex always wrong (%) (PREMARSX)	First	21.0	13.4	11.4	26.5	.003
	Second	"	"	20.6	38.2	.001
	Third	22.4	12.1	11.4	26.5	.002
	Fourth	"	"	20.6	38.2	.002
Disagree women not suited for politics (%) (FEPOL)	First	87.1	74.9	66.0	54.2	.007
	Second	"	"	60.4	54.4	.013
	Third	78.6	76.9	66.0	54.2	.008
	Fourth	"	"	60.4	54.4	.015
For abortion if woman has low income (%) (ABPOOR)	First	50.0	50.1	6.6	20.9	.000
	Second	"	"	15.1	21.2	.000
	Third	54.3	48.4	6.6	20.9	.000
	Fourth	"	"	15.1	21.1	.000
For abortion for any reason (%) (ABANY)	First	50.0	42.7	21.2	15.7	.000
	Second	"	"	19.6	15.0	.000
	Third	46.5	43.1	21.2	15.7	.000
	Fourth	"	"	19.6	15.0	.000
For abortion if women's health threatened (%) (ABHLTH)	First	72.7	86.2	93.3	72.9	.000
	Second	"	"	80.8	72.5	.000
	Third	78.4	85.9	93.3	72.9	.009
	Fourth	"	"	80.8	72.5	.007
Minorities should work way up (%) (WRKWAYUP)	First	65.8	63.0	84.0	85.5	.004
	Second	"	"	87.2	84.3	.003
	Third	62.2	64.1	84.0	85.5	.016
	Fourth	"	"	87.2	84.3	.012
Close to blacks (8+9) (%) (CLOSEBLK)	First	38.8	16.6	27.8	4.5	.000
	Second	"	"	14.0	3.9	.000
	Third	38.5	13.7	27.8	4.5	.000
	Fourth	"	"	14.0	3.9	.000

Table 10.5 *(continued)*

		Language use/ability				
		English only	*English Spanish*	*Spanish English*	*Spanish only*	*Prob.*
Close to whites (%) (8+9)						
(CLOSEWHT)	First	48.1	28.6	15.4	12.8	.001
	Second	"	"	17.0	11.5	.000
	Third	38.8	29.6	15.4	12.8	.010
	Fourth	"	"	17.0	11.5	.001
Allow anti-religionist book (%)						
(LIBATH)	First	84.5	60.7	84.6	60.2	.137
	Second	"	"	78.6	56.4	.010
	Third	79.4	59.4	84.6	60.2	.124
	Fourth	"	"	78.6	56.4	.009
Allow militarist to teach college (%)						
(COLMIL)	First	62.2	48.9	33.6	30.4	.002
	Second	"	"	25.7	32.7	.002
	Third	59.2	48.3	33.6	30.4	.004
	Fourth	"	"	25.7	32.7	.004
Voted for president in 2000 (%)						
(VOTE00)	First	46.8	38.1	30.6	12.1	.000
	Second	"	"	25.0	9.9	.000
	Third	48.1	36.6	30.6	12.1	.000
	Fourth	"	"	25.0	9.9	.000
Voted for president in 2004 (%)						
(VOTE04)	First	77.9	50.5	45.3	11.4	.000
	Second	"	"	36.0	6.9	.000
	Third	75.1	48.3	45.3	11.4	.000
	Fourth	"	"	36.0	6.9	.000
Democratic (%)						
(PARTYID)	First	25.1	43.6	54.0	22.1	.000
	Second	"	"	40.0	20.4	.000
	Third	33.0	42.7	54.0	22.1	.000
	Fourth	"	"	40.0	20.4	.000

Source: General Social Survey, 2006
Note: Cells with " indicate that the figures are the same as in the cell above

Notes

1 The GSS was sub-divided into seven random sub-samples. This number and all others in this report are weighted figures (Davis, Smith & Marsden 2009).
2 On version 7 there were an additional 225 Hispanic respondents, 109 were interviewed in English and 116 in Spanish. Because those interviewed in English on version 7 were not asked about Spanish-language ability, these cases are not used in most of the subsequent analysis.
3 Spanish respondents refer to interviewees that carried out the interview in Spanish.
4 ETHNIC is coded 'From what countries or part of the world did your ancestors come? IF MORE THAN ONE COUNTRY NAMED: Which one of these countries do you feel closer to?' ETH1, ETH2 and ETH3 are the up to three ethnic origins mentioned. HISPANIC asked 'Are you Spanish, Hispanic or Latino/Latina?'
5 The four language use/ability classifications generally showed the same patterns and only in the exceptional case where they made a difference will their specific results be referred to.
6 Seven states with large Hispanic populations which tend to be points of entry into the United States were classified as 'entry states'. They are Arizona, California, Florida, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York and Texas. The remaining states and the District of Columbia are 'non-entry states'.
7 For another rare example of surveys using experiments involving translations see Shrout, Alegría, Canino, Guarnaccia, Vega, Duan and Cao (2008).

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11 Under-representation of foreign minorities in cross-sectional and longitudinal surveys in Switzerland

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11.1 Introduction

Most Western societies have seen massive international migration inflows during the past decades. Unlike the typical migrant of the 1960s, however, today's migrants can hardly be standardised in terms of skills, gender and country of origin. This results in a high heterogeneity in terms of educational levels, social positions and gender (Koser & Lutz 1998; Kofman, Phizaclea, Raghuram & Sales 2000).

Many authors (see Wimmer & Schiller 2002; Chernillo 2006; Wimmer & Min 2006) have addressed the issue of whether social surveys are (still) able to represent foreigners both with respect to heterogeneity of their cultural background, educational level and position in the hosting country's social structure. There is evidence that foreign minorities in general (especially the more marginal and vulnerable individuals) are under-represented among respondents (Vandecasteele & Debels 2007). There are several reasons for this: under-coverage in sampling frames (Lipps & Kissau 2012), higher non-response rates in cross-sectional surveys (Deding, Fridberg & Jakobsen 2008; Feskens, Hox, Lensvelt-Mulders & Schmeets 2006, 2007; Camarota & Capizzano 2004; Eisner & Ribeau 2007; Jakobsen 2004; Nielsen & Pedersen 2000) and higher attrition rates in longitudinal surveys (Lipps 2007; Peracchi & Depalo 2006). To analyse under-representation, the literature has either focused on selected minorities (Deding et al. 2008) or used a rough distinction between Western and non-Western minorities (Feskens et al. 2007) that is not likely to adequately capture the increasing heterogeneity.

In this chapter we would like to shed light on the question of whether there is a bias in Swiss social surveys regarding the representation of foreign minorities. If so, are there sub-categories according to social class or education within different nationality groups that make them especially prone to being under-represented? A related question refers to the extent to

DOI: 10.4324/9781003704577_CH11

which this possible bias changes depending on the type of survey: does the under-representation found in cross-section surveys increase in panel surveys? We use data from three Swiss social surveys: the *Swiss Household Panel* (SHP), the *Swiss National Labour Force Survey* (LFS) and the Swiss sample of the *European Social Survey* (ESS). We use three different surveys to check if possible patterns of under-represented national minorities are independent of survey design features. In addition, using panel data like the SHP and the rotating LFS panel allows analysing attrition as a second dimension of under-representation.

According to the 2008 *Foreign Population Structure and Migration Statistics* (PETRA),[1] the foreign population in Switzerland amounted to 1.67 million, compared with a total population of 7.70 million. The main minorities are from former Yugoslavia,[2] representing 19 per cent of the total foreign population, Italians (17 per cent), Germans (14 per cent) and Portuguese (11 per cent).

There are three reasons why Switzerland is an ideal case to analyse the degree to which the heterogeneity of migrant populations is represented in surveys. In the first place, Switzerland has a long history as a country of immigration. According to the 2008 *Swiss Labour Force Survey* about 31 per cent of the total population aged 15 or older has a migration background. Since the end of the Second World War a stable political situation, prosperity, an undamaged industrial sector and the shortage of labour force were all important pull factors that attracted low-skilled workers from other West European countries. In 1970, the number of foreigners in Switzerland amounted to over one million (Piguet 2004). More than half of them were Italians, followed by Germans and Spanish. After a reduction in the inflow of immigration following the 1973 economic crisis, the period between 1985 and 1992 was again characterised by rising immigration flows from Portugal and former Yugoslavia. As a result of these two different waves of unskilled immigration, there is a great diversity in the immigrant population with respect to the countries of origin.

In the second place, the reasons behind migration are an important factor that characterise the immigrant population living in Switzerland. While in the 1950-1960s migrations were mostly labour-driven, there was a strong increase of migrations due to non-economic factors, such as family reunifications after 1980. The last important factor that produced a high heterogeneity in Switzerland is the presence of highly skilled migrants, in part as a consequence of the concentration of the headquarters of many international firms within Swiss borders (Gross 2006) and also because of the shortage of a highly educated autochthonous labour force caused by a selective educational system.

This chapter is organised as follows. In the first section we describe the theoretical framework used to analyse the representation of foreign minorities both in cross-section and longitudinal surveys. Next, we formulate

hypotheses to find out whether educational levels and social class help to explain the under-representation of foreigners in surveys. We then introduce the data and the models used to analyse under-representation in Swiss cross-sectional and panel surveys, after which we graph and present the under-representation of certain foreigner groups. In the final section we use multivariate models to analyse under-representation, interpret the results and draw conclusions on the implications of these results for survey design and for the analysis of survey data.

11.2 Determinants of under-representation

To better understand under-representation of national minorities we adopt the 'Total Survey Error' approach (Groves 1989), according to which under-representation mostly stems from both under-coverage problems of the sampling frame and from non-response (Groves 1987).

Under-coverage arises 'if the population from which the sample of cases is drawn is incomplete' (Corbetta 2003: 79) such that parts of the target population are not adequately represented. For example, with regard to telephone surveys, national minorities usually have a lower likelihood of owning a land-line telephone and – even if they do – being listed in telephone books (Lipps & Kissau 2012). With respect to the accuracy of sampling frames, there is evidence that more instability with respect to living arrangements and residential situations is a likely cause of under-representation of foreign minorities (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek 2004; Camarota & Capizzano 2004).

Non-response is either due to non-contact or non-cooperation once contacted. In panel studies, this includes not only (initial) non-response in the first wave, but also attrition, which means temporary or definitive drop-out of eligible sample members who once participated in the survey. Attrition is a threat to the long-term survival of a panel survey for two reasons: first, the sample size may become too small for detailed analyses and, second, attrition tends to leave an increasingly selective sample (Lipps 2007). It is mainly this second reason why non-response in cross-sectional surveys may be different from non-response in panel surveys after a number of waves of participation.

Higher levels of non-contact among foreigners/immigrants are often due to more non-standard work times (Deding et al. 2008; Feskens et al. 2006, 2007). To be able to cooperate, survey language competence is of course an obvious requirement.[3] At the least, poor language competences add considerably to the survey burden and may discourage cooperation of non-native speakers. As for more survey-related reasons, Groves, Fowler, Couper, Lepkowski, Singer and Tourangeau (2004) identify topic interest as one important issue: one reason for non-participation is probably that issues

relevant to the host country may not concern the minority interests. In addition, according to the 'social exclusion' theory, the more socially excluded tend to be under-represented in surveys (Groves & Couper 1998; Groves et al. 2004; Stoop 2005). Both foreigners and socially vulnerable people may have higher non-response rates, possibly because of more embarrassment about sensitive topics or because they do not like to disclose societal exclusion issues. Additionally, foreign respondents might not feel concerned enough to participate.

As for socio-economic correlates, Schmeet and Michiels (2003) stress the importance of economic status to explain national minorities' higher non-response rates. Feskens et al. (2006) identify variables like the degree of urbanisation, employment, socio-economic status and educational level. Jakobsen (2004) and Nielsen and Pedersen (2000) explain higher non-response rates among minorities in the Netherlands by educational level and employment status. Feskens et al. (2007) show that the effect of nationality is almost entirely mediated by the degree of urbanisation, since the latter is likely to influence non-contact rates. Deding et al. (2008) find that in Denmark the different non-response rates between immigrants and natives persist even after controlling for socio-economic variables.

