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Eastern European Immigrants in the UK Before and After the 2004 European Enlargement

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Eastern European Immigrants in the UK Before and After the 2004 European Enlargement*

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Abstract

The 2004 accession of Eastern European countries to the EU has generated concerns about the influx of low-skill immigrants to those countries which did not impose restrictions to immigration, namely Ireland, Sweden, and the UK. However, there is lack of recent systematic evidence on the level of immigration and the quality of the new immigrants. We focus on the UK and combine the British and the European Labour Force Surveys to analyse whether immigration to the UK has changed substantially before and after the 2004 EU enlargement, and as a consequence of the recent economic downturn.

We analyse 1) trends of immigration into the UK of people from Eastern European countries, and how these trends compare to trends in immigration from Western European countries; and 2) how such immigrants fare in the British labour market in terms of employment probability, wages, and job quality compared to British natives, to earlier immigrants, and to people in the country of origin.

Keywords: East-West migration, UK labour market, immigrant assimilation

JEL Classification: F22; J30; J61

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UK LFS data are available from the Data Archive at the University of Essex (www.data-archive.ac.uk); EU LFS are available from Eurostat (<http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/microdata/lfs>).

1. Introduction

The 2004 enlargement of the European Union (EU) to eight Eastern European countries (EU8) has generated fears of large flows of low-skill immigrants from Eastern to Western Europe (EU15). For this reason most Western European countries have imposed temporary restrictions to the free movement of people from Eastern Europe. Only three countries did not impose any restriction to immigration: Ireland, Sweden, and the UK. In this paper we focus on the UK, which is the largest of these three countries.

Despite the growing public concern and debate on the impact of recent post enlargement migration from EU8 country to the UK, there is still a knowledge gap on the characteristics of the recent migrants and their position in the UK labour market. Gilpin et al. (2006) are among the first to analyse the 2004 EU enlargement; they focus on the impact on claimant count but only use data up to 2006 and do not systematically analyse the characteristics of the immigrants. More recently Blanchflower and Shadforth (2009) analyse – among other things – the propensity of EU8 immigrants to be in employment finding that they have a high propensity to work but receive lower wages. Although they compare EU8 immigrants arrived in the UK before and after the 2004 enlargement, Blanchflower and Shadforth (2009) do not compare EU8 immigrants with immigrants from other (Western) European countries, and use data for a relatively short period of time: 2004-2007. Drinkwater et al. (2009) compare EU8 immigrants arrived before and after the 2004 enlargement with immigrants from EU15 countries and find significant differences between “new” and “old” immigrants in terms of earnings and employment. Again, the data used only include a couple of years after accession: 2001-2006.

We update and extend the previous literature using a much longer dataset: from 1997 to 2010. The inclusion of the recent economic downturn allows us to analyse to what extent immigration adapts to changing economic conditions. Theories of migration suggest that the role of pull factors diminishes when the conditions of the labour market in the destination country deteriorate and becomes less attractive to the potential immigrants. We analyse whether there is any indication of this happening in the UK.

We use data for this long period to describe the main socio-demographic characteristics of EU8 immigrants compared to those of immigrants from EU15, those of White British people, and those of people who remained in the sending countries. We then analyse how different types of European immigrants (EU15, EU8, arrived to the UK before and after the EU enlargement) perform in the British labour market compared to white British

people, not only in terms of employment probability, but also in terms of type of jobs, wages, and job quality.

Migration theories suggest that a persistent and relatively large gap between returns to education, work experience and other personal characteristics in the labour markets of sending and receiving countries increases the incentive to migrate, unless the cost of separation are relatively high, or there are some administrative barriers. As there is free movement from European countries (including EU8) into the UK, and communication and transport across European countries is relatively easy, we may expect differences in labour market returns to be among the most relevant factors associated to immigration. Hence, we also compare people who migrated to the UK to those who remained in their sending countries in terms of their employment probability and type of jobs. To our knowledge this is the first studies comparing the labour market performance of immigrants to people who did not migrate.

Finally, the comparison of immigration from different types of European countries and in a period of changing economic conditions and changing regulations in terms of immigration – especially from EU8 countries – allows us to explore the issue of self-selection of immigrants.

This paper is organised as follows. After background information, in Section 2 we summarise the previous evidence on the size and characteristics of EU8 immigrants in the UK. Section 3 describes the datasets and methods used for the analysis. The empirical part of the paper (Section 4) starts with a description of EU immigration in the UK in terms of trends, socio-demographic characteristics of immigrants (Sub-section 4.1), and region of destination in the UK (Sub-section 4.2). Sub-section 4.3 focuses on the labour market performance of immigrants in the UK, while Section 4.4 focuses on the comparison with the country of origin of selected groups of immigrants. Section 5 summaries and concludes this study.

2. Background and previous literature

2.1. Historical background

In 1957 the Treaty of Rome, which created the European Economic Community (EEC), included six founding countries: Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, France, Italy, and (West) Germany. Nine further countries gradually joined the community from 1973 to 1995: Denmark, Ireland, the UK, Greece, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Sweden, and Finland. Freedom

of movement of goods, services, money and people, which was already mentioned in the Treaty of Rome, has been fully implemented among the 15 member countries since the 1990s.

In May 2004 an unprecedentedly large group of ten new members, representing more than 70 million citizens, joined the EU. These include Malta, Cyprus and eight eastern European countries (EU8): the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, the Slovak Republic, and Slovenia. Because of large differences in wages and GDP between the EU15 and the EU8 countries, most EU15 countries imposed exceptions to free movement of people from the EU8 countries. Three countries, however, did not impose any exception, but granted immediate unrestricted access to their labour markets: the UK, Ireland, and Sweden.¹ More countries had opened their labour markets by November 2008: Spain, Finland, France, Greece, Portugal, Italy, the Netherlands and Luxembourg, while Germany and Austria opened their labour markets seven years after enlargement, in May 2011.

