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Floodgates or turnstiles?

Post-EU enlargement migration flows to (and from) the UK

by Naomi Pollard, Maria Latorre and Dhananjayan Sriskandarajah

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Contents

About ippr

ippr, 30-32 Southampton Street, London WC2E 7RA. Tel: +44 (0)20 7470 6100 E: info@ippr.org www.ippr.org. Registered Charity No. 800065

About this report

This report updates and supersedes two previous ippr publications on EU enlargement and migration: one published in February 2004 looking ahead to migration implications of the 2004 round of EU enlargement (Sriskandarajah 2004) and another on the migration implications of Romanian and Bulgarian accession published in April 2006 (Drew and Sriskandarajah 2006). As time and resources allow, we hope to further update this report in the future.

About the authors

Naomi Pollard is a research fellow at ippr. She leads the Migration, Equalities and Citizenship Team's survey and qualitative research. Before joining ippr Naomi worked at Ipsos MORI's Social Research Institute, where she managed public opinion research projects on behalf of a broad range of public sector bodies.

Maria Latorre is a research assistant at ippr. She has experience in a broad range of quantitative methods, econometric analysis and using large databases. Maria has worked with the Colombian government and with research centres focused on the economic development of third world countries, particularly in Latin America.

Dhananjayan Sriskandarajah is director of research strategy at ippr, where he has worked since 2004. He also oversees the institute's work on asylum, migration, integration and diversity. Danny has written extensively on migration issues, particularly post-enlargement flows, and is a regular commentator in the media.

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The views expressed in this report are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Directors or Trustees of ippr, or those of the project funders.

Note on the data

Material from the Labour Force Survey is Crown Copyright and has been made available by National Statistics through the UK Data Archive and has been used with permission. Neither National Statistics nor the Data Archive bears any responsibility for the analysis or interpretations of the data reported here.

Abbreviations and glossary

A8	The eight Central and Eastern European countries that joined the European Union in May 2004 (Poland, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia and Slovenia)
A2	Bulgaria and Romania, which joined the European Union in January 2007
EEA	European Economic Area, a free trade area made up of the 27 EU member states plus Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway
EU	European Union
IPS	International Passenger Survey
LFS	Labour Force Survey
New accession states	The A8 and A2 member states of the EU
NI	National Insurance
NiNo	National Insurance Number
ONS	Office for National Statistics
Post-enlargement migrants	Migrants to the UK from countries added to the EU by enlargement
SAWS	Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme
WRS	Worker Registration Scheme

Executive summary

To mark the fourth anniversary of the enlargement of the European Union (EU) in 2004, ippr has undertaken a major study that aims to provide as definitive a picture of post-enlargement migration flows to and from the UK as possible. This report presents fresh evidence on the scale and nature of migration from the eight new Central and Eastern European countries that joined the EU in 2004 (the so-called 'A8' countries) and, to a lesser extent, from Romania and Bulgaria, which joined in 2007 (the so-called 'A2').

The report is based on new analysis of a range of existing sources of data on migration flows (for example, administrative data on registered workers and national insurance numbers, the quarterly Labour Force Survey, carried out by the Office for National Statistics). It also draws on the results of a specially commissioned survey, believed to be the first of its kind, of Poles who have recently returned from the UK to their home country. The report also draws on qualitative interviews with Polish migrants living in the UK.

Main findings

Our research finds that the patterns of post-enlargement migration are very different from those of significant waves of migration to Britain in the past. In contrast to previous migrants, it is financially and logistically possible for migrants from the new EU member states to come to the UK on a temporary or seasonal basis, and to regularly visit home while living in Britain. One in ten of those returned Poles in the survey had been in the UK for three months or longer on more than one occasion in recent years. The fact that post-enlargement migrants are already moving back home supports the hypothesis frequently made in the migration literature that lower barriers to mobility lead to less permanent immigration in the long term.