These different aspects show that the reasons for under-representation in surveys may be different for foreigners from different origins and cultures. The chapter analyses the extent to which educational levels and (occupational) social class are related to under-representation. The first hypothesis is that under-representation is completely independent of social class and education. The second hypothesis is that under-representation of foreign minorities observed in Swiss surveys is completely mediated by education and/or social class, that is, the more marginal condition of foreign minorities would explain their under-representation. The third, alternative, hypothesis is that socio-economic factors such as education and social class moderate the under-representation of foreign minorities. Thus, under-representation would be higher for minorities with less education and those in disadvantaged social classes.

11.3 Data, methods and variables

Data

We use data from three Swiss social surveys: the *Swiss Household Panel* (SHP), the *Swiss National Labour Force Survey* (LFS), and the Swiss sample of the *European Social Survey* (ESS).[4] The SHP is a yearly multi-topic CATI household panel survey about living conditions, attitudes and social change, conducted by the Swiss Centre of Expertise in the Social Sciences (FORS). The SHP is representative of the residential population living in private households, irrespective of duration of stay, permit status and

nationality. All household members 14 years of age and older are eligible to be interviewed. The first sample was taken in 1999 with 5,074 completed households and a refresher sample was added in 2004 with 2,578 completed households, both sampled from the telephone register. Within each household, one member is assigned to be the reference person as a source of information on household-related characteristics. Survey languages offered comprise the three Swiss national languages (German, French and Italian).

The LFS is a yearly individual survey on labour market participation, conducted by the Swiss Federal Statistical Office (SFSO). The LFS is representative of the permanent resident population aged 15 years and older, including foreigners in Switzerland with a stay permit of at least one year. Each individual is followed during five years (rotating panel component). The survey started in 1991 with a sample of 16,000 individuals, sampled from the telephone register. Modifications during the past years added a sample of about 15,000 drawn from the central register of foreigners to the standard LFS sample in 2003. In the same year, questionnaires in Serbo-Croat, English and Albanian were introduced, with additional questionnaires in Turkish and Portuguese from 2005 on. The interview involves CATI if the language chosen is one of the three national languages, while it involves CAPI if another language is chosen.

The ESS is an individual biennial face-to-face cross-sectional survey on changing public attitudes and values in Europe, with the Swiss part conducted by the Swiss Centre of Expertise in the Social Sciences (FORS). The ESS started in 2002 and is representative of the residential population older than 14 years of age, irrespective of duration of stay, permit status and nationality. The effective sample size is to 1,500 individuals for Switzerland. While the 2002, 2004 and 2006 Swiss samples were drawn from the telephone book, for the 2008 round the register of postal addresses was used. Because the sample is household-based, the target person is randomly selected within sampled households. This procedure also requires consent of the contact person of the household. Survey languages offered comprise the three national languages.

Methods

To answer our research questions, we distinguish between cross-sectional and longitudinal dimensions. Analysing the composition of final respondents and how different subgroups of the population are represented in cross-sectional surveys requires background information such as that included in administrative registers or information about the gross sample. Since this information is not available in the surveys considered, the only way to deal with this problem is to compare survey respondent statistics with statistics from other data sources, such as the census. The analysis of

how attrition affects the representativeness of panel survey data, however, can benefit from the information collected in earlier waves of the panel.

While data from the Swiss census stem from 2000, for the three surveys different reference years are used. The reason for this choice is that the surveys have different designs, and substantial modifications were made in the ESS and particularly in the LFS. Two criteria determine the selection of the survey reference year. First, we use the years in which the design of the three surveys was as similar as possible, in order to avoid patterns of under-representation due to the particular design of a survey. Second, we use the years which are as close to 2000 as possible in order to minimise time effects. Following these two criteria, the reference year for the cross-sectional analysis of the LFS was 2002. The reason for this, as mentioned in the previous section of the chapter, is that in 2003 the LFS added a subsample of foreigners and new languages for conducting interviews. Due to the small sample size of each individual sample of the Swiss part of the ESS, the analysis is based on the pooled data from the first four rounds of the surveys (2002-2008) in order to have a sufficiently large number of cases.

To analyse cross-sectional representation, we use the ratio between the odds of a randomly selected individual being represented in the survey sample and the relative odds in the population (census value) as a measure of bias. The advantage of taking odds instead of percentages is that odds are independent of the marginal distribution of the observed variables. For example, if we consider education by nationality, the odds allow estimating the magnitude of the bias of the two variables in the population independently from the marginal distribution of education and nationality. Odds close to 1 indicate that the representation of a given category is unbiased, odds smaller than 1 indicate under-representation and odds greater than 1 show over-representation.

For the longitudinal analysis of the LFS, the year 2001 was chosen as the starting year. For the SHP the reference year was the first year of the survey (1999), because in later years attrition might have affected the sample more strongly than the (small) one-year time effect. To analyse attrition bias, we use logistic regression models.

Variables used to analyse the patterns of under-representation

We compare the representation of different population groups in the three surveys with that in the population using three variables that are included in the census 2000: nationality, education and social class. Because of different survey sample sizes, these variables need to be grouped in different ways. With respect to the foreign minority groups, the LFS data allows distinction between Swiss, Italians, French, Portuguese, Germans, Turkish, former-Yugoslavians and Albanians, those from the rest of Europe,

Africans, Americans, Asians and Oceanians. In the other surveys we distinguish between the Swiss nationals, nationals from neighbouring countries (Germans, Austrians, Liechtensteiners, French and Italians) and nationals from a non-neighbouring foreign country.

With respect to educational levels, we distinguish between 'no education/secondary I', 'secondary II' and 'tertiary'. Also, we use a fourth category for respondents who are still in training. For social class, we use the ISCO (International Standard Classification of Occupations), recoded into three categories: upper non-manual (ISCO codes 1, 2 and 3), lower non-manual (ISCO codes 4 and 5) and manual (ISCO codes 6, 7, 8 and 9). Individuals who are not in the active labour force are gathered in a fourth category. We quantify social class by occupational class because from a theoretical point of view occupation is the main determinant of individual social class position (Crompton 2008). Methodologically, we used the ISCO code because this variable is available in the census and in the three datasets we analysed.

In the longitudinal analysis, the availability of data from previous waves of the SHP and the LFS (rotating panel sample) allows incorporating additional variables in the analysis such as the length of stay in Switzerland. These additional variables will be explained in the sections where the different models to analyse under-representation are displayed.

11.4 Education, social class and the representation of foreign minorities

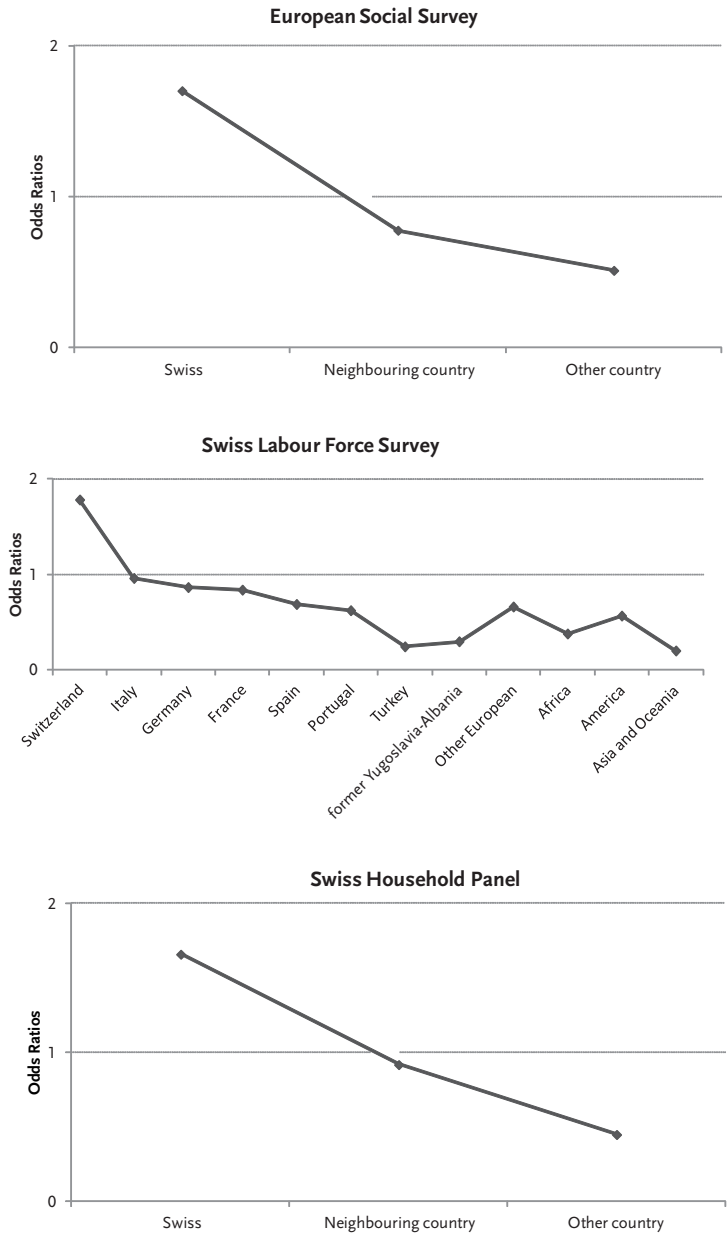
In this section we analyse whether there is evidence of under-representation of national minorities in the selected Swiss surveys and if so, the extent to which these are linked to variables such as social class and educational levels.

Figure 11.1 displays the odds ratios for national minorities in the three surveys compared to the census 2000. All three surveys show a similar pattern of under-representation of foreigners, especially of those from countries that are not geographically close to Switzerland.

In addition, the availability of more disaggregated data for the LSF let us see that the most under-represented groups are Turkish, former-Yugoslavians and Albanians, Africans and Asians. In all three surveys, minorities that are best represented are those from the neighbouring countries Italy, France and Germany.

The next step is to examine whether the bias against some foreign groups is constant within nationality or whether differences depending on educational level or social class make some particularly prone to under-representation. Analysing the interaction between the socio-economic variables, education, social class and national minorities' under-representation

Figure 11.1 *National minorities' representation (odds ratios) in the Swiss Household Panel 1999, the European Social Survey 2002-2008, and the Swiss National Labour Force Survey 2002*

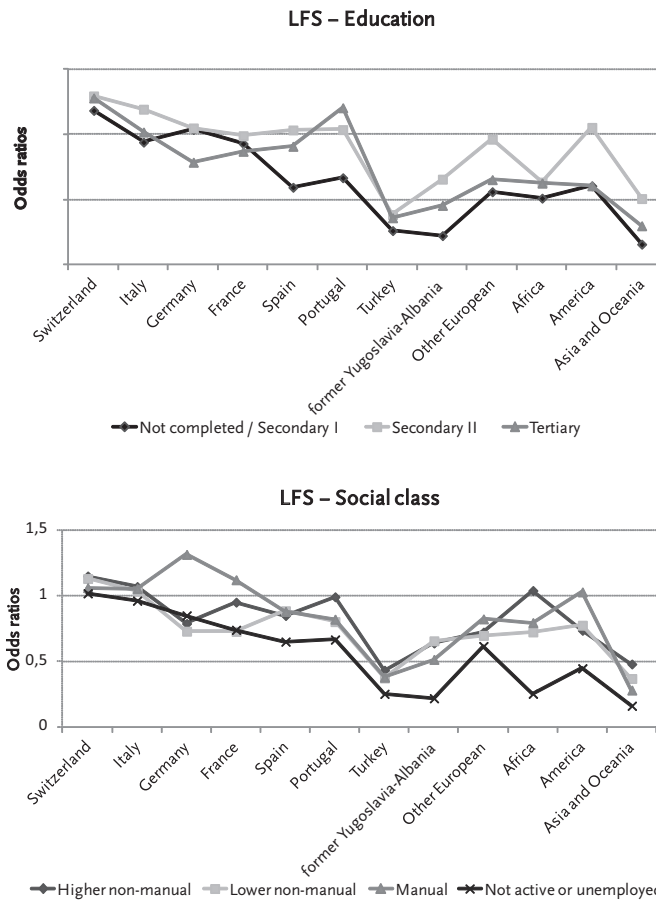


Source: SHP 1999, ESS 2002-08 (Swiss data) and Swiss LFS 2002

helps to explain the nature of the bias and the interplay between different dimensions.