While before 2004 East-West migration was mainly confined to the countries bordering the EU8 members, mainly Germany and Austria, the opening of labour markets of Sweden, Ireland and the UK completely changed the overall geographical distribution East-West migrants, with the UK being the largest recipient country. Pre-enlargement estimates of the number of potential immigrants from EU8 countries into the UK predicted immigrant flows of around 12,000 people each year (Dustmann et al. 2003), but Home Office figures show that around 50,000 immigrants from EU8 applied for Work Scheme Registration quarterly between 2005 and 2008 (Home Office 2008).²

2.2. Size and characteristics of post enlargement migrations to the UK

Studies analysing East-West immigrants into the UK rely on two main sources of administrative data: the Worker Registration Scheme (WRS) and National Insurance Numbers. Up to April 2011 all EU8 immigrants who wanted to work in the UK had to register to the WRS, which had been especially created to monitor the influx of EU8 workers. A National Insurance Number is required for everybody, natives and foreigners who start paid work or wants to apply for social assistance. Blanchflower and Shadforth (2009) and Dobson (2009) report that between 2004 and 2007 around 740-770,000 EU8 immigrants

¹ In 2007 Bulgaria and Romania joined the EU; however, they were not subject of the same liberalisation of free movement of people.

² Similarly large figures have been observed for Ireland, where the latest census from 2006 listed around 120,000 immigrants from EU8 countries, which constitute 3% of total population of Ireland (Central Statistics Office Ireland 2007).

registered to the WRS, while Home Office (2009) estimates that the total number of approved applications in April 2009 reached 949,000. The Home Office (2009) figures also suggest a downward trend in immigration from EU8 countries: the number of applicants in the first quarter of 2009 diminished to 21,000 from 48,000 in the same period of the 2008, and from 52,000 in the first quarter of 2007.

As pointed out by Blanchflower and Lawton (2008) and by Dobson (2009), WRS data has some limitations: first of all, it may underestimate the total number of EU8 workers in the UK since self-employed are not required to register. On the other hand, since it only records the influx and does not record if any worker leaves the UK, the WRS data is likely to overestimate the total number of EU8 immigrants currently working in the UK. The lack of information about return migration is a large caveat of all migration studies using WRS data: Blanchflower and Shadforth (2009) suggest that most of EU8 immigrants are temporary migrants, and that, according to the UN definition, many comers from EU8 are in fact commuters or temporary workers as their sojourn in the UK is shorter than 12 months (see also Blanchflower and Lawton 2008). Using LFS data up to 2004 Dustmann and Weiss (2007) report that around 50% of migrants who were still in the UK one year after arrival were not in the country five years later. According to Dustmann and Weiss (2007) return migration seems to be more likely among people from the EU, US, and Australia. It is not clear if this result can be extended to immigrants from EU8 countries since the income gap between the UK and EU8 countries is much larger than that one between the UK and other EU15 countries or the US. However using the special component of Polish LFS collected in 2008 Iglicka (2010) suggests that the number of Polish migrants returning to Poland (from any country) between 2004 and first quarter of 2008 is around 580,000. It is also possible that EU8 citizens who migrated to the UK in the first place may move to other destinations within the EU.

Most studies find that in the UK the majority of EU8 immigrants come from Poland (67%), followed by Slovakia (10%) and Lithuania (9%) with less than 1,000 applicants coming from Slovenia (see e.g. Blanchflower and Lawton 2008; Home Office 2009). These immigrants are young (78% are between 18 and 34 years of age), male (56%) and have no dependents (82%), see the Home Office (Home Office 2009). Most settled down in East Anglia and West and East Midlands, and work for temporary employment agencies, at relatively low hourly wages (70% earn from £4.50-£5.99 per hour), see Blanchflower and Lawton (2008) and take jobs in hospitality and catering, agriculture, manufacturing and food processing industries (Home Office 2009).

Using the LFS Drinkwater et al. (2009) compare immigrants arrived to the UK pre- and post- enlargement. The proportion of male immigrants increases after enlargement; as well as the proportion of those with higher levels of education, although with some differences between Polish and other EU8 immigrants. Immigrants arrived after 2004 are more likely to be self-employed, but earn on average less than their counterparts who arrived before May 2004. Interestingly, the geographical distribution of immigrants arrived after 2004 is much more even across UK regions, with a much lower proportion settling in London (Drinkwater et al. 2009). The results by Drinkwater et al. (2009) seem to suggest that immigrants from EU8 countries arrived in the UK before 2004, when restriction to immigration were still in place, may be more positively self-selected than those arriving after 2004, when free movement is allowed. Qualitative analyses of Polish communities in the UK show large heterogeneity among recent immigrants, for example in their knowledge of the English language, leads to their different outcomes in the labour market (Fomina 2009). Those with poor or very basic knowledge of English accept less favourable working conditions, basic jobs sometimes below their qualifications, and are in general less optimistic about their future in the UK.

3. Data and methods

3.1. The British Labour Force Survey

Similarly to previous studies (e.g. Gilpin et al. 2006; Blanchflower and Shadforth 2009; Drinkwater et al. 2009), the main data used for our analysis is the British Labour Force Survey (UK LFS). The UK LFS is a survey of households which collects a large amount of information on individuals aged 16 and over living at private addresses in the UK (including country of birth, and length of stay in the UK), their labour market status, and job characteristics.

Although it is a very comprehensive dataset, the UK LFS has no focus on immigration and immigrants may be underrepresented in the survey if they are less likely than the general population to live at private addresses (e.g. Gilpin et al. 2006; Drinkwater et al. 2009), and it is likely that as the proportion of immigrants living in the UK increases, the probability of their inclusion in the survey increases as well. Despite this drawback the UK LFS has been widely used in the literature to analyse different aspects of immigration and is particularly useful when we want to compare immigrants to British people since it provides

reach information on the characteristics of immigrants, their labour market status and their jobs which cannot be found in administrative data such as the WRS.

The UK LFS is collected quarterly and has a rotating panel structure in which individuals are interviewed for up to five successive quarters. To reduce problems of attrition, which may affect natives and immigrants differently, we focus on men and women in working age (16-59/64) responding to the first interview and use data from 1997, since this is the first year in which questions on wages are asked also in the first interview, and up to 2010. There is another reason to use data from 1997: since we aim to compare EU8 to EU15 immigrants, we need to start our analysis at a date later than the last enlargement previous to 2004: Austria, Sweden and Finland joined the EU in 1995. Finally, since the number of immigrants in the UK LFS from EU8 countries before 1997 is almost zero, there is no gain in adding earlier data.