Some of ippr's key findings include:

- We estimate that the current population of A8 and A2 nationals resident in the UK is 665,000, an increase of around 550,000 since early 2004.
- Polish nationals, by far the biggest nationality within this group, are now the single largest foreign national group resident in the UK, up from 13th largest group in early 2004.
- We estimate that a total of around 1 million A8 migrant workers have arrived in the UK since 2004, but that around half of this group have already left the UK.
- The number of A8 migrants arriving in the UK has started to slow substantially, with 17 per cent fewer WRS registrations in the second half of 2007 than during the same period of 2006. We estimate that some 30,000 fewer migrants arrived in the second half of 2007 as did in the second half of 2006.
- The vast majority of Polish migrants come to the UK for economic reasons, but leave because they miss home or want to be with their friends and family in Poland.
- Post-enlargement migration is not a purely economic phenomenon: many come to the UK to learn English, start a business, live in a more socially liberal society or simply to broaden their horizons.
- Three-quarters of all A8 and A2 nationals resident in the UK in 2007 were aged 16-39 years old.
- At 84 per cent, the employment rate among post-enlargement migrants is among the highest of all immigrant groups, and is nine percentage points higher than the UK-born average.
- Very few post-enlargement migrants claim state benefits (only 2.4 per cent of those registering for National Insurance numbers between May 2004 and December 2007 claimed benefits).
- A8 and A2 nationals work on average four hours longer per week than UK-born workers (46 hours compared with 42 hours).

- The number of doctors from A8/A2 countries registered with the General Medical Council has increased by 25 per cent in the last two years.
- In December 2003 some 40,000 passengers flew between three British airports and Warsaw and Krakow in Poland. By December 2007, it was possible to fly from 22 British airports to ten Polish cities, and passenger numbers between these destinations that month were almost 385,000.
- The distribution of post-enlargement migrants around the UK differs significantly from that of other immigrant groups. A8/A2 nationals of working age are half as likely to live in London as other immigrants on average, and have gone to parts of the country that have previously attracted very few migrants.
- Some 10 million people flew between the UK and the A8/A2 countries in 2007, a three-fold increase in traffic since pre-enlargement, reflecting the increase in migration, tourism and trade in both directions.
- 70 per cent of Poles who have returned from the UK had found the UK better or the same as they had expected, yet two thirds of the returnees thought that they made the right decision to return to Poland.
- Before 2004, Polish beers were not widely available in the UK. Today some 44 million pints of Lech and Tyskie, Poland's two leading brands, are sold annually in the UK.

Less migration, more returns

We believe that the following factors will lead to fewer migrants from the new EU member states arriving in the UK and more of those who are in the UK returning home in the coming months and years:

- **Development in sending countries** – As the economic conditions in the new member states improve in comparison to those in the UK, economic motivations for migrating are likely to weaken. Four in ten of the returned Polish migrants we surveyed think that better employment prospects in Poland would encourage Poles living in the UK to return to Poland for good.
- **Diversion to alternative destinations** – As other EU member states loosen their restrictions on A8 and A2 workers, it is likely that increasing numbers of migrants will choose to live and work in these countries rather than the UK.
- **Demographic patterns in sending countries** – As a consequence of declining birth rates in the mid 1980s, the pool of likely migrants to the UK is getting smaller and is set to continue to do so in the coming years.
- **Devaluation of the pound sterling** – The pound has already fallen by around a quarter relative to the Polish Zloty since early 2004. Further devaluation will narrow the gap between potential earnings in Britain and Poland, reducing the incentive for new migrants to come to the UK and increasing the incentive for those in the UK to go home or elsewhere.

Questioning key assumptions

Much of the discussion about the scale of post-enlargement migration assumes that most of those who have arrived are still here, that more will come, and that many will stay permanently. This report suggests that all three of these assumptions are questionable and that instead arrivals from the new member states will start to fall consistently within the next few years, with the total stock remaining constant or falling as migrants return home or go elsewhere.