Figures 11.2-11.4 show the odds ratios of the representation of subgroups of Swiss nationals and of different foreign minority groups according to education and social class in the LFS 2002, the ESS 2002-2008 and the SHP 1999, relative to the 2000 census. As mentioned above, values below 1 indicate under-representation and values above 1 show over-representation. For example, if we consider the representation of the Portuguese in the LFS by education (Figure 11.2, upper graph), we find an over-representation of individuals with tertiary education, an almost correct

Figure 11.2 *National minorities' representation (odds ratios) by education and social class in the Swiss Labour Force Survey 2002*



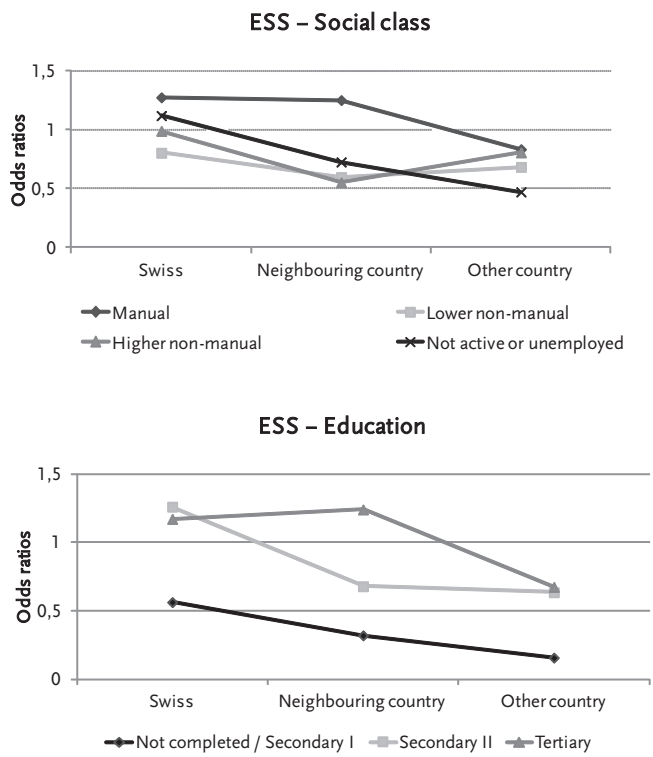
Source: Swiss LFS 2002

representation of the population with secondary II education and an under-representation of individuals with no education or secondary I.[5]

The data of the LFS indicate a general under-representation of those national minorities that constitute the backbone of the more recent migration (former-Yugoslavs and Turkish), segments of Spanish and Portuguese (with a lower education level) and those more distant from the core of Swiss society (non-Europeans).

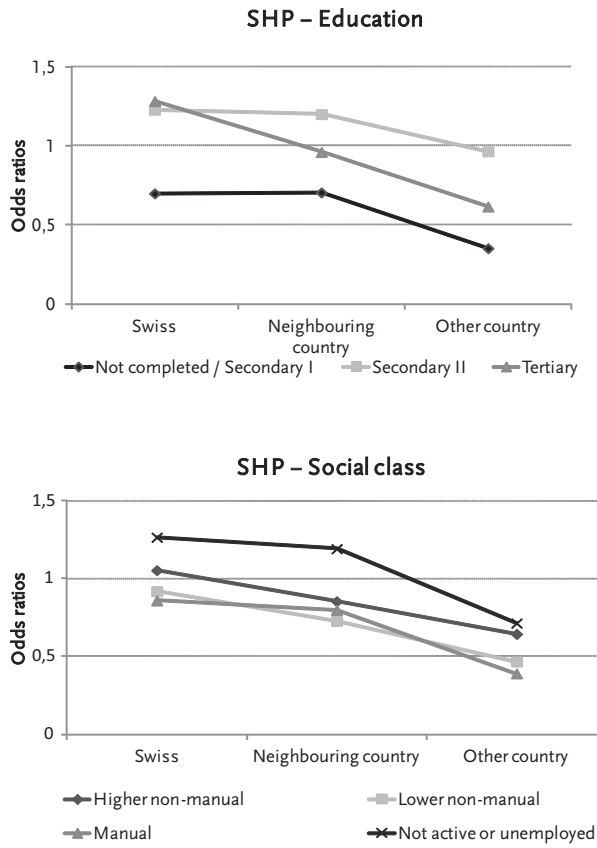
With respect to education, all three surveys show that the under-representation is more prevalent for individuals with low education, especially for those from non-neighbouring countries. For example, 80 per cent of people from non-neighbouring countries with low education are missing in the ESS final set of respondents (Figure 11.3, lower graph) and 60 per cent of them are not represented in the SHP (Figure 11.4, upper graph). The educational bias is especially strong in the ESS (but also in the SHP) and also affects the Swiss population. As for the differences between surveys, we

Figure 11.3 *National minorities' representation (odds ratios) by education and social class in the European Social Survey 2002-2008*



Source: ESS 2002-2008 (Swiss data)

Figure 11.4



are not able to find systematic survey characteristics like difficulty, length, topic, incentives or sponsorship that are able to explain this result.

The picture is quite similar when we consider the LFS (Figure 11.2, upper graph). The graphs show that there is no systematic under-representation of foreigners with a mid- or high-level education.

With respect to social class, non-manual workers are generally better represented than manual workers in the ESS (Figure 11.3, upper graph) and the SHP (Figure 11.4, lower graph). The LFS (Figure 11.2, lower graph) suggests that foreigners from at least Turkey, the former Yugoslavia and Asia are under-represented, independent of social class.

Summarising, in the three surveys, poorly educated foreigners tend to be under-represented. This pattern is more pronounced with nationals from 'distant' countries and less so among foreigners coming from Swiss

neighbour countries. The extent to which education is related to representation varies across national groups. For example, highly educated Portuguese are over-represented, whereas Turkish individuals of all education levels are under-represented in all three surveys. Unlike education, social class does not seem to have a strong moderation effect. The implication of this is that foreign minorities tend to be under-represented irrespective of their social class. In the next section we analyse whether these tendencies cumulate or level off when doing an attrition analysis.

11.5 Analysis of representation of foreign minorities in longitudinal surveys

Representation of foreign minorities in the SHP

In the current section we analyse if, after the first wave of a panel survey, under-representation of national minorities increases due to attrition. In addition to social class and education, we include other social variables known to correlate with attrition. The time foreigners have lived in Switzerland, as a proxy for 'acculturation', is controlled for.[6] Conceptually we follow Voorpostel and Lipps (2011), who also used data from the SHP. Like them, we model obtaining contact based on the household level (i.e. obtaining contact with the household reference person) and obtaining cooperation on the individual level (i.e. obtaining cooperation with each household member eligible for interview). As is common in surveys, we model obtaining cooperation with household members conditional on having obtained contact. Unlike in the research of Voorpostel and Lipps (2011), however, we also keep interview-eligible households and individuals who only participated during one wave.[7]

The attrition behaviour of households and individuals can be classified in the following patterns. Households (individuals) that were successfully contacted (completed the individual questionnaire) in every wave are coded 'always in'. Households (individuals) not successfully contacted (did not complete the individual questionnaire) in all waves, but which completed the individual questionnaire in at least the last two, are coded as 'temporary out'. 'Dropped out' are households (individuals) that were not contacted (did not respond) in the last two waves.

Table 11.1 shows the outcome of fieldwork regarding establishing contact and obtaining cooperation shown by the different attrition groups. It also shows the pattern according to nationality, using the grouping 1) Swiss nationals, 2) nationals from neighbouring countries and 3) other nationalities.

The respective first values listed are the frequencies. For example, we have 6,101 households among all 6,894 Swiss households that always report. The respective second value is the expected frequency if the response category variable were independent of the nationality variable. Taking the

population category from the previous example, we would expect 6,020 Swiss households to be in the upper left cell if the nationality was independent of the response category. This figure is simply the product of the respective marginal sums, divided by the total sum (here 6,843 times 6,894 divided by 7,837). The respective third figure is the standardised difference between the actual and the expected (under the independency hypothesis) figures. This is the contribution of the cell to the chi squared. This latter is a measure of the discrepancy between the expected frequency (assuming independency of the crossed variables) and the actual frequency. All chi squared cells add up to the total chi squared (lower right figure).

The total chi squared value on the household level (102.6) is significant on the 1 per cent confidence level; the total chi squared value on the individual level (11.2) on the 5 per cent confidence level. The large difference of the two chi squared values gives a first indication that nationality has a greater influence on differences in contact rates than in cooperation. As far as response patterns with respect to household contact rates are concerned, by far the highest chi squared contribution comes from dropped-out foreigners other than from a neighbouring country (67.3).[8] This group also exhibits the highest likelihood of being temporary out. Also, foreigners from neighbouring countries have slightly higher drop out and temporary out rates. On the individual (cooperation) level, we find that the highest chi squared contribution stems from foreigners from neighbouring countries who drop out temporarily (6.5). Foreigners from non-neighbouring countries have the highest drop out rates.

Table 11.1 *Household and individual response patterns by nationality*

	Household (Contact)				*Individual (Cooperation)*			
	Swiss	*Neighbour*	*Other*	*Total*	*Swiss*	*Neighbour*	*Other*	*Total*
Always in	6,101	420	322	6,843	7,788	478	420	8,686
	6,020	443	381		7,753	505	428	
	1.1	1.2	9.1	11.3	0.2	1.5	0.1	1.8
Dropped out	417	48	75	540	453	32	33	518
	475	35	30		462	30	26	
	7.1	4.9	67.3	79.3	0.2	0.1	2.2	2.5
Temporary out	376	39	39	454	1,490	124	84	1,698
	399	29	25		1,516	99	84	
	1.4	3.2	7.5	12.0	0.4	6.5	0.0	6.9
Total	6,894	507	436	7,837	9,731	634	537	10,902
	9.6	9.2	83.8	102.6	0.8	8.0	2.3	11.2

Source: SHP 2000-2009

Note: First values in crossed cells are the frequencies, the second the expected frequency if the response category variable were independent of the nationality variable, and the third the cell chi squared contribution to the total *chi squared*.

We conduct multivariate analysis to check if the lower household contactability of foreigners from non-neighbouring countries due to dropping out permanently and the lower individual cooperation of foreigners from neighbouring countries, due to dropping out temporarily, persist if additional variables are controlled for. The following independent variables are controlled for in the models, though for the sake of simplicity, the coefficients are not listed in Tables 11.2 and 11.3:

– whether the household could not be contacted in at least one wave (comparing them to 'always contacted' households [only individual level])[9]
– sample to which the household corresponds (1999 versus 2004)
– number of waves in the panel
– whether the person is household reference person or not, as defined in section 11.2
– whether there is a partner in the household
– whether there are any children under 18 years of age in the household
– age group
– gender
– ownership of a house/flat (using tenants as the base category)

According to the high cell chi squared (Table 11.1), for the household contact models we compare dropped out only with all other households; likewise, for the individual cooperation models temporary out with all other individuals. We use logit models for the different attrition groups ('temporary out' vs. 'always in' and 'drop out' vs. 'always in'), distinguished by the set of independent variables used.

Model 1 includes control variables already described plus nationality, education and whether the person is employed. Nationality classifies individuals in the three groups already mentioned: Swiss nationals (base category), nationals from neighbouring countries and remaining nationalities. Unlike in the cross-sectional analysis, cases are classified according to two educational levels: above and below high school level, the latter being the reference category.

The model also includes an interaction term of nationality with the number of years living in Switzerland classified in four groups, 0-2 years (base category), 3-5, 6-10 and more than 11 years. Length of stay does not only measure residence duration, but also allows capture of the different cohorts of migrants. For instance, people who migrated from former Yugoslavia in the 1990s (measured as residing in Switzerland for fourteen years in 2004) are different than those who did so in 2000 (measured as residing in Switzerland for four years in 2004).