Finally, since our aim is to compare different types of EU immigrants to White British people, we exclude from the analysis all people born in a non-EU country and non-white White British people.

3.2. Models for the analysis of Eastern European immigrants in the UK

We start by graphically analysing trends in the number of immigrants from EU15 and EU8 countries as captured in the UK LFS. We then compare descriptive statistics of the individual and job characteristics of these two types of immigrants in the UK compared to white British people (Sub-section 4.1).

In Sub-section 4.2 we use a multinomial probit model to analyse the patterns of location of immigrants across the nine English Government Office Regions, plus Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, and whether this differs across types of EU immigrants:

$$y_{it}^* = X_i' \beta_{1j} + TI_i' \beta_{2j} + \varepsilon_{ij} \quad (1)$$

Where we model the probability of individual i living in region r at time t via the latent variable y_{it}^* . The error terms ε_{ij} are i.i.d. and follow a multivariate normal distribution. The probability of observing individual i in region r is the probability that $y_{itr} > y_{itj}$ for each $j \neq r$. Among the explanatory variables we include individual and household characteristics (X_i) such as sex, marital status, whether there are dependent children in the household, dummies for qualification level, and dummies for quarter and year of the interview (the effect of the

recession is therefore picked up by the year dummies). The models also include four dummies for the type of immigrant (TI_i): whether born in one of the other EU15 countries, with UK born used as reference group; whether born in one of the EU8 countries; whether born in one of the other EU15 countries and arrived in the UK on or after enlargement (May 2004); and whether born in one of the EU8 countries and arrived in the UK on or after enlargement. These last four dummies should help us analyse whether immigrants from Eastern Europe behave in a systematically different way than immigrants from Western Europe, and whether those arrived after enlargement differ from those arrived before.

In Sub-section 4.3 we then analyse how immigrants perform in the labour market. We analyse whether new immigrants are more likely to come to the UK to study rather than work by focusing on their activity status. We compare the activity status of EU immigrants to that of white British people by means of a multinomial probit model similar to equation (1). In this case, however, the latent variable refers to the probability that the main labour market status of the person interviewed is either active, student, or another type of inactivity status. Again, the model only includes people in working age and, because of different incentives and behaviours between the sexes, the models are estimated separately for men and women. Hence, among the explanatory variables X_i we exclude sex but now include age, number of years spent in the UK (age for UK born) and dummies for region of residence. The variables in TI_i remain unchanged.

For those immigrants who are active in the labour market we analyse the propensity to be in paid employment, self-employed, or unemployed compared to White British people. Once again we estimate a multinomial probit model separately for men and women, in which the explanatory variables are the same as in the activity status model.

We then go one step further to analyse whether EU8 immigrants tend to concentrate in certain industries. Hence, for those immigrants who are in a paid job we model their probability of working in one of seven main industries. Also in this case we use a multinomial probit model, which we estimate separately for men and women, and in which the explanatory variables are the same as in the activity status model. A similar analysis of the occupational status of EU immigrants compared to White British people is not possible since changes in the occupational classification in 2001 reduces significantly the number of observations, especially for EU8 immigrants arrived before the 2004 enlargement.

To get insights on the quality of the jobs taken by EU immigrants compared to those taken by White British people, we estimate binary probit models for the probability of holding a temporary job (instead of a permanent one with no fixed end); the probability of

holding a part-time job (i.e. working less than 30 hours per week); and the probability of having a second job. The models are estimated separately for men and women and use the same explanatory variables as in the activity status model. Finally, we compare wages of EU immigrants and of White British people. The dependent variable is the log of hourly wages and the model is estimated by means of OLS separately for men and women. The explanatory variables are the same as in the activity status model, but with the addition of the square of age, years of job tenure, a dummy for those working part-time, and a dummy for temporary jobs.

3.3. The European Labour Force Survey

For the second part of our analysis we use the European LFS in addition to the UK LFS. The EU LFS is a harmonised dataset which provides data on individual and labour market characteristics of people living in the 25 European countries. Although the structure of the EU LFS is very similar to that of the UK LFS, because of the harmonisation, the data are often less detailed (for example, in the EU LFS it is not possible to identify each country of birth, but only the larger area, e.g. EU non-EU).

We use the EU LFS to analyse the individual characteristics as well as selected labour market and job characteristics of people in their origin country compared to those who migrate to the UK. Hence, when using the EU LFS we do not analyse migrants, but natives of that EU15 or EU8 country. In this paper we use the EU LFS for Ireland, Germany and Poland since these represent the main groups of EU immigrants into the UK. Because of data availability on the other variables, we focus our comparison on respondents' labour market status, their probability of holding a temporary job, their probability of working part-time, and of holding a second job. Unfortunately, wage data are not available in the EU LFS.

3.4. Models used for the comparison with people in their country of origin

To complete the analysis of who migrates to the UK, we compare descriptive statistics of the individual and job characteristics of Irish, German and Polish immigrants in the UK with the average individual and job characteristics of native people in Ireland, Germany and Poland. Hence, we have three very different types of immigrants: Ireland is a traditional sending country for the UK because of its geographical and cultural proximity. Germany is one of the largest EU15 countries, while Poland is one of the largest EU8 countries.

To compare labour market status and job characteristics across the different countries, we use the EU LFS to estimate models similar to equation (1) for the dependent variables of

interest, separately by country and for men and women. As already mentioned, the dependent variables used are labour market status, the probability of holding a temporary job, the probability of working part-time, and of holding a second job. As explanatory variables in X_i we can include only age, a dummy for those who are married, education and year dummies. These models allow us to compute the probabilities of the different outcomes for Irish people in Ireland, German people in Germany, and Polish people in Poland, which we compare with the outcomes of similar Irish, German and Polish people who migrated to the UK.

