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Surveying Ethnic Minorities and Immigrant Populations

*Methodological Challenges and
Research Strategies*

JOAN FONT & MÓNICA MÉNDEZ (EDS.)

Surveying Ethnic Minorities and Immigrant Populations

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edited by
Joan Font and Mónica Méndez

IMISCOE Research

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PART II

FIELDWORK AND RESPONSE RATES

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,

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. Rıřvanođlu-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*

<i>Measure</i>	<i>Respondent's parents</i>	<i>Interviewer</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>S.D.</i>	<i>Stand. mean</i>	<i>Stand s.d.</i>	<i>Difference Surinamese/Dutch interviewer^a</i>
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% $\chi^2(7) = 112$ ***	4.9% $\chi^2(7) = 99.9$ ***	0.0% $\chi^2(7) = 17.7$ *	3.7% $\chi^2(7) = 35.5$ ***	10.7% $\chi^2(7) = 42.6$ ***	3.9% $\chi^2(7) = 11.4$	6.6% $\chi^2(6) = 74.3$ ***
Step 1 improved model compared to an empty model by adding respondent characteristics:							
- 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:	$\chi^2(7) = 2.7$	$\chi^2(7) = 3.3$	$\chi^2(7) = 0.2$	$\chi^2(7) = 1.3$	$\chi^2(7) = 7.3$ **	$\chi^2(7) = 1.2$	$\chi^2(6) = 0.5$
Background interviewer							
Step 3. Improved model by adding:	$\chi^2(7) = 0.2$	$\chi^2(7) = 1.3$	$\chi^2(7) = 0.0$	$\chi^2(7) = 0.7$.4090 $\chi^2(7) = 0.2$	$\chi^2(7) = 0.6$	$\chi^2(6) = 2.5$
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 multi-level 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 non-response. 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.

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-trying 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 & Soinen 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*

	<i>Turkish descent</i>		<i>Chilean descent</i>		<i>Swedish descent</i>		<i>Total</i>
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	
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)*

	<i>Turkish descent</i>		<i>Chilean descent</i>		<i>Swedish descent</i>	
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
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 Madrid¹

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

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

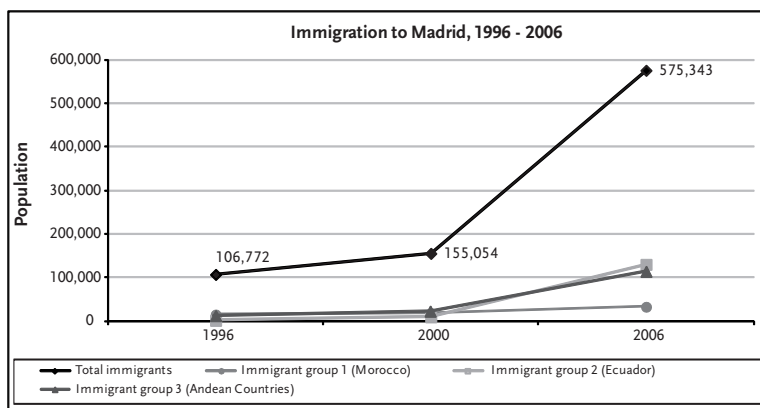
The immigrant population in Madrid: An overview

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
<i>Ecuador</i>	21.1	124,949	<i>Morocco</i>	13.8	14,794
<i>Colombia</i>	7.8	45,759	<i>France</i>	8.7	9,347
<i>Peru</i>	7.1	41,866	<i>Peru</i>	7.4	7,951
<i>Romania</i>	6.7	39,646	<i>Argentina</i>	7.0	7,475
<i>Morocco</i>	5.7	32,741	<i>Germany</i>	5.8	6,165
<i>Bolivia</i>	5.4	31,919	<i>Cuba</i>	4.9	5,007
<i>Dominican Rep.</i>	4.8	28,394	<i>Dominican Rep.</i>	4.2	4,519
<i>Argentina</i>	4.1	23,947	<i>Portugal</i>	3.6	3,895
<i>China</i>	3.8	21,694	<i>Philippines</i>	3.4	3,679
<i>France</i>	2.3	13,517	<i>Colombia</i>	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*

	<i>Original nominal sample</i>	<i>Interviews nominal sample</i>	<i>Interviews replacement from original sample</i>	<i>Interviews from spatial sampling</i>	<i>Interviews from random routes</i>	<i>Total interviews</i>
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 stand-point, 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
<i>Substitution of nominal sample individual number of visits in which...</i>						
... 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
<i>Random routes (number of visits in which...)</i>						
... 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	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Spatial sampling</i>						
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	LOCALMULTIDEM						
	ESS Spain 2006	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 indicators. 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

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'Muirheartaigh 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'Muirheartaigh 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
<i>Causes of non-response:</i>								
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*

	<i>Contact</i>	<i>Cooperation</i>	<i>Response</i>
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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