Table 11.2 shows the results of the logit models that compare dropped-out households with households that were always in, regarding establishing contact. On the household level, similar to the bi-variate cross-

tabulated results, we find more dropping out due to non-contact among households with a nationality from a non-contiguous country, compared to neighbouring ones and especially the Swiss, also in the controlled logit model. The acculturation factors do not seem to have an effect on the contactability of other foreign groups. However, as for neighbours, a longer stay in Switzerland appears to increase contactability: although the acculturation terms are not significant. While a short stay (under five years) makes the nationality main effect term significantly positive, a longer acculturation leads to better contactability. Additionally, in line with findings from Voorpostel and Lipps (2011), higher education increases the contactability of households.

Next, we model cooperation at the individual level, where we control for clustering within households by using a random intercept modelling approach. In this case, based on the bi-variate analysis done in the previous section, the comparison is between 'temporary out' versus 'always in' households.

While model 1b includes the same control and research variables as the ones already explained for model 1a, in addition to the ones included in model 2a, model 2b incorporates two additional independent variables related to social and political participation. The first of these is whether the individual participates in clubs or associations, whereas the second is the interest in politics, measured on a 0-10 scale. Table 11.3 shows the results of logit models 1b and 2b.

Table 11.2 *Coefficients of logit model: 'drop-out' versus 'always in' households*

'Drop out' versus 'always in': Contact	*Model 1a*	*Model 2a*
Nationality: neighbour	0.39	0.91**
Nationality: other	0.79**	0.98**
Education: high school[a]	-0.38*	-0.38*
Education: above high school	-0.58**	-0.60**
Employed	0.14	0.13
Neighbour x 3-5years		0.00
Neighbour x 6-10 years		-0.70
Neighbour x 11+ years		-0.96
Other x 3-5years		-1.10
Other x 6-10 years		0.30
Other x 11+ years		-0.40
Log Likelihood	-908	-904
McFadden Pseudo R^2	0.145	0.149

Source: SHP 2000-2009 (N=7,078)

[a] Reference category: below high school level. Interaction terms between nationality and education levels have no effect

Note: Models controlled for sample (1999 vs. 2004), number of waves, partner in household, children in household, gender, age-group of reference person, owner vs. tenant of the house.

Significance levels: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$

Table 11.3 *Coefficients of 2-level logit model: 'temporary out' versus 'always in' individuals*

'Temporary out' versus 'always in': Cooperation	*Model 1b*	*Model 2b*
Nationality: neighbour	0.45**	-0.46
Nationality: other	0.06	-0.34
Education: high school	-0.03	0.00
Education: above high school	-0.09	-0.02
Employed	0.21*	0.20*
Neighbour x 3-5 years		1.48**
Neighbour x 6-10 years		0.91
Neighbour x 11+ years		0.92*
Other x 3-5 years		0.74
Other x 6-10 years		0.32
Other x 11+ years		0.40
Participation in clubs/associations		-0.11
Political interest (0-10 scale)		-0.02
Log Likelihood	-4,292	-4,283
Rho	0.30	0.30

Source: SHP 2000-2009 (N=10,384)
Note: Models conditional on contact success of household. Models controlled for sample (1999 vs. 2004), number of waves, partner in household, children in household, gender, age-group, owner vs. tenant of the house. Significance levels: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$

As expected from the bi-variate cross-tabulation, the (neighbour) nationality variable significantly increases the likelihood of being 'temporary out' as compared to being 'always in' the panel. Controlled for variables related to acculturation, however, the positive 'temporary out' effect becomes insignificant. This implies that the differences shown by nationality observed in model 1 are in fact due to the fact that nationals from neighbouring countries show higher levels of social participation and interest in politics.

Unlike for contactability, it appears that more temporary drop-out due to non-cooperation by foreigners from neighbouring countries comes from those with a medium or longer stay in Switzerland (more than two years). Social inclusion variables do not seem to have an independent effect on the likelihood of cooperating.

To summarise, from the cross-tabulations, we mainly find more temporary drop-out due to individual non-cooperation patterns among foreigners from a neighbouring country and more permanent drop-out due to household non-contact among the other foreigners in the SHP. The multivariate analyses show that both phenomena are, in part, determined by the duration of stay in Switzerland. Foreigners from a neighbouring country with a longer stay tend more to temporarily refuse to cooperate. By contrast, those who are in the country for a short time tend to drop out permanently due to non-contact. Other foreigners tend to drop out permanently due to non-

contact, irrespective of duration of stay. Generally, participation of all foreigner groups is worse than participation of native Swiss.

Representation of foreign minorities in the LFS

In this section we analyse the relationship between attrition, minorities and socio-economic status in much more detail than is possible with data from the SHP using the rotating panel component of the LFS. Specifically we test if, when controlled for educational level and social class, possible attrition of national minorities becomes weaker (Schmeets & Michiels 2003; Feskens et al. 2007). We use nested binomial logistic regression models.[10] The following independent variables are controlled for in the models, though the coefficients of these are not listed in the tables with the results (Tables 11.5 and 11.6):

– age-group (15-24; 25-39; 40-54; 55-64; more than 65) to capture non-linear relationships (Pisati 2003)
– gender
– household size, assuming that larger households are less likely to move and easier to contact

We also added control variables related to the survey design, such as the number of contact attempts and the wave of the interview, with the underlying hypothesis that the probability of attrition decreases as individuals participate in further waves of the survey.

Model 3 includes the already mentioned control variables and nationality recorder in ten categories: 1) Swiss; 2) Italian; 3) Spanish; 4) French; 5) Portuguese; 6) German; 7) Turkey; 8) former Yugoslavian and Albanian, 9) Rest of Europe; 10) Other non-European. Table 11.4 shows the

Table 11.4 *Rate of stay by national minority status in the Swiss LFS sample*

	Rate of stay (%)	*Number of observations*
French	85.37	123
Swiss	82.60	14,526
Italian	80.65	672
Spanish	80.15	131
German	79.67	241
Portuguese	78.29	152
Rest of Europe	77.78	207
Former Yugoslavia and Albania	75.73	206
Other non-European countries	72.65	117
Turkey	71.74	46
Total	82.19	16,421

Source: Swiss LFS 2001-2002

probability of stay of each of these groups between 2001 and 2002. We find that foreign nationalities have a higher likelihood of attrition, except for the French. It is especially high among former Yugoslavians and Albanians (24 per cent), Turks (28 per cent) and nationals from other non-European countries. Nationals from neighbouring countries show similar rates of attrition to that of the Swiss.

In addition to the variables used in model 3, models 4 and 5 include the variables that we have hypothesised as mediating the probability of attrition shown by different foreign minorities. These are education levels (1 Primary/Secondary I; 2 Secondary II; 3 Tertiary; 4 In training) and occupation measured by the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO), in four groups as defined earlier in this chapter. Table 11.5 presents the results from the multivariate models successively controlled for education and social class. We expect that attrition decreases with increasing educational level and social class.

Table 11.5 *Logit model results for 'drop out' versus 'stay'*

	Model 3	*Model 4*	*Model 5*
Foreign groups (reference category: Swiss)			
Italian	0.155	0.116	0.118
Spanish	0.249	0.197	0.200
French	-0.072	-0.071	-0.065
Portuguese	0.504*	0.401	0.407
German	0.139	0.155	0.139
Turkish	0.799*	0.735*	0.733*
Former Yugoslavian and Albanian	0.520**	0.486**	0.494**
Rest of Europe	0.297	0.319	0.321
Other country	0.701**	0.680**	0.697**
Education (reference category: Secondary I)			
Secondary II		-0.129*	-0.118*
Tertiary		-0.195**	-0.181*
In education		-0.038	-0.069
Social class (reference category: Higher non-manual)			
Lower non-manual			-0.016
Manual			0.026
Not active or unemployed			0.053
Constant		-0.796***	-0.812***
N	16,421	16,373	16,308
Pseudo R^2	0.034	0.035	0.035

Source: Swiss LFS (panel samples 2001-2002)
Note: Model controlled for age, gender, number of contact attempts, wave and household size. Significance levels: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$

The explained variance, expressed by the Cragg and Uhler R squared, is quite low, ranging from 3.4 per cent to 3.5 per cent with control variables included. We find that foreigners, mostly nationals from non-neighbouring countries, exhibit higher attrition. Former Yugoslavians and Albanians have a 68 per cent higher risk of attrition than Swiss citizens and foreigners from 'other countries' a 99 per cent higher risk of attrition.[11] We find that the processes leading to an under-representation of foreigners seem independent of the research variables. In fact, while in the baseline model the risk of attrition of former Yugoslavians and Albanians is 68 per cent higher than that of the Swiss, when controlling for educational level and social class, this figure decreases to 63 per cent, only 5 percentage points fewer. The conclusion is that the higher attrition levels of foreigners cannot be attributed to social class and education.

Table 11.6 *Logit model results for 'drop out' versus 'stay'*

Education		*Social class*	
National groups		*National groups*	
Swiss (reference category)	0.000	Swiss (reference category)	0.000
Neighbouring country	-0.024	Neighbouring country	0.235
Other country	0.660***	Other country	0.354
Education		*Social Class*	
Secondary I (reference category)	0.000	Higher non-manual (reference category)	0.000
Secondary II	-0.099	Lower non-manual	-0.001
Tertiary	-0.202*	Manual	-0.034
		Not Active (NA) or Unemployed	0.095
Interaction effects:			
Education*Nationality		Social class*Nationality	
Upper secondary* Neighbouring	0.182	Lower non-manual* Neighbouring	-0.195
Tertiary*Neighbouring	0.376	Manual*Neighbouring	0.052
Upper secondary* Other country	-0.503*	NA or Unemployed* Neighbouring	-0.338
Tertiary*Other country	-0.039	Lower non-manual* Other country	0.070
		Manual*Other country	0.431
		NAor Unemployed* Other country	-0.199
N	16,308	N	16,308
Pseudo R^2	0.036	Pseudo R^2	0.035

Source: Swiss LFS (panel samples 2001-2002)
Note: Model controlled for age, gender, number of contacts attempts, wave, household size, type of contract, industry, occupation. Significance levels: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$

The previous results showed that foreign minorities have different levels of under-representation and attrition and that this under-representation cannot be explained by education and social class. However, it is possible that within different nationalities attrition varies by education and social class. To test this we estimated two models with interaction effects between social class and nationality and the other between education and nationality. The model has been specified as before, except for a further aggregation of nationality in three categories: 1) Swiss; 2) foreigners from neighbouring countries; 3) foreigners from non-neighbouring countries.

Considering education effects, the Swiss or those from neighbouring countries with elementary or lower secondary educational levels exhibit a similar level of attrition, while foreigners from non-neighbouring countries with an elementary or lower secondary degree have a significantly higher attrition. For foreigners from non-neighbouring countries, an upper secondary degree makes the difference decrease by 39.3 per cent, which indicates a moderating effect of education. The interaction effect of nationality and tertiary education is not significant, due to the small sample size. The model therefore shows that the most under-represented are those from non-neighbouring countries and especially the lower-educated among this group. As for the social class dimension of social exclusion, the model confirms the bias shown in the bi-variate analysis above: the absence of significant interaction effects between social class and nationality.

11.6 Conclusions and implications

The present chapter investigated the under-representation of foreign minorities in social surveys in Switzerland. We distinguished between non-response in cross-sectional surveys and attrition in panel surveys. We focused on two aspects related to the differences of under-representation of foreigners: the heterogeneity of the countries of origin and the inter-relation of education and social class within nationalities. We expected these variables to have moderating effects and thus to diminish the under-representation of foreigner groups.

From the results, two main conclusions can be drawn. First, the heterogeneity of national minority populations cannot be adequately analysed using one foreigner category. Foreign minorities exhibit different degrees of non-response and attrition and each of them probably have different reasons. Second, we find a large under-representation of foreigners who are more subject to exclusion, like former Yugoslavs, Albanians and those from non-neighbouring countries. The analyses indicate that while social class has no effect on under-representation of foreigners, education seems to have a larger impact. Foreigners with the lowest educational levels are

more severely under-represented. These results apply both for longitudinal (attrition) and cross-sectional surveys.