For the comparison we use the UK LFS to estimate similar models – using the same explanatory variables – separately by gender and for Irish, German, and Polish immigrant in the UK. The analysis of other nationalities is not possible at this stage given the low number of observations for other EU immigrants in the UK LFS.

4. Empirical results

4.1. Who migrated from European countries into the UK?

We start our analysis by looking at trends in the number of EU immigrants into the UK. Figure 1 shows the evolution of the number of EU15 and EU8 immigrants from 1997 to 2010 in the UK LFS; the left part of the figure shows quarterly data, while the right part of the figure aggregates the quarters by calendar year (statistics weighted using sample weights show similar patterns). The number of EU8 citizens is comparatively small before the 2004 enlargement but shows a sharp increase since the third quarter of 2004. This trend persists until 2007, after which it stabilises until 2009, probably because of the economic downturn in the UK. Clearly, being this the stock of immigrants, it does not give any clear indication on whether changes in trends are due to an increase in the number of immigrants leaving the UK, a decrease in the number of newcomers, or both. In any case, the 2007 change in trend is most probably the result of the less favourable macroeconomic conditions in the UK, and relatively good economic prospects in the largest of the EU8 country, Poland, which is the main sending country of EU8 immigrants. In 2010 the number of immigrants from EU8 countries seems to start increasing again.

FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE

In contrast, the stock of immigrants from EU15 countries remains almost unchanged until 2010, when it shows a gradual increase. In 2010 the stock of immigrants from EU8 countries is close to the stock of immigrants from the rest of the EU15 countries.

As already mentioned, and in line with previous studies (e.g. Blanchflower and Lawton 2008) most EU8 immigrants in the UK come from Poland (69%), followed by Lithuania (10%) and Slovakia (8%). Among the EU8 countries, Slovenia and Hungary send the smallest number of immigrants. These proportions only partially reflect differences in the size of the population of the sending countries. With a population of almost 39 million, Poland is overrepresented among EU8 immigrants in the UK, while with 10 million citizens each the Czech Republic and Hungary are underrepresented among EU8 immigrants in the UK. This can be explained by the macroeconomic situation of the sending countries: Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Slovakia have the lowest GDP per capita in 2005 and high unemployment rate, which varies from 17% in Poland to 9% in Latvia³.

When we focus on the number of recent immigrants, who have arrived in the UK at most two years before their UK LFS first interview we can have an idea of changes in the influx of new immigrants. These are shown in Figure 2. In the UK LFS the stock of EU8 immigrants recently arrived in the UK increases sharply from the second half of 2004, peaks at the end of 2006 and then starts decreasing. In the second half of 2009 the number of recently arrived EU8 immigrants starts growing again. Again, these trends are in contrast with what we can observe for EU15 countries: the number of recently arrived immigrants from EU15 countries is much more stable than for EU8 countries.

FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE

These descriptive statistics show that the 2004 EU enlargement had a significant impact on the number of immigrants from EU8 countries. The data also suggests that EU8 migrants are responsive to the macroeconomic conditions in the UK: the economic downturn has reduced the number of new comers for certain periods, but worsening macroeconomic conditions in the rest of the EU may have made the UK labour market again more attractive than that in the sending countries.

Descriptive statistics for individual characteristics of EU15 and EU8 immigrants compared to white British people are shown in Table 1. The table suggests that EU8

³ EUROSTAT,
<http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&plugin=1&language=en&pcode=tec00114>

immigrants are on average younger (32 years old) than their EU15 counterparts (40 years old), and than white British people (39 years old). Not only immigrants from EU8 countries are younger; consistent with the previous literature they are also more likely to be single and to have less dependent children than White British people.

The comparison of the level of education is not straightforward as more than 50% of immigrants from EU8 have ‘other’ types of education, which probably reflects the different educational systems in EU8 countries. As a result, EU8 immigrants are underrepresented in all other education levels compared to both White British people, and EU15 immigrants.

London is the most popular destination for immigrants: 26% of EU8 and 27% of EU15 respondents live there, compared to 7.7% of White British people. Nevertheless, there seem to be a relatively high concentration of EU8 people in Yorkshire and in the South East of England. There are also visible differences in labour market outcomes among the three groups: 69% of working age EU8 immigrants have a paid job compared to 64% of White British people and 61% of EU15 immigrants. According to the UK LFS self-employment is less common among EU8 immigrants than among other EU citizens. Moreover EU8 immigrants are more likely to be unemployed and less likely to be inactive than white British and EU15 immigrants. Only 15% of EU-8 work part-time, compared to 25% of white British people and 22% of EU15 immigrants; furthermore EU8 immigrants seem to be overrepresented in temporary jobs.

EU8 immigrants also select differently into industries: they seem more likely to work in manufacturing, construction, hotels and restaurants, and transport. At the same time they seem underrepresented in the financial services and public sector. Although the figures on occupations are based on small numbers, they are nonetheless interesting from a descriptive point of view. Almost 38% of EU8 immigrants working in the UK have jobs in elementary occupations, with further 18% working as plant and machine operators. A very small proportion of immigrants work as managers and senior officials (4% in comparison to 15% of white British, and 18% of EU15 immigrants). These uneven sector and occupations distributions of EU8 immigrants together with their short job tenures, and relatively young ages leads to remarkably different hourly wages: on average Eastern Europeans earn £7.57 per hour, while white British people earn around £10 per hour, and immigrants from EU15 even more – around £11.27 per hour.

TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

These findings are in line with the earlier studies: EU8 immigrants are a “new pool of labour that has been broadly welcomed by the majority of British employers who prior to the current economic downturn struggled to fill such dirty, dangerous and dull jobs” (Favell 2008). However more robust multivariate models are needed to analyse the relationship between the characteristics of EU immigrants and their labour market outcomes.

4.2. Where do European immigrants locate within the UK?

Table 2 shows the marginal effects of the multinomial probit model estimating the region of residence of EU immigrants compared to white British people. The table, which only shows the marginal effects of the dummies referring to the type of immigrant, shows almost all negative marginal effects for EU15 and EU8 immigrants. This suggests that on average EU15 and EU8 immigrants concentrate in London, which is the reference category, and its surrounding area, comprising East Anglia and the Rest of the South East. However, there seem to be important differences between EU8 immigrants arriving after the enlargement and all other EU immigrants. With almost all positive marginal effects, Table 2 suggests that EU8 immigrants arrived after May 2004 are more dispersed across UK regions – and less concentrated in London – than all other immigrants and white British people.

TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

In particular, EU8 immigrants arrived after 2004 are more likely to locate in the Midlands and North West, and much less likely to locate in the Rest of the South East. Immigrants arrived after 2004 seem also more likely to locate in Scotland and Wales compared to those arrived before 2004.

4.3. Activity status and type of jobs done by European immigrants into the UK

Table 3 shows the marginal effects for being either a student or in a different inactivity status, compared to being active in the labour market. Column (1) shows the results for men, while Column (2) shows the results for women.

The table suggests that there are no substantial differences in labour market activity of EU15 immigrants compared to white British people. Those immigrants from EU8 countries arrived after the 2004 enlargement, however, are comparatively less likely to be inactive than white British people: male are 2.8 percentage points less likely to be student and 9.6 percentage points less likely to be in another inactivity status; for female these propensities

are 3.6 and 6.2. Hence, it appears that EU8 immigrants come to the UK for work-related rather than study-related reasons.

TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE

The marginal effects for being either self-employed or unemployed as opposed to being in a paid job are shown in Table 4; Column (1) for men, and Column (2) for women. The table suggests that men from EU15 countries are marginally (only 1.4 percentage points) more likely to be unemployed than white British people; those arrived after 2004 are 7.7 percentage points less likely to be self-employed than those arrived before (and than white British people). On the other hand, immigrants from EU8 countries are much more likely (13.2 percentage points) to be self-employed than white British people, although those arrived after 2004 are much less likely to be self-employed than those arrived before 2004. The combination of these two coefficients suggest that immigrants from EU8 countries arrived after 2004 are slightly less likely than white British people to be self-employed.

Interestingly, EU8 immigrants arrived after 2004 show systematically different patterns of activity than those arrived before: not only they are 19.3 percentage points less likely to be self-employed; they are also 3.6 percentage points less likely to be unemployed.

The results for women show a similar pattern: again, while on average women from EU8 countries are more likely to be self-employed (2.9 percentage points), those arrived after 2004 are much less likely to be self-employed (5.3 percentage points).

TABLE 4 ABOUT HERE

Do EU immigrants take jobs in the same industries as white British people? The marginal effects for the propensity of working in the different types of industries are shown in Table 5. The top part of the table shows results for men, while the bottom part shows results for women. Compared to white British men, EU15 immigrant men are slightly less likely to work in manufacturing, but slightly more likely to work in distribution hotels and restaurants, and in the public sector. These differences, however, are small and around 2 percentage points only. Immigrant men from EU8 countries, however, are significantly more likely than white British men to work in construction (13.7 percentage points) and significantly less likely to work in transport (7.1 percentage points). Differences also emerge when we focus on immigrant men arrived after the 2004 enlargement. Those from EU15

countries are more likely to work in manufacturing and transport, but less likely to work in construction. Those from EU8 countries arrived after 2004 are also more likely to work in manufacturing and less likely to work in construction. They are also more likely to work in financial services and less likely to work in the public sector.

Among women, those from EU15 countries are slightly less likely to work in transport (about 2 percentage points), while those from EU8 countries are about 10 percentage points more likely to work in distribution hotels and restaurants, and almost 10 percentage points less likely to work in the public sector compared to white British women. Again, those arrived after the 2004 enlargement seem to show a different distribution across industries than their counterpart arriving before 2004. Women from EU15 countries arrived in the UK after 2004 are more likely to work in construction and in distribution hotels and restaurants, while women from EU8 countries who arrived after 2004 are more likely to work in construction, financial services, but less likely to work in distribution hotels and restaurants, and in the public sector.

TABLE 5 ABOUT HERE

Overall, these results suggest that EU immigrants and white British people are distributed differently across industries, thus possibly pointing to industrial segregation across groups of workers, depending not only on their gender, but especially on their country of origin.

Table 6 focuses on employment characteristics such as whether the job is temporary in Column (1), whether the job is part-time in Column (2), and whether the respondent holds a second job in Column (3). The table does not show any significant difference in these three types of employment characteristics between EU immigrants and white British people. Differences emerge only when looking at people arrived after 2004. EU15 immigrants arrived after 2004 are comparatively less likely than white British people to hold a second job, while women from EU15 countries who arrived after 2004 are more likely than white British people to hold a temporary job. EU8 immigrants arriving after 2004 are less likely than white British people to hold a temporary job.

TABLE 6 ABOUT HERE

Finally, Table 7 shows wage differentials between white British people and the different types of EU immigrants. Immigrants from EU15 countries do not show a significant difference in hourly wages compared to white British people; men from EU15 countries who arrived after 2004, however, do seem to have slightly higher wages than white British men. Immigrants from EU8 countries, however, earn lower wages than white British people. EU8 men earn on average about 8p less per hour than white British people; if they arrived in the UK after 2004 they suffer an additional wage penalty of almost 15p per hour. EU8 women earn around 25p less per hour than white British women, but there does not seem any additional wage penalty for those who arrived in the UK after 2004.

TABLE 7 ABOUT HERE

In summary, our results show that there are significant differences not only between EU immigrants and white British people, but also between immigrants from EU15 and from EU8 countries. These differences relate to all aspects analysed here: from the activity and employment status to the type of jobs immigrants and white British people do. Furthermore, our models show often large differences, especially for EU8 immigrants, between those who arrived in the UK before and after the 2004 enlargement.

4.4. How do European immigrants in the UK compare to people in the country of origin?

How do Irish, German and Polish people who have migrated to the UK compare to those who remained in the country of origin? Table 8 compares the employment characteristics of a representative person who is 30 years of age, has a medium level of education, is not married and has no dependent children. The representative person who has migrated to the UK lives in London, and the reference year is 2009, i.e. a year characterised by downturn in the UK.