1. Introduction

Migration to the UK from the countries that have recently joined the European Union (EU) (the so-called A8 and A2 countries) is one of the most important social and economic phenomena shaping the UK today. This movement of people has dramatically changed the scale, composition and characteristics of immigration to the UK. Yet, despite its prominence in public debates, there is relatively little comprehensive data on the scale and nature, let alone impact, of that migration. We do not yet know for certain how many Eastern Europeans are in the UK, what they do, how long they are here for and who leaves.

Purpose of this report

To mark the fourth anniversary of the EU enlargement in 2004, ippr has undertaken a major study that aims to fill this information gap. This report is an attempt to use existing data to its fullest in order to piece together as definitive a picture of post-enlargement migration flows as possible. It does this by analysing existing sources of data on migration flows to and from the UK, drawing on the results of a specially commissioned survey of Polish migrants who have returned to their home country from the UK, and drawing on qualitative interviews with Polish migrants living in the UK. The research takes advantage of the fact that, although often incomplete in its coverage, there is now a growing literature and considerable dataset on various aspects of post-enlargement migration.

This report presents:

- Fresh estimates of the gross flows of A8 and A2 migrants into and out of the UK over the last four years (since 2004)
- Estimates of the current stock of these migrants in the UK
- Analysis of the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of A8 and A2 migrants in the UK
- Projections of what is likely to happen in the future.

We present this information with many caveats and qualifications about the quality and coverage of the data. See the methodology section below for an explanation of some of the complexities and limitations of existing data. Given these limitations, this report is as definitive as we believe it can reasonably be; we do not claim it is *the* definitive picture.

We hope that our findings will help policymakers, journalists, and other researchers understand the nature of recent migration flows, by creating a handy reference point for those interested in post-enlargement migration.

Who are we terming 'migrants'?

We acknowledge that, for many people, the movement of people around the EU is about the Union's citizens exercising their right to mobility, and should therefore be treated differently from migration of people who come from countries outside the EU. While this is an important distinction, for the purposes of this report we label those who move from the new member states to the UK as migrants. As discussed in the methodology section below, we use various definitions of what a migrant is, including those born outside the UK, and those who do not hold British nationality, as appropriate in each context.

Structure of the report

In the following section we outline our methodology, especially in terms of the quantitative data analysis. After that comes a brief background to the enlargement process and the rights that new member state nationals enjoy in terms of mobility and work. Then, the substantial sections of this report look at each major aspect of post-enlargement flows, including the scale and nature of recent migration. The report concludes by looking ahead to future migration patterns and the drivers likely to shape them.

2. Methodology

This research is informed by three main components:

- Quantitative analysis of existing survey and administrative data
- A specially commissioned survey of Polish migrants to the UK who have now returned to Poland
- Qualitative interviews with Polish migrants living in London.

Quantitative analysis

In order to estimate the number of A8 and A2 migrants currently living in the UK (the 'stock'), we need to understand how many people were in the country prior to 1 May 2004, how many have arrived since then (the 'inflow') and how many people have left (the 'outflow').

The UK does not currently count individuals in and out of its borders as some other countries do. The available data on the number of migrants from new accession states who were in the country before 2004, and those who have arrived or left since, has severe limitations. We therefore draw on four main sources of quantitative data to build as complete a picture as possible:

i) Census 2001

Census data collected in 2001 precedes this new wave of migration, rendering projections based on these figures of little value. It does however provide useful background information about pre-accession stocks of A8 and A2 nationals in the UK.

ii) International Passenger Survey

The Office for National Statistics' International Passenger Survey (IPS) collects annual data from passengers entering and leaving the UK. The IPS is an excellent source of information on aggregate flows in and out of the UK but it has several limitations for the purposes of this report:

- The survey defines a migrant as someone who intends to stay in the UK for at least a year (overlooking the majority of post-enlargement migrants who intend to stay for less than a year).
- The relatively small sample size of migrants (going on the definition above) in the IPS limits its usefulness as a tool for estimating migration to or from particular countries or regions. Further, IPS data is only available at the aggregated level of European Union A8 nationals, with no breakdowns by country available.
- Information on A8 nationals is only available from 2004, and data on A2 nationals is not yet available as a different category but in the group of 'other foreign nationals'.