Both the cross-sectional and the attrition analyses show that foreigners (especially those from non-neighbouring countries) tend to be represented to a smaller extent than natives, even if we take educational level into account. As for the potential moderating effects of education, we find that under-representation is higher for the lower-educated foreigners from more 'distant' countries. The most under-represented are thus not foreigners in general, but mostly the lowest-educated among them.

We wonder about the social mechanisms that create these results. The weak effects of social class suggest that under-representation is not induced only by 'economic factors'. Rather, the importance of education and nationality indicate that survey inclusion is related to 'proximity' to the 'core' of society. Different explanations can be attempted: insufficient language competences are undoubtedly one barrier to participation (Ngo-Metzger et al. 2004). In the ESS, language problems are mentioned by about 3 per cent of the total sample, that is, including those not responding. In addition, refusal of the respondent might come from a feeling of incompetence or lack of interest because they are 'outside society' at large. This is related not only to language skills but also to general knowledge of the national and societal context. Being unable and being uninterested in answering survey questions are both important factors in refusal.

Last but not least, the interviewer may play a role. It would probably make sense to look at the interactions between interviewers and respondents. Does the interviewer encourage interest in the survey, for example, by tailoring the survey request to the respondent (Groves and Couper 1998)? There may be cost-benefit calculations (usually the interviewer is paid per completed interview), so interviewers may assess whether sample members are 'worth' the effort. Less investment is made if the assumed probability of participation is low and non-participation would be less damaging because of an anticipated unpleasant interview.

Three main consequences result from this situation. First, surveys concentrate on prototypical citizens with boundaries defined by the nation-state (the 'spotlighting effect'). Second, surveys produce a distinction between well-represented and poorly represented national minorities ('contrasting effect'), which blurs the differences between and within national minorities. Not taking into account parts of the population particularly exposed to social exclusion has consequences not only for social indicators that are estimated from such surveys but also for subjective attitudinal and well-being indicators.

However, there is hope that this situation will change in the near future. The samples for the ESS 2010 and the 2011 Swiss part of the *International Social Survey Programme* (ISSP) have already been drawn from a new nationally harmonised individual register. Besides virtually

complete coverage of the population, the register includes information on the nationality of each sample member, amongst other socio-demographic variables. In addition, call data of the ESS 2010 and the Swiss ISSP 2011 will allow for analyses which distinguish between the two main reasons for non-response, non-contact and non-cooperation. As a consequence, we will be able to analyse non-contact and non-cooperation behaviour for sample members of known nationality separately. With a better knowledge of the reasons why foreign minorities are more difficult to contact and often are harder to convince to participate, both not contacted and not co-operating groups can be treated using a specially-tailored survey design.

The results presented in this chapter lead to some recommendations for survey designers and researchers working with general social survey data. The most important finding of the present study is that – apart from exceptions that have not been analysed here (e.g. the LFS, after 2003) – social surveys in Switzerland are not able to capture the facets of social and living conditions of the resident population with foreign nationality. As a consequence, generalisations from these surveys are limited to the population majority or to the most integrated minorities that reside in the country.

Further, the results suggest that as long as minorities are more likely to be socially excluded, current surveys underestimate indicators like development and inequality indexes. Therefore, an under-representation of certain subgroups of foreign minorities such as the lowest educated has implications for indicators that refer to the whole population.

A third implication of the study is related to the limitations of the dichotomy 'Swiss versus foreigners'. This has implications for the strategies that are used to overcome bias. On this issue, Laganà, Elcheroth, Penic, Kleiner and Fasel (2011) have shown that such practices result in an even more increased bias as long as they consider the minority population as one category. For example, weighting strategies based on the dichotomy Swiss versus foreigners results in an over-representation of foreigners from neighbouring countries (Italians, French and Germans, who are represented as well as native Swiss) while the nationals from 'distant' countries still remain under-represented. As a consequence, it is necessary to take the real heterogeneity of the samples into account and use specific measures that accommodate the heterogeneous groups – both between and within foreign minorities. Two promising avenues are oversampling in general surveys and designing surveys especially for minorities.

Table 11.7 *Characteristics of the surveys used in the analysis*

	CH Census 2000	*SHP*	*ESS (Swiss data)*	*LFS*
Population	Residents in CH	Residents - institutionalised population (e.g. jail, hospital, old age home, in military service)	Residents - institutionalised	Permanent residents - institutionalised
Age limits		14 years old and over	15 years old and over	15 years old and over
Sampling frame	Registers of CH-communes	SRH - CH Telephone register	CH Telephone register (2002, 2004, 2006), building register of Swiss Post (2008)	LFS Standard: SRH - CH Telephone register LFS Foreigners: Central Foreigner Register
Languages		Three national languages	Three national languages	Three national languages + English, Serbo-Croat, Albanian (from 2003) + Portuguese and Turkish (from 2005)
Periodicity		Yearly, since 1999	Biennially, since 2002	Yearly since 1991
Sample size (individuals)		7,799 (in 1999) + 3,645 (refreshment sample in 2004)	About 2,000 in each round	LFS Standard: from 1991 to 1994: 16,000-18,000; from 1995 to 2001: 33,000; from 2002 to 2008: 40,000 - Reduction of standard sample in the period 2003-2006. Standard sample stable afterwards. LFS Foreigners (from 2003-2008: 15,000 immigrants)
Stratification		Large regions in CH (N=7)	Large regions	Cantons
Design weights: units		Households (cross-sectional) and individuals (cross-sectional + longitudinal)	Individuals (2 steps)	Households (cross-sectional) and Individuals (cross-sectional + longitudinal)

Table 11.7 *Characteristics of the surveys used in the analysis*

	CH Census 2000	*SHP*	*ESS (Swiss data)*	*LFS*
Variables used to construct cross-sectional weights		Age groups - sex - civil status, nationality (binary: CH / non-CH)	Only inclusion probability	SLFS Standard: civil status - nationality - sex - region - age groups. SLFS Foreigners: nationality, years since living in CH
Contact / Survey mode (s)		Telephone	Telephone (most-used mode in 2002) / Face-to-face (after 2002)	SLFS Standard: telephone; SLFS Foreigners: interview in English, Serbo-Croat and Albanian - interview face-to-face after contact by telephone
Longitudinal component		Pure panel	No	Rotating panel
Non-response information		No	2006 non-response survey	No

Sources: Authors' own elaboration with data from Swiss LFS, ESS (Swiss data) and SHP

Notes

1 www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/portal/en/index/themen/01/07/blank/key/01/01.html. Accessed 26 August 2011.
2 In this minority we include foreigners from Serbia and Montenegro (184,428), Croatia (36,281), Bosnia and Herzegovina (37,631) and Macedonia (59,909).
3 See chapters 7 and 8 for a longer discussion about non-response in immigrant surveys and chapter 9 for the same issue in general population surveys.
4 The appendix to this chapter provides more details on the similarities and differences among the three surveys.
5 An odds ratio of 0.6 indicates that 40 per cent of the Portuguese individuals with low education levels are not represented in the LFS.
6 Acculturation issues like the number of years in the country – although collected, for example in the ESS – are not analysed in the cross-sectional surveys because they are not included in the census data.
7 The reason for this decision is that Voorpostel and Lipps (2011) analysed response behaviour depending on previous change. A change of a variable can only be measured with at least two measurements. As we are not interested here in previous change but only in characteristics, people who only reported in one wave are also kept in the analyses.
8 This can in part be explained by their presumably higher probability of moving out of the country and thus leaving the sample. If these households cannot be tracked, they are not treated as ineligible, but count as drop outs.
9 The reason for including this variable is that we want to consider the extent to which the household is easy to contact as a control variable to analyse cooperation (on the individual level).
10 Unlike in linear regressions, if the outcome is non-linear, the coefficients from two or more models are not directly comparable. To overcome this limitation we used the method recently developed by Karlson, Holm and Breen (2011) (KHB). We used a continuous measure of socio-economic status and education. The corresponding coefficients are very similar to those presented in Table 11.5. However, since the KHB procedure does not accept factors as mediator variables we would have to drop from our sample all individuals still in education or out of the labour force, thus estimating the models on different samples. For this reason, we use nested binomial logistic regression here.
11 The odds ratios can be obtained by using the formula: $[\exp(\beta)-1]*100$. This can be seen as follows: If $\beta=\text{logit}(p)=\log(p/(1-p))$ then $p=1/(1+\exp(-\beta))$ and $p/(1-p)=\exp(\beta)$. Now if $\beta=0.520$ (see table above) then $\exp(\beta)=1.68= p/(1-p)$ and $[\exp(\beta)-1]*100=68$ [%].

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CONCLUSIONS

DOI: 10.4324/9781003704577_PT04

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12 Surveying immigrant populations: Methodological strategies, good practices and open questions

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12.1 Introduction

Our review of survey experiences that include immigrant populations has offered important insights into the methodological challenges involved in these surveys and the possible research strategies that can be developed to deal with them. There are significant lessons that can be drawn from this diverse set of experiences with surveys from seven countries, each of which had different objectives and resources. To discuss them, we divide our conclusions into the same two main areas mentioned in the introduction. First, we will deal with issues related to the definition of the target group and to sampling design and, secondly, with fieldwork issues.

Within both of these sections we will look at the reality of surveys of immigrants as well as surveys of the general population that include immigrants. Several specific aspects will be analysed. First, we will compare the methodological strategies followed by the different surveys covered in the book (providing occasional comparisons with cases not included here). Second, we will discuss the extent to which the differences that appear among these surveys are due to contextual differences (differing immigration realities, differences in resources available, etc.). We will see if there is a clear-cut best set of practices and recommendations that can be followed by any researcher preparing an immigrant survey or, alternatively, whether things are more complex and all we can do is identify the different possible avenues that can be chosen depending on the specific circumstances of each particular survey. In order to do so, we will mostly concentrate on the ideas from this book, but we will also establish a dialogue with the ideas and strategies put forward by other researchers.

DOI: 10.4324/9781003704577_CH12

12.2 Deciding on the target population, sampling frames and sampling strategies

Three main aspects of the design of any survey will be discussed in this section: the definition of the target population, the selection of groups to be interviewed and finally, the sampling frames and sampling strategies used in order to build representative samples of the populations to be studied.

The target population

The definition of who constitutes the target population of a survey depends very much on the aims of the survey, but also on a basic contextual factor, namely, the existing data; that is, the administrative records of the immigrant population and how their status is registered. As Jacobs et al. point out (2009: 69), 'anyone wanting to perform comparative research on immigrants or [immigrant origin] ethnic minorities in Europe is unavoidably confronted with the most diverse types of national statistical data and has to opt for ad hoc solutions'.

The surveys analysed in this book have tried to answer questions regarding issues primarily related to migration and ethnicity. The difference between the two concepts has proven to have consequences for the way the target population of a survey is defined: migration can be measured through 'objective' data kept in registers, while the definition of ethnicity usually includes certain 'subjective' aspects such as feelings of identity and of belonging to a group, culture or tradition.

Most of the surveys presented in the different chapters define their target population as the resident population in a given country, thus including immigrants, or they focus specifically on the immigrant population (or on some immigrant groups in particular). Generally speaking, the lower age limit is set around 15-16 years of age and the upper age limit around 50 years of age, when there is one, usually mirroring the age structure of the population under investigation. In most cases, foreign-born residents are the target population. This is the case in two of the three immigrant surveys carried out in Spain (the Spanish *National Immigrant Survey*, ENI,[2] and the survey done in Madrid within the LOCALMULTIDEM project covered in chapters 2 and 7, respectively) and in the surveys carried out in the Netherlands, Sweden and Denmark (chapters 5, 6 and 8), though with some variations depending on whether they also include descendants of foreign-born people. For example, in the survey analysed in chapter 5, the target population is the descendants of Surinamese, that is to say, individuals between 15 and 35 years of age with at least one parent born in Surinam. By contrast, in the Danish survey discussed in chapter 8, the target population is composed of the foreign-born residing in Denmark (from

Iran, Pakistan or Turkey) as well as a Danish-born control group, therefore excluding the descendants of foreign-born residents.