Among Irish people, the representative person remaining in Ireland is much more likely to be unemployed than that who migrated to the UK, has a higher probability of being in a part-time job, and have a higher probability – especially for men – to hold a second job. For a man the probability of holding a temporary rather than a permanent job is higher if he remains in Ireland, while for a woman the probability of holding a temporary job is higher if she migrated to the UK. The probability of being self-employed does not seem to vary across the two countries. Among German people, the probability of being self-employed, as well as the probability of being unemployed is larger for men remaining in Germany, while among German women the probability of being self-employed is higher for those who migrate to the

UK, while the probability of being unemployed is about the same in both countries. The probability of holding a temporary rather than a permanent job is higher for those remaining in Germany and, for women, the probability of holding a part-time job is higher if she remains in Germany. The probability of having a second job is about the same in both countries.

TABLE 8 ABOUT HERE

The representative Polish person – men or woman – is more likely to be self-employed but also unemployed if he remains in Poland. Those remaining in Poland also have a much higher probability of holding a temporary job than those who migrated to the UK. The probability of holding a part-time job is higher for a Polish men remaining in Poland (rather than migrating), and for a Polish woman who migrated to the UK (rather than remaining in Poland). Finally, Polish men remaining in Poland are also more likely to hold a part-time job than those who move to the UK; for women, the difference between migrating and remaining in Poland is minor.

5. Summary and conclusions

In this paper we describe changes in immigration from European countries into the UK following the 2004 EU enlargement. We show that the 2004 enlargement represents a turning point for the UK, characterised by a fast increase in immigration from EU8 countries, and that the increasing trend seems to stop during the recent recession. The number of immigrants from EU15 countries, instead, remains relatively stable over the whole period.

Immigrants from EU8 countries are significantly different than immigrants from EU15 countries, and that those who arrived after the 2004 enlargement differ significantly from those arrived before. In contrast to EU15 and earlier EU8 immigrants, new EU8 immigrants are less likely to locate to London and more evenly spread across regions in the UK. They are comparatively more likely to be active in the labour market – as opposed to students or inactive – and to be in paid employment and less likely to be self-employed or inactive. Their distribution across industries is also different from that of white British people and other types of immigrants; they are less likely to work part-time but earn substantially lower wages.

We also find substantial differences between people who migrate to the UK and those who remain in the country of origin.

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Tables and Figures

Table 1: Descriptive statistics (no weights)

	White British		EU15 Immigrants		EU8 Immigrants	
	Obs.	Proportion/ Average	Obs.	Proportion/ Average	Obs.	Proportion/ Average
Female	802533	0.492	18670	0.532	5165	0.525
Age	802533	39	18670	40	5165	32
Years in the UK			18063	22	5128	5
Arrived after 2004			18670	0.062	5165	0.670
Married	798465	0.524	18569	0.513	5139	0.439
Dependent children	801269	0.457	18626	0.409	5164	0.415
High education	768238	0.335	17845	0.342	5045	0.181
Medium education	768238	0.312	17845	0.185	5045	0.068
Low education	768238	0.273	17845	0.212	5045	0.203
Other types of education	768238	0.084	17845	0.264	5045	0.548
In paid employment	802533	0.641	18670	0.609	5165	0.696
Self-employed	802533	0.091	18670	0.100	5165	0.084
Gov. training programmes	802533	0.005	18670	0.005	5165	0.002
Unemployed	802533	0.043	18670	0.042	5165	0.051
Inactive	802533	0.049	18670	0.060	5165	0.042
Hourly wage	379691	9.99	8409	11.27	2750	7.57
Years job tenure	502555	7.697	11248	6.284	3551	2.258
Part-time job	695859	0.250	15980	0.228	4563	0.158
Temporary job	514073	0.052	11365	0.076	3575	0.122
Public sector job	588966	0.240	13259	0.226	4017	0.068
Agriculture and energy	556252	0.029	12397	0.019	3778	0.030
Manufacturing	556252	0.162	12397	0.134	3778	0.250
Construction	556252	0.086	12397	0.077	3778	0.102
Hotels	556252	0.201	12397	0.203	3778	0.273
Transport	556252	0.074	12397	0.074	3778	0.093
Financial services	556252	0.157	12397	0.193	3778	0.128
Public sector	556252	0.290	12397	0.300	3778	0.124
Managers and senior officials	394272	0.149	8917	0.178	3823	0.038
Professional occupations	394272	0.120	8917	0.178	3823	0.045
Associate prof. technical	394272	0.138	8917	0.157	3823	0.048
Admin. and secretarial	394272	0.125	8917	0.094	3823	0.058
Skilled trades occupations	394272	0.121	8917	0.088	3823	0.146
Personal services	394272	0.081	8917	0.074	3823	0.074
Sales and customer services	394272	0.077	8917	0.057	3823	0.039
Process, plant and machine operatives	394272	0.078	8917	0.063	3823	0.183
Elementary occupations	394272	0.111	8917	0.112	3823	0.368
North East	802533	0.058	18670	0.023	5165	0.022

Yorkshire and the Humber	802533	0.093	18670	0.054	5165	0.086
East Midlands	802533	0.075	18670	0.050	5165	0.087
East Anglia	802533	0.038	18670	0.037	5165	0.053
London	802533	0.077	18670	0.275	5165	0.264
Rest of South East	802533	0.187	18670	0.222	5165	0.158
South West	802533	0.082	18670	0.072	5165	0.055
West Midlands	802533	0.088	18670	0.060	5165	0.064
North West	802533	0.115	18670	0.074	5165	0.069
Wales	802533	0.053	18670	0.029	5165	0.028
Scotland	802533	0.095	18670	0.056	5165	0.073
Northern Ireland	802533	0.039	18670	0.047	5165	0.041