The only country covered in the book where the target population of surveys is usually defined in terms of (self) defined ethnicity is the United Kingdom. As Jacobs et al. (2009) point out, the United Kingdom is the most notable example of the tradition of studying ethnicity. This might have to do with the fact that it is a country of longstanding migration and therefore the potential differentiating elements of these groups would not be captured by nationality (many of these groups come from former colonies or have UK nationality anyway) or by place of birth (many of the target groups were born in the country and have been in the United Kingdom for some generations already). As a result and following the recommendation of the Office of National Statistics, in most of the surveys discussed in chapter 2, the criterion to define the target population is ethnic self-identification.

What are the potential implications of using only 'subjective' indicators such as ethnic self-identification in the definition of the target population of a survey? If the outcome being examined is related to the subjective definition of the population under investigation, using subjective indicators to define the target population of a survey (and of the research questions it tries to provide information to answer) might potentially diminish the variation observed on the dependent variable (e.g. electoral behaviour, social mobility, having experienced discrimination). That may happen, for example, if the aim of a survey is to measure discrimination and it is suspected that discrimination is associated with being part of an ethnic minority or that feelings of belonging to an ethnic minority increase if one has experienced discrimination. In that case, it is likely that delineating the target population as a subjectively defined ethnic minority might lead to a detection of higher levels of feelings of discrimination than would be the case if the target population was defined as foreign-born (or as descendants of foreign-born people).

One way to avoid that potential problem is to collect information on other indicators such as country of birth and nationality in the same survey. Having both objective indicators such as these and subjective ones such as ethnic identification permits researchers to verify whether what matters is primarily the subjective feeling of belonging to a minority or the fact that one has been born in a different country or has a different nationality in the topic being analysed (e.g. voting behaviour, performance at school). This debate on whether to use subjective or objective indicators is present in other fields of social research, such as social stratification: one can concentrate on measuring class stratification on the basis of occupation or using indicators of class consciousness.

An example that might be useful to illustrate this point is provided in chapter 5, which analyses the extent to which the ethnic background of the

interviewer matters in the responses given to different survey questions. The target population of the survey is composed of individuals resident in Amsterdam who have at least one Surinamese-born parent. In this case, choosing ethnicity as the basis for the selection of the target population of the survey (as would be the practice in the United Kingdom) would not have been the best option. Matching interviewers with interviewees who subjectively define themselves as belonging to an ethnic group might have reduced the variation of reactions to the ethnicity of interviewers, particularly if reactions depend on how intensely they identify with their ethnic group.

All of this does not mean that ethnicity is not an interesting theme to analyse. Even if subjective ethnic identification does not play a major role as a guiding criterion for the definition of the target population or the sampling design in many of the countries covered, it can still be a main thread of analysis if questions such as the one included in the UK census, asking respondents to define the ethnic group they belong to, are included in the questionnaires. This is the practice followed in the survey carried out in Stockholm: though the target population was defined in terms of country of origin (including descendants of the foreign-born), the questionnaire included a question asking interviewees about their ethnic identity (see chapter 6).

In any case, it is difficult to provide guidelines in this respect, given that the decision very much depends on the research interests in each instance. It is also interesting to note that reality sometimes defies attempts to distinguish the objective and subjective alternatives. In the Spanish ENI the 'objective' criterion of migrant status was preferred as the variable defining the target population. However, some groups that could objectively be defined as immigrants on the basis of the strict definition (someone who comes from a different country and resides or has the intention to reside in another country), such as individuals holding Spanish nationality who were born in a country other than Spain or individuals from developed countries, were less willing to participate in the survey because they (subjectively) did not feel that they were part of the target group, not seeing themselves as 'immigrants' (see chapter 2 in this volume).

How do we choose the groups to survey?

Deciding what groups to survey obviously depends on the aims of the survey as well as on other practical factors, such as time and material and human resources available. In most of the surveys discussed in the chapters of this book (and the research projects to which they were associated) this decision was greatly conditioned by the financial resources available.

The Spanish ENI is one on the most comprehensive surveys among the ones examined in this book. It was carried out in 2007 and its main goal

was to get a panoramic perspective on the immigrant population living in Spain. As a result, all immigrant groups were considered, including individuals holding Spanish nationality who were born abroad (even if both parents had Spanish nationality), provided that they had moved to live in Spain after the age of two. By contrast, the NEPIA survey in the Spanish region of Andalusia (chapter 4) limited its scope, as its focus was not the immigrant population as a whole but only the groups coming from less-developed countries.

The *General Social Survey* in the United States, the general (resident) population surveys carried out by the Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas (CIS, Sociological Research Centre) in Spain, as well as the three Swiss surveys examined in chapter 11, also tried to cover the immigrant and foreign population without selecting specific groups. However, the main objective of these surveys was to analyse trends among the general population residing in these countries, rather than doing specific analysis of immigrants and foreigners.

The option of covering all immigrant groups is not the general rule in the immigrant surveys covered by this book; rather, the tendency is to select a limited number of groups as target population. In the Danish case (chapter 8), the survey addressed immigrants from Pakistan, Iran and Turkey, as well as native Danes. Although it is a general population survey, the logic of selecting groups is also present in the UK's *Understanding Society* survey (chapter 2), which incorporated a boost sample designed to obtain representative samples of the most numerous non-white ethnic groups.

The selection of the groups to be surveyed is usually based on several factors. Some are research-driven, while others also respond to practical considerations regarding the context in which surveys are designed and administered. In the case of the survey carried out in Stockholm (chapter 6) within the framework of the research project LOCALMULTIDEM, Chilean and Turkish immigrants were selected as the target groups because Chile and Turkey have been important source countries of migration to Sweden. This was also a relevant consideration in the survey carried out in Madrid (chapter 7) under the umbrella of the same research project, whose target groups are Moroccans, Ecuadorians and a mixed group of people born in the rest of the Andean countries. Along with the population survey, the project LOCALMULTIDEM also includes a survey carried out among immigrants' associations and organisations. It was therefore important to select immigrant groups that had had the opportunity to create an associational life of some relevance.

In most of the other cases covered in this volume, resources were limited. Choosing to limit the number of groups surveyed enhanced the probability of obtaining quality data (as well as permitting strategies such as translation of questionnaires and use of ethnic matching in the selection of

interviewers). The numerical relevance of the immigrant groups chosen was important both in terms of the substantive interest of findings, but also because of practical factors regarding issues such as fieldwork organisation.

An important consideration stemming from many of the chapters of the book (see also Jacobs 2010) is that it is highly recommended to have a control (autochthonous) group in the sample, enabling conclusions to be drawn regarding the specific effect of ethnicity or the condition of being an immigrant on the phenomena analysed. First, from a more descriptive perspective, it is useful to have a comparative group of non-immigrants in order to evaluate the attitudes and behaviours of immigrants. Second, observed differences in the outcome between immigrants and non-immigrants might be explained by other socio-demographic factors that are related to both the outcome and ethnic origin.[3]

'Compared to what?' is one of the key questions that any survey analysis must face. Comparisons can be achieved either by including a control group of autochthonous population in surveys primarily addressed to migrants and ethnic minorities, or by having boost samples of these latter populations in surveys that aim to cover the general population. A different, interesting design in terms of comparative analysis is the one that appears in 'both-ways' surveys, where the comparison is established between immigrants in origin and destination countries.[4]

Sampling strategies

Sampling strategies are greatly influenced by the existence of a (good) sampling frame. Rather than 'choosing' a sampling frame, researchers are usually faced with a limited set of alternatives depending on the context in which they operate. Some countries have very detailed and accurate administrative registers containing information about individuals' nationality, place/country of birth, as well as other data such as parents' place/country of birth. In those contexts researchers have different options for defining the target population and sampling methods; they do not have to worry about sampling frames. This is the situation in which the surveys in Sweden, Denmark and the Netherlands were carried out. As explained in chapter 3, in Spain there is a population register that provides a good sampling frame to start with, especially since improvements in its management were introduced in recent years.[5] However, although it has the advantage of including immigrants independently of whether they are residing legally in Spain, no information is included about the place of birth of parents.

The United Kingdom is the clearest example of the other end of the spectrum, where there are no good sampling frames to use. As chapter 2 pointed out, the Electoral Register cannot serve this purpose, particularly in regard to immigrants, and therefore anyone carrying out a survey of

immigrants and ethnic minorities is confronted with the need to build a sampling frame using various strategies. The most promising ones are all based on screening areas with a higher percentage of ethnic minority residents. But this is a costly process which does not work well with immigrant populations that are geographically dispersed, such as the Chinese in the United Kingdom. Other examples of countries which lack appropriate sampling frames are France and Italy.[6]

In conclusion, it seems clear that contextual aspects regarding the existence of good sampling frames matter a great deal.[7] If there is a reliable and accurate register (which does not mean that it will be without any problems), it is better to use it and concentrate resources on other stages of the survey process. The other advantage of having good registers is that they are not only useful for building samples, but also to verify the extent to which the profiles of the respondents of a survey resemble the figures existing in the register, at least for basic variables such as sex, age and country of birth. This is also a good analytical practice (which requires using coding categories comparable to the ones in official statistics), which we saw used in chapters 4 and 11.

These contextual differences regarding the existence of sampling frames influence the sampling methods that can be used. Designing probability samples is the most desired goal, but the lack of a sampling frame, as chapter 2 points out, can complicate things a great deal. Given that most of the surveys covered in this volume (with the exception of the ones done in the United Kingdom and the NEPIA survey in Andalusia) began with a good sampling frame, the main decision regarding sampling had to do with two aspects: stratification and whether to build a nominal sample or choose a different probability sampling method. Regarding the first issue, usually some kind of grouping was done in the surveys that attempted to cover the whole immigrant population, as shown in chapter 3. Even in countries where immigrants or ethnic minorities constitute a comparatively high percentage of the total population, they are still minority groups, and therefore usually some kind of grouping of a particular immigrant group, based on geographical origin or some other criterion, has to be done to ensure a minimum but feasible representation of diversity. For example, in the Spanish ENI the stratification meant treating Ecuadorians, Moroccans and Romanians as separate groups, while the immigrants of other countries of origin had to be grouped together in geographical areas, as it would have been difficult to achieve a broad enough sample because of the small number of foreign born from other countries, if taken separately.[8]

Simple probability samples (with no stratification) were used, for example, in the local surveys addressed to only two or three immigrant groups (such as the survey carried out in Madrid and the one in Stockholm, covered in chapters 7 and 6, respectively). Even in these cases, difficulties experienced in obtaining good response rates forced the survey organisers to

change the sampling strategies once the fieldwork had started. These difficulties illustrate a central idea: even with a good sampling frame as a starting point and having chosen a simple sampling strategy, fieldwork may still be quite difficult, especially if resources are limited. In fact, this is an important idea which is often insufficiently highlighted in the survey literature: the resources available to start with (money, but also trained interviewers, time and sampling frames) decisively shape the strategies that can be executed and this should be given consideration when choosing the research strategy in general, and the sampling strategy in particular.[9]

As for the choice between a nominal sample and a different sampling strategy, the conclusions drawn from this book are less obvious. The main advantage of name samples is that it is easier to know what is going on in terms of response rate and the 'fate' of every single individual included in the initial sample. The main disadvantage is that location problems may exist and having a name sample with no possibility of substitution may lead to a high non-response rate, mainly due to inability to locate individuals (either because they have moved or because their registration was 'false' and they never lived at the address listed in the register).

This dilemma was faced by the ENI in Spain. Having tried the nominal sample in the pilot test, they ended up opting for a sample of dwellings where at least one individual born in a foreign country was registered. The reason for this is that the results of the pilot test showed that, even though immigrant groups were highly mobile, the tendency was for houses and residences to be subsequently occupied by other immigrants (in many cases of the same geographical origin). Other surveys covered in this book that used name samples encountered similar problems in locating immigrant groups (e.g. the Danish survey in chapter 8).

In the context of a general population survey, the conclusion is also clear that a name sample (designed for the administration of the 2008 ISSP survey in Spain) meant a much lower response rate among non-nationals, mainly due to problems of locating this population (chapter 9). However, chapter 7 on the survey done in Madrid seems to reach a different result, which shows that if sufficient effort is made, the problem of locating immigrants can be greatly diminished. Whether it is worth investing a lot of resources in such a task or whether it is better to opt for a different sampling strategy from the outset, as was decided in the ENI, remains an open question.

A final consideration is worth noting regarding comparative surveys. The introduction discussed the efforts being made by statistical offices and international organisations to produce comparable data and the difficulties they face. The challenges faced by a small group of researchers trying to produce new (comparable) survey data about immigration are of a similar nature, but larger and simpler at the same time. They are similar because they face the same problems of making comparable what is different from the onset (e.g. the quality of the electoral registers or the composition of

the immigrant population for the Spanish and Danish teams of the LOCALMULTIDEM project). The problems are larger because research teams will often be less well-funded and quite heterogeneous in terms of expertise and available funding, a difference that becomes even more important when projects require the cooperation of research groups from the North and the South. However, the problems may also be simpler to solve because decisions are in the hands of a small group of people who are usually not conditioned by bureaucratic procedures and old traditions, so they can adopt comparable strategies from the early planning stages, as shown by LOCALMULTIDEM (dealing with immigrant surveys), the *European Social Survey* (dealing with general population surveys) and other comparative surveys.

12.3 How should the interview be conducted? Language, fieldwork and response rates

This section will deal with three basic aspects. First, we will review strategies, recommendations and open questions about the questionnaire preparation stage and its adaptation to multi-ethnic societies. Second, we will see how to deal with fieldwork, including aspects such as the selection and training of interviewers. Finally, we will address the outcomes of fieldwork and the challenge of obtaining good response rates among a highly mobile population.

Language and questionnaires

Multilingual societies require multilingual surveys. The composition of immigrant communities is in constant flow: at the same time that second generation or long-settled immigrants become fluent in the local language(s), other immigrants with limited knowledge of this same language will be arriving. Hospital waiting rooms and train stations have already become multilingual and the survey world lags only slightly behind them. The surveys included in this book have been sensitive to this multilingual reality and used different strategies to deal with it. The most obvious strategy is to translate the questionnaire into the languages which are most prevalent among immigrants and especially among those groups with greater difficulties with the local language.[10]

Obviously, the need to adopt such a strategy depends on the number of people among the target population that are not fluent in the native language. As a result, in surveys addressed basically to immigrants the use of some translation will normally be a must: the LOCALMULTIDEM survey in Madrid (chapter 7) used Arabic as a second language; NEPIA (chapter 4) and ENI (chapter 3) used Arabic, English, Russian and French. The

Danish survey in chapter 8 was also available in Farsi, Urdu, Turkish and the Swedish one covered in chapter 6 was translated into the languages spoken by two of the targeted groups, Turkish and Spanish (for the Chilean group).

The decision becomes more complicated in surveys addressed to the general population. If the goal of a survey is to represent a given immigrant group, the crucial question is 'how many individuals to be interviewed will not be able to cope with a survey in the local language?' The answer to this question will almost automatically determine whether there is a need for translation: the survey will be of little use if an important part of the community to be represented is unable to understand the questions or refuses to participate because of language problems.[11]

In surveys of the general population the crucial question becomes, 'how much will the picture of the general population be distorted if we do not translate the questionnaire?' The goal is no longer the small picture, but the bias that languages may introduce in the big picture. The answers to this question have been very diverse in the surveys analysed in this book, from the introduction of Spanish as a second interviewing language in the US *General Social Survey*, to the possibility of conducting the interview in several foreign languages provided in the British survey *Understanding Society* (see chapter 2) and in the three Swiss surveys covered in chapter 11, to the non-adoption of any second language in the case of the surveys carried out by CIS on the general population in Spain (chapter 9).

Decisions about these different strategies for dealing with language barriers are related to at least three contextual factors. We have already presented the first and most obvious: the larger the size of the potentially excluded population (and thus, the larger the potential bias of the data obtained), the larger the likelihood that translation is absolutely necessary. Two other factors will also shape the decision to translate: how important are each of the ethnic groups and how likely is it that they will not be fluent in the language of the country where they are living? In this regard, one country that has appeared in several of our chapters (Spain) is more the exception than the rule, with most of the crucial foreign-born population groups having Spanish as their own native language (immigrants from Latin American countries) or having very few problems in understanding it (e.g. Romanians, as shown in chapter 9).[12] The result is that the need for questionnaire translation is relatively small in the Spanish context, where most immigrants can cope with Spanish. In addition, the decision to translate questionnaires in the Spanish context would raise additional issues. Should the survey organisation give priority to the large percentage of the Basque population that speaks Spanish but would prefer to be interviewed in Basque, or the smaller number of Moroccans which to a great degree speak and understand little or no Spanish? Or should priority go to the British residents who tend to be less fluent in Spanish?

The combination of these contextual factors produces difficult obstacles to the use of translation in certain types of surveys, for example, general population surveys in countries such as Britain. Britain has a large number of non-English-speaking minorities, each representing a very small part of the sample. In such situations we cannot expect questionnaire translation to become a general policy, and except in extremely large samples or extremely well-funded surveys, other less optimal strategies will be used.[13]

Funding[14] is precisely the final contextual factor that is likely to influence the decision to translate or not, which may also help to explain why the ENI questionnaire was translated into more languages (four) than other less well-funded surveys, and why the GSS might cope more easily with this issue than other surveys addressed to the general population (with everything translated into a second language – Spanish).

Resources are never unlimited. Because they may be better used in other aspects of the collection process (e.g. to optimise sampling or response rates), a crucial question is whether translation efforts pay off. In some cases, the question is meaningless: without translating, the survey of specific groups of immigrants would be simply impossible or would produce extremely biased data. However, the GSS produced estimates of the US population up to 2006 without using Spanish and the surveys done by CIS continue to produce data on the Spanish resident population without using Arabic. The answer to this question, thus, has to be case-specific and depends on the number of individuals who speak each language (and are unable to speak the local one). In any case, in cases such as the GSS, the introduction of Spanish has made a huge difference: 225 people answered in Spanish and around a third of them would not have been able to participate in the survey if the translation had not been available. More importantly, the picture of the Hispanic population in the United States obtained is now more accurate, revealing this population group to be substantially different and not nearly as assimilated as was previously thought. The quantitative impact of the translation of the questionnaire into Spanish is such that 109 among 140 attitudinal indicators of the overall US population are now different from before the introduction of this practice (chapter 10). Previous research has also emphasised this point (see Bizier, Kaddatz & Laroche 2004).

How great the need is for an additional language can only be known through previous experience. The ENI survey in Spain is an illustrative case. Following the translation of the questionnaire into four languages, there was only very limited usage of most of the translations, a situation that also arose previously (DaVanzo, Hawes-Dawson, Burciaga & Vernez 1995).

Making the choice for a translated questionnaire does not end the story. Important decisions need to be made about how to do a reliable translation that will produce results that are comparable among the different

languages. The GSS again is a good illustration of a cooperative team effort involving several stages and reviews adopted to ensure comparability.[15] In spite of these efforts, a rigorous test of differences points to unexplained language differences that may be attributable to imperfect comparability among words or response categories. In short, we make progress by translating, but the door we open with it requires extended efforts to guarantee the production of quality data (Harkness, Braun, Edwards, Johnson, Lyberg, Mohler, Pennel & Smith 2010).

An obvious open question is how far we should go to include minority languages. On the one hand, there will always be ever smaller minorities and groups that would prefer us to use their language[16] and there will always be individuals who do not understand if we do not use their mother tongue, producing a certain degree of bias.[17] On the other hand, we have seen that a reliable and accurate translation is not easy to produce (chapter 10). The effort involved usually implies that the decision to translate is made only when a relatively sizeable proportion of the population is affected (e.g. the 5 per cent rule used by the *European Social Survey* whereby questionnaires must be translated only into languages spoken at least by that percentage of a participant country's population).

In conclusion, the primary general recommendation regarding languages is to translate questionnaires and other survey documentation (as well as the invitation letter and show cards) into as many foreign languages as possible (and as reasonable). The chapters in this book have clearly shown that this is necessary in many cases and that it leads to a more accurate picture of reality even in surveys of the general population. However, the difficulties involved in the quality translation of questionnaires and the comparability problems that they raise, even with good translations, is opening the door to the exploration of new survey practices, such as using anchoring vignettes (images that reflect the idea being questioned), that have produced quite promising results (Hopkins & King 2010; see also chapter 2 in this volume).

Although language is by far the most important issue in preparing a multicultural questionnaire, the surveys analysed in this book also refer to another essential practice in questionnaire development: doing a pilot study. In several of the surveys discussed a pilot study was carried out, resulting in relevant changes and consequences for fieldwork preparation. For example, as a result of the pilot test, the researchers in charge of the Swedish survey discussed in chapter 6 found that the questionnaire was far too abstract and long. It was subsequently reduced by 40 per cent. Both the survey of Surinamese (chapter 5) as well as the ENI survey (chapter 3) developed two pilot studies with different goals and outcomes. In the first case they were especially useful for questionnaire development and in the second they were crucial in making the decision to change the sampling unit from individuals to households. The lesson is quite straightforward: if pilot

testing is advisable in any survey, its importance increases markedly when we face new territories, in terms of population, language or culture.

Interviewer selection and fieldwork strategies

To make the most of translated questionnaires, the use of bilingual interviewers is recommended. However, in many cases it will be difficult to find trained and professional bilingual interviewers. This produces a dilemma: is it better to work with professional interviewers (and provide them with bilingual help when needed) or is it more important to be culturally sensitive and use linguistic and ethnic matching, even if it is at the cost of using interviewers with less experience?

The surveys included in this book chose different options and, in most cases, research teams in charge of their organisation were satisfied with the results. For example, the NEPIA survey in Andalusia and the survey carried out in Stockholm represent two quite different strategies that obtained satisfactory outcomes, according to the conclusions reached in the respective chapters of this volume (chapters 4 and 6). The NEPIA case chose proximity and trained a new pool of interviewers, trying to adapt ethnic composition to the dominant ethnic groups in each of the areas surveyed. Since the use of non-professional interviewers involves more risks, a strict follow-up strategy was needed, including dismissals of interviewers in a few cases. The general results were good, with low levels of non-response and a high proportion of phone numbers obtained, even among a population that included unauthorised immigrants. In such a case, the creation of a new fieldwork team involves not only intense training, but also difficulties in recruiting good interviewers and a high risk of staff turnover among a group of workers who are likely to have limited experience (see chapter 7).[18]

The use of professional interviewers was the option chosen by the other Spanish survey (ENI), as well as by the two Scandinavian ones (Sweden and Denmark). In these cases, professional interviewers did most of the work and only used native interpreters when the individuals being interviewed had difficulties with the language. The Danish chapter is the one that most clearly acknowledges that this was not an ideal solution, as it made the fieldwork more complicated and, as a result, extended its length because a substantial number of interviewers resigned. Again, the use of bilingual help was varied, depending on the composition of the immigrant population. There was substantial usage in Denmark, especially in interviews with Arab women, but very limited usage in the case of the ENI. Chapter 6, on the survey done in Stockholm, makes a very clear case for the benefits of using professional interviewers and suggests that their contribution can go far beyond interviewing to also making important suggestions on the organisation of the overall survey process.[19]

Beyond the complexity of the fieldwork process, does the strategy of ethnic matching change any of the results obtained? Our conclusions regarding this subject coincide with earlier literature:[20] mixed findings and changing results depending on the subject analysed. For example, chapter 8 claims that interviewer characteristics did not affect results in the case of the Danish survey examined. The test of ethnic matching effects is the central contribution of chapter 5: using a carefully tailored design, where half of the interviewers were Dutch and half were Surinamese, interviewees were assigned to specifically evaluate the effects of ethnic matching. Significant differences appeared on most questions, except the primarily factual ones. Some of these differences disappeared when appropriate controls were introduced in the analysis, but the effects of social desirability on culturally sensitive questions continued to hold.

In conclusion, the diverse findings of the chapters in this volume point to a limited set of recommendations regarding the characteristics of interviewers and fieldwork organisation, which are more relevant for surveys addressed primarily to ethnic minorities and immigrants. *First,* the decision of whether to work with professional interviewers (with bilingual help) will depend on at least two factors: the availability of a professionally trained network of interviewers and the complexity of the distribution of immigrant groups and their languages over the field area. Bilingual support will be relatively easy to organise when researchers have to deal with two languages clearly clustered in given areas. It will be much more complicated if they need to cover a large number of languages distributed in a highly dispersed population. In any case, to build an alternative pool of well-trained interviewers is always costly and one must expect instability and difficulties, even when interviewers are well paid.