Table 2: Region of residence

Reference:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
London	North East	Yorkshire and the Humber	East Midlands	East Anglia	Rest of South East	South West
EU15	-0.041*	-0.035*	-0.021*	0.002	0.059*	0.001
	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.002)
EU8	-0.039*	-0.019 ⁺	-0.017 ⁺	0.016*	0.078*	-0.026*
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.010)	(0.010)
EU15 arriving on or after 2004	-0.011	-0.015	0.011	0.024*	-0.015	-0.051*
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.009)	(0.005)	(0.012)	(0.011)
EU8 arriving on or after 2004	-0.009	0.021 ⁺	0.042*	0.002	-0.105*	0.006
	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.009)	(0.006)	(0.013)	(0.010)
	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	
	West Midlands	North West	Wales	Scotland	Northern Ireland	
EU15	-0.018*	-0.029*	-0.022*	-0.037*		
	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.003)		
EU8	-0.040*	-0.070*	-0.044*	-0.026*		
	(0.010)	(0.012)	(0.009)	(0.010)		
EU15 arriving on or after 2004	-0.040*	0.005	0.007	0.040*		
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.008)	(0.010)		
EU8 arriving on or after 2004	0.028*	0.049*	0.027*	0.029*		
	(0.011)	(0.013)	(0.010)	(0.011)		
Observations	789,916		Log likelihood	-1875153		

Marginal effects of a multinomial probit model; standard errors in parenthesis; + Significant at 5%, * Significant at 1%. Other explanatory variables: dummies for women; married; whether dependent children; dummies for medium, low, other qualification; dummies for quarters and year

Table 3: Activity status

Reference: Active	(1)		(2)	
	Men		Women	
	Student	Other inactive	Student	Other inactive
EU15	0.002 (0.003)	0.011 (0.006)	0.006 (0.004)	0.010 (0.007)
EU8	-0.009 (0.007)	0.040* (0.014)	-0.009 (0.007)	0.027 (0.015)
EU15 arriving on or after 2004	0.009 (0.005)	-0.013 (0.019)	0.011 (0.006)	0.041 ⁺ (0.018)
EU8 arriving on or after 2004	-0.028* (0.007)	-0.096* (0.017)	-0.036* (0.007)	-0.062* (0.016)
Observations	397,815		387,487	
Log likelihood	-166046		-231970	

Marginal effects of a multinomial probit model; standard errors in parenthesis; + Significant at 5%, * Significant at 1%. Other explanatory variables: age; years in the UK (age for natives); dummies for women; married; whether dependent children; dummies for medium, low, other qualification; dummies for regions, quarters and year

Table 4: Employment status

Reference: In paid employment	(1)		(2)	
	Men		Women	
	Self-employed	Unemployed	Self-employed	Unemployed
EU15	0.010 (0.008)	0.014* (0.005)	0.004 (0.005)	-0.004 (0.005)
EU8	0.132* (0.016)	0.018 (0.011)	0.029* (0.010)	-0.014 (0.009)
EU15 arriving on or after 2004	-0.077* (0.023)	0.009 (0.011)	-0.005 (0.013)	-0.004 (0.009)
EU8 arriving on or after 2004	-0.193* (0.018)	-0.036* (0.012)	-0.053* (0.011)	-0.011 (0.009)
Observations	328,305		282,526	
Log likelihood	-203744		-116873	

Marginal effects of a multinomial probit model; standard errors in parenthesis; + Significant at 5%, * Significant at 1%. Other explanatory variables: age; years in the UK (age for natives); dummies for women; married; whether dependent children; dummies for medium, low, other qualification; dummies for regions, quarters and year

Table 5: Industry

Men	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Ref: Agriculture, energy	Manufacturing	Construction	Distribution hotels restaurants	Financial services	Transport	Public sector
EU15	-0.023 ⁺ (0.009)	0.006 (0.008)	0.017 ⁺ (0.008)	0.010 (0.007)	-0.014 (0.008)	0.017 ⁺ (0.008)
EU8	-0.001 (0.024)	0.137* (0.017)	-0.020 (0.020)	-0.024 (0.017)	-0.071* (0.020)	-0.028 (0.021)
EU15 arriving on or after 2004	0.077* (0.025)	-0.124* (0.025)	-0.009 (0.020)	0.007 (0.018)	0.053* (0.018)	-0.005 (0.020)
EU8 arriving on or after 2004	0.163* (0.024)	-0.161* (0.017)	0.008 (0.020)	0.071* (0.017)	-0.011 (0.021)	-0.064* (0.023)
Observations	294,210		Log likelihood		-522628	
Women	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
Ref: Agriculture energy manufacturing	Construction	Distribution hotels restaurants	Financial services	Transport	Public sector	
EU15	-0.001 (0.007)	0.017 (0.010)	0.006 (0.005)	-0.019 ⁺ (0.009)	-0.006 (0.012)	
EU8	0.021 (0.015)	0.106* (0.019)	-0.008 (0.010)	-0.026 (0.017)	-0.096* (0.024)	
EU15 arriving on or after 2004	0.043 ⁺ (0.017)	0.052 ⁺ (0.023)	-0.010 (0.011)	-0.012 (0.020)	-0.054 (0.028)	
EU8 arriving on or after 2004	0.108* (0.015)	-0.047 ⁺ (0.019)	0.029* (0.009)	-0.019 (0.018)	-0.082* (0.026)	
Observations	252,258		Log likelihood		-336762	

Marginal effects of a multinomial probit model; standard errors in parenthesis; + Significant at 5%, * Significant at 1%. Other explanatory variables: age; years in the UK (age for natives); dummies for women; married; whether dependent children; dummies for medium, low, other qualification; dummies for regions, quarters and year

Table 6: Employment characteristics

	(1)		(2)		(3)	
	Temporary job		Part-time job		Second job	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
EU15	-0.002 (0.005)	-0.010 (0.006)	0.001 (0.006)	0.019 (0.010)	-0.003 (0.004)	0.005 (0.005)
EU8	0.007 (0.011)	0.011 (0.010)	0.005 (0.014)	0.024 (0.020)	-0.010 (0.011)	0.011 (0.011)
EU15 arriving on or after 2004	0.013 (0.009)	0.045* (0.010)	0.004 (0.014)	0.014 (0.024)	-0.032+ (0.015)	-0.043+ (0.017)
EU8 arriving on or after 2004	0.018 (0.011)	0.012 (0.010)	-0.040* (0.014)	-0.151* (0.022)	-0.010 (0.012)	-0.020 (0.011)
Observations	255,341	249,526	356,220	328,126	308,905	269,181
Log likelihood	-46635	-53805	-98897	-204019	-42504	-56443