*Second, g*iven the complexity, the advantages of ethnic matching are far from clear. The best solution will depend on the survey topic. For factual questions addressed to a group clearly distrustful of other communities, ethnic matching may make sense, but its usage in surveys dealing with culturally sensitive subjects may introduce new sources of bias. As previous research has shown (Durrant, Groves, Staesky & Steele 2010), it is not only ethnicity but general similarity between interviewers and interviewees which becomes crucial for attaining higher cooperation rates. Therefore, ethnicity should be taken into consideration together with other socio-demographic characteristics of interviewers (e.g. gender and age), especially in certain circumstances (e.g. surveys on sensitive topics).

In any case, quite a number of questions remain open and we will mention just a few of them. First, we need to know more about the training strategies that are most needed and effective, both for professional interviewers who need to adapt to groups with characteristics different from those of the majority, and for new interviewers who belong to the interviewed community but tend to lack technical skills and experience.

Second, the surveys included in this book were mostly conducted face to face, and we need to know more about the potential effects of alternative modes of administration among immigrant groups. Third, we need to learn more about the effects of lower-cost strategies such as ad hoc translations by interviewers and letting interviewees rely on help provided by relatives. Then we will have a clearer idea of whether these strategies should ever be recommended or could be used in less well-funded projects or particularly complex circumstances.

Outcomes: Response rates

After all the efforts described in the previous pages, was it possible to achieve survey results based on a high response rate? Again, the surveys covered in this book allow for different answers to this question. Response rates varied greatly among surveys and, in some cases, among countries of origin, allowing for an exploration of the possible factors that lie behind these differences.

The highest response rate appears in the ENI survey, which reached 67 per cent. This rate decreases substantially in the two Scandinavian surveys and even more in the LOCALMULTIDEM project and the 2008 *International Social Survey Program* (ISPP) survey in Spain (see chapter 9), where response rates did not reach 40 per cent, considering only the individuals in the sample without Spanish nationality. However, any comparison must be done considering that the ENI calculation does not follow WAPOR common procedures, since the survey incorporated the possibility of substitution for some specific circumstances of non-contact. In spite of that, there are at least three sets of factors that must be considered to understand differences in these outcomes. The first one is again resources and the fieldwork instructions associated with them. The high ENI response rate cannot be understood without considering the importance given by the Spanish National Statistics Institute (INE, in Spanish) to that survey and the amount of resources devoted to it.[21] In addition, since the INE is a well-known institution and many of its surveys have response mandated by law, it also has a legal and symbolic advantage that most other surveys of immigrants lack.[22]

A second important explanatory factor is the objective difficulties of the populations being targeted. Factors such as the living conditions of the immigrant group being considered,[23] their average time in the country, their degree of mobility and the urbanisation of the area where they live, all contribute to make the fieldwork remarkably more or less difficult. Some of these factors are probably behind the unexplained differences that continue to appear among different immigrant groups showing quite different response rates (e.g. from 63 per cent among immigrants of Iranian origin to 42 per cent among Pakistanis in the same Danish survey, chapter 8). The

analysis of three Swiss general population surveys presented in chapter 11 is especially interesting. We see the effect of other sociological variables, because it distinguishes the influence of education and occupation from the role played by belonging to different nationalities in explaining survey participation. It shows that foreigners from neighbouring countries that share one of the Swiss official languages have similar problems and similar representation rates in surveys as the Swiss population, whereas under-representation is higher among the rest of foreign minorities. The larger the cultural gap (as e.g. in the case of nationals from Yugoslavia's successor states or from Turkey), the larger the under-representation of foreign minorities. This gap is only partially reduced through controlling for education.

Finally, it is crucial to know the reasons why so many interviewees cannot be interviewed. Several of the chapters in this volume provide interesting information in answer to this question. A result that appears in all of them and was previously noted is that an important part of non-response is due to a failure to establish contact: regardless of the country of origin, residence or fieldwork protocol, immigrant populations are always difficult to reach and quite mobile, and any address record quickly becomes outdated.

Differences appear in the other reasons for non-response: inability to answer will be more prevalent when there is no help for non-native language speakers (5.6 per cent in the ISSP survey carried out by CIS in Spain, chapter 9) than when these resources are available (1.4 per cent in the ENI survey, chapter 3). However, the most important difference appears in cooperation rates, ranging from the extremely cooperative immigrant group in the ISSP sample (3.5 per cent of non-cooperation) to a maximum of around 30 per cent in the Swedish survey covered in chapter 6 of this volume.

In those cases where cooperation rates can be compared with the native population, contradictory findings continue to appear, with the Spanish results more in line with previous evidence that found greater cooperation from immigrant populations than shown in the results of the Scandinavian surveys in this book,[24] where cooperation rates are slightly higher for the native populations. The analysis of the presence of immigrants and foreign groups among respondents of several Spanish general population surveys in chapter 9 reveals interesting evidence that suggests that the lower inclination to cooperate shown by the native, compared to foreign-born population, may be partially due to the fact that the former have been exposed to too many surveys.

Good practices that help to achieve higher response rates are not radically different from those used in any other survey: increasing the number of contact attempts (up to a certain point) and spreading these attempts over different days and times, establishing incentives for interviewers and interviewees, sending advance letters and using well-trained interviewers. The differential aspect that immigrant populations introduce (higher

mobility and as a result, higher non-contact rate) can be dealt with either through a change in the sampling unit to households (under the assumption that often the new people living in a household will continue to be immigrants, as the ENI did) or by considering response rates shown by these groups in previous surveys when doing the sampling design (the response rate would remain the same, but researchers would achieve their target number of interviews through differential oversampling). The different behavioural patterns of each of the immigrant groups means that, as chapter 7 argues, surveys aiming to cover native and immigrant populations should probably choose different sampling and fieldwork strategies for each of them in order to obtain similar outcomes. The experience of the ESS over the last decade shows that maximum comparability cannot be achieved by always using identical procedures, but by adapting procedures to the needs and possibilities of each particular setting and with a rich and detailed process of documenting every aspect and decision of all the survey process steps.

Some of the data presented has raised more questions than answers. For example, we have collected quite reliable evidence of response rates and reasons for non-response for different immigrant groups in different cities and using different fieldwork strategies. However, given the considerable discrepancies in the response rates, we have been able to understand only a small part of where they come from. The factors just discussed are clearly important, but unanswered questions remain. Why, for example, in Sweden, do men of all ethnic groups have lower response rates than women, while this pattern only emerges among certain ethnic groups in Denmark? Only with additional research will we be able to answer such questions.

12.4 Looking ahead

How should we proceed to achieve quality survey data on immigrants? The different surveys examined in this book have made it clear that it is impossible to provide universal recipes that work in all circumstances. In spite of that, we have tried to provide two kinds of recommendations. First, a list of good practices that have worked well in the surveys examined throughout this volume, the feasibility and external validity of which are discussed in this concluding chapter. Most of them cannot be applied in all circumstances, but we have shown their advantages and limitations and discussed the situations in which they may be appropriate. Second, the topics that we have dealt with in this conclusion can be used as a kind of checklist of issues to be considered when planning a survey involving immigrant populations. It may not be easy to provide answers on what to do in all circumstances, but at least we have tried to provide a thorough list of

relevant questions that have to be kept in mind when planning a survey addressed to immigrants or ethnic minorities.

To be sure, more methodological research is needed on this topic. The demand for more data about immigrants and ethnic minorities from national and supra-national bodies makes us confident that the number of surveys addressed to these populations will increase in the future. Along with them new insights will emerge on how to address the methodological challenges that these types of surveys involve.

Finally, it is important to widen the scope and to consider that surveys are an important instrument, but just one of the tools available to obtain data about immigrants and ethnic minorities. If the general goal is to know more about the reality of these populations, as Jacobs (2010) advocates, survey data should be combined with a more thorough usage of data registered in administrative databases, provided that privacy protection is guaranteed, as well as with other types of data collection such as qualitative studies.

Notes

1 The views expressed in this chapter are personal and do not necessarily reflect those of the organisations to which the authors belong.
2 Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes.
3 This good practice is respected by most of the surveys in this book, except for those with mostly descriptive aims, such as the NEPIA and ENI surveys, whose goals were to get a first impression of the characteristics of immigrants.
4 See the chapters that appear in Bonifazi, Okólski, Schoorl and Simon (2008) as well as Beauchemin and González Ferrer (2011).
5 The deficiencies in its updating caused the researchers in charge of NEPIA to build their own frame, as explained in chapter 4. That chapter concludes that if the survey had to be redone, they would now use the 'Padrón' (population register), as it is now kept more up to date than it used to be, the only reservation being that immigrants who do not reside legally in the country are less likely to register for various reasons (lack of knowledge, fear of the consequences of being included in a register, etc.).
6 Blangiardo developed the centre sampling method as a sampling strategy to build samples of immigrant minorities and overcome the lack of an adequate sampling frame for that purpose in Italy (Blangiardo 1996; Mecatti & Migliorati 2003). For the French case, see Tiberj (2006) which examines the strategy followed in the survey 'Rapport au politique des Français issues de l'immigration', in order to obtain a sample of French citizens from African and Turkish immigration.
7 Having a good sampling frame does not preclude other types of problems, as immigrant populations are usually characterised by a high degree of residential mobility, which may not always be captured by the registers.
8 See chapter 3 for a detailed definition of the groups.
9 In their assessment of the NIDI project, Groenewold and Bilsborrow (2009) stress the idea that research and sampling strategies should only be decided once all funding sources have been secured.
10 The role of bilingual interviewers will be addressed in the next section.

11 Questionnaire translation will be necessary for Bangladeshis in Britain or British citizens in Spain, to mention just two of the examples that appear throughout this book, where a large part of the immigrant group is not able to speak the local language.
12 A similar situation occurs with people from India in the United Kingdom (see chapter 2).
13 For example, allowing bilingual interviewers or family members to translate the questionnaire.
14 The same argument applies for other kinds of crucial resources. For instance, time constraints will limit the adoption of many of the practices we recommend in these conclusions.
15 Chapter 2 also presents an adaptation of the TRAP model (used by the ESS), which is becoming the new international standard for translation procedures, used in British ethnic minority surveys.
16 This may be the case for the Kurd community covered in chapter 6: the citizen survey was only translated into Turkish that could be understood by all, but the organisational survey that had to be completed by more culturally sensitive local elites was also translated into Kurdish.
17 Lee, Nguyen, Jawad and Kurata (2008) show that the use of Spanish in the GSS is not enough in the United States to achieve representativeness since results for Asian people (about 4 per cent of the US population) continue to be biased unless additional languages are used.
18 In fact, the author of chapter 4 expresses doubts as to whether the same strategy would be adopted if they were to start again from scratch.
19 Previous research repeatedly highlights the crucial role played by experienced interviewers. See, for example, Durrant, Groves, Staetsky and Steele (2010).
20 Feskens, Hox, Lensvelt-Mulders and Schmeets (2006) consider ethnic matching to be an inefficient strategy, at least for general population surveys and even problematic for certain survey subjects. Chapter 2 in this book also briefly reviews previous findings.
21 The different resources between the ENI and the ISSP survey in Spain are evident in budgets, numbers of interviewers and other indicators. To give a single indicator, the fieldwork lasted almost four months in the case of ENI and slightly more than one month in the ISSP survey.
22 However, even if a high number of visits of different hours and days are a good practice that helps to improve response rates, the LOCALMULTIDEM survey done in Madrid shows that even applying the strict European Social Survey rules, response rates may end up being quite low.
23 For example, the NEPIA survey in Andalusia included immigrants who were not registered, whereas the Scandinavian and ENI surveys used official registers to build the sample frame.
24 In their comparative analysis of survey data of ethnic minorities Feskens et al. (2006: 300) mention that even though they are also increasing, non-response rates due to refusals are usually lower among ethnic minorities than among the native population.

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