Marginal effects of a multinomial probit model; standard errors in parenthesis; + Significant at 5%, * Significant at 1%. Other explanatory variables: age; years in the UK (age for natives); dummies for women; married; whether dependent children; dummies for medium, low, other qualification; dummies for regions, quarters and year

Table 7: Wages

	(1)	(2)
	Men	Women
EU15	-0.000 (0.013)	-0.016 (0.012)
EU8	-0.083+ (0.034)	-0.255* (0.025)
Dummy for EU15 entering UK on or after 2004	0.068+ (0.032)	-0.029 (0.028)
Dummy for EU8 entering UK on or after 2004	-0.148* (0.034)	0.034 (0.026)
R2	0.412	0.416
Observations	179,330	187,030

Standard errors in parenthesis; + Significant at 5%, * Significant at 1%. Other explanatory variables: age; years in the UK (age for natives); years of tenure in the job; dummies for women; married; whether dependent children; part-time; temporary job; dummies for medium, low, other qualification; dummies for regions, quarters and year

Table 8: Comparison with people remaining in the country of origin

	(1) Men		(2) Women	
	Ireland	UK	Ireland	UK
Prob. self-employed	0.096	0.096	0.005	0.002
Prob. unemployed	0.161	0.108	0.045	0.022
Prob. temporary job	0.119	0.038	0.128	0.207
Prob. part-time job	0.149	0.021	0.310	0.198
Prob. second job	0.024	0.041	0.010	0.013
	Germany	UK	Germany	UK
Prob. self-employed	0.021	0.007	0.007	0.020
Prob. unemployed	0.034	0.022	0.020	0.020
Prob. temporary job	0.207	0.068	0.214	0.116
Prob. part-time job	0.111	0.140	0.283	0.133
Prob. second job	0.027	0.027	0.040	0.042
	Poland	UK	Poland	UK
Prob. self-employed	0.088	0.018	0.033	0.002
Prob. unemployed	0.119	0.022	0.116	0.012
Prob. temporary job	0.448	0.092	0.501	0.071
Prob. part-time job	0.077	0.017	0.134	0.178
Prob. second job	0.057	0.018	0.036	0.033

Probabilities referring to a representative person who is 30 years of age, has a medium level of education, is not married and has no dependent children. The representative person who has migrated to the UK lives in London, and the reference year is 2009, i.e. a year characterised by downturn in the UK.

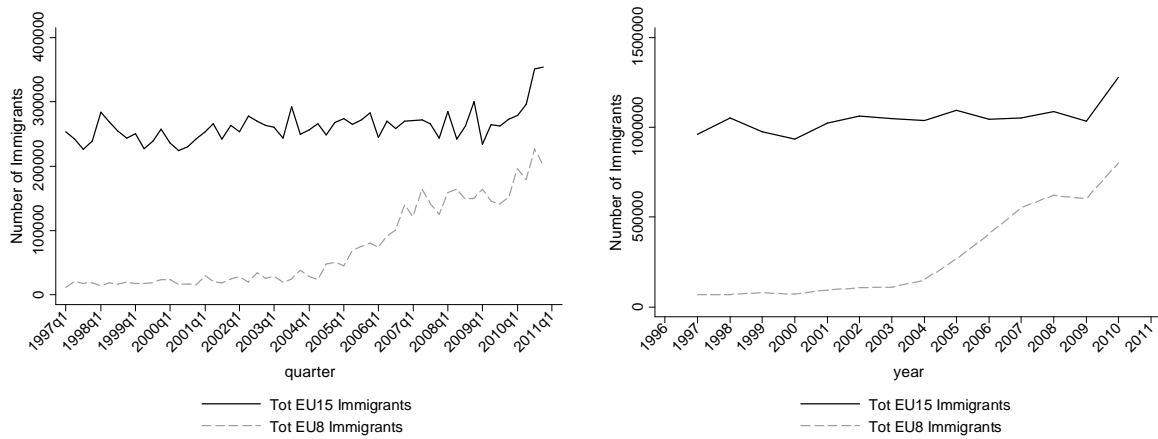


Figure 1: Number of immigrants in the UK LFS (quarterly and yearly data)

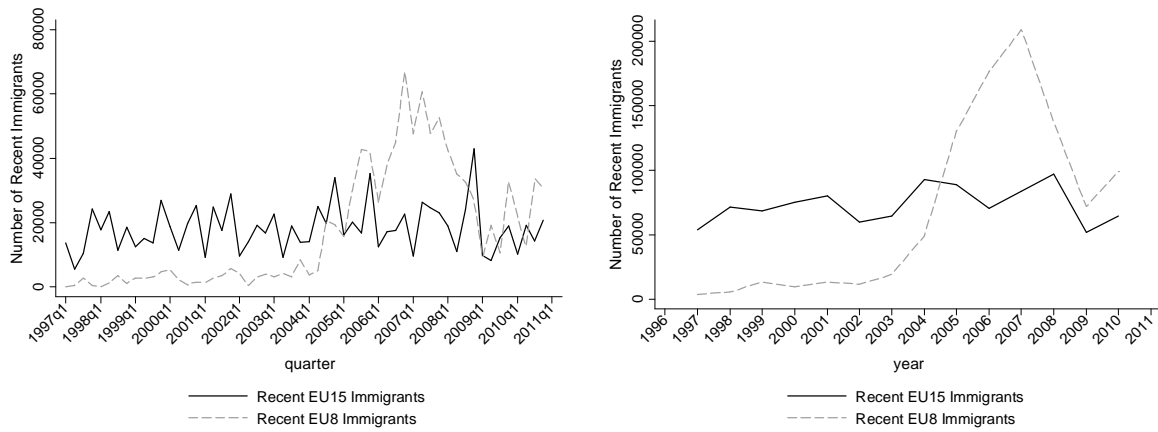


Figure 2: Number of recent immigrants(1-2 years) in the UK LFS (quarterly and yearly data)