Therefore, broad assessments of the stocks, flows of A8 and A2 migrants in the UK can only be made by triangulating administrative and survey data drawn from accession monitoring statistics collated by the Home Office, and the Labour Force Survey (LFS). These data sources also provide information about the demographic, socio-economic and spatial characteristics of A8 and A2 migrations.

iii) Accession monitoring statistics

The Home Office, in partnership with a number of other government departments, publishes accession monitoring statistics relating to A8 and A2 migrants every quarter.

These reports provide information about the number of A8 and A2 nationals registering to work in the UK, their demographic characteristics, economic activity and geographical location. For A8 nationals this information is gathered via the Worker Registration Scheme (WRS) and for A2 nationals by Migrant Worker Cards and Registration Certificates. Information about both groups of migrants is also gathered through the issuing of National Insurance Numbers (NiNo) for tax and benefit claiming purposes.

Accession monitoring statistics have a number of limitations as data sources:

- They fail to capture pre-accession flows and are therefore limited in their usefulness as a longitudinal data source.

- They rely on voluntary registrations and significant numbers of migrants are exempt from having to register on the WRS and A2 work permit schemes, most notably those who are self-employed are not required to be WRS registered.
- They do not capture any data about students who are not working or about dependants of workers who do not have their own NiNo.

iv) The Labour Force Survey

An important element of the methodology for this report relies on new and innovative ways of analysing Labour Force Survey (LFS) data.

The LFS, carried out by the Office for National Statistics, is a comprehensive quarterly survey of households that aims to provide information on the labour market. While it does not collect data on immigration status, it does include questions on country of birth and nationality. The LFS provides data on a consistent set of variables over long time frames and is highly regarded because it uses internationally agreed concepts and definitions.

We need to bear in mind, though, that whereas the Census is a count of the total population, the LFS is based on population samples, and is therefore subject to sampling error. The standard error for an estimate of 500,000 people, for instance, is 13,800 and the 95 per cent confidence interval is +/- 27,100 (see Office for National Statistics 2003), meaning that we can be 95 per cent sure that the actual figure is within 27,100 of 500,000. These errors become proportionally larger the smaller the estimate. Furthermore, there are also likely to be non-sampling errors, caused by factors such as potential respondents' unwillingness to take part in the survey or respondents answering questions inaccurately. Response rates tend to be lower for minority groups and in the case of migrant workers there can be under-reporting because non-private communal accommodation, in which migrant workers have a high propensity to live, is not covered by the survey.

In order to analyse specific characteristics of A8 and A2 nationals for which the sample size is too small to be statistically robust, we have annually appended four quarters of LFS data together. This increases the total sample size and therefore allows for more detailed analysis of socio-economic characteristics than is possible using a single quarter of data, and ensures that the results are representative. Since each household in the LFS is surveyed in five successive quarters, we have used the *thiswv* variable to ensure that each household is only included once in the appended dataset. When selecting waves, there should be a preference for waves 1 and 5, since these are the waves in which data on income is collected.

The selection process we have used for every year is represented in Figure 1. Representations of individual respondents are colour-coded in the diagram. For example, a respondent in wave 1 in 2007 quarter (Q) 1 is shaded grey. His or her progress through the survey waves can be traced by following the grey shading diagonally through to wave 4 in 2007 Q4, one quarter before his or her participation comes to an end. The observations used in the analysis are asterisked, and represent the maximum number of waves that can be included without any one respondent being represented more than once in the sample.

Figure 1. Labour Force Survey wave selection

	2007			
	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4
Survey wave	1*	1*	1*	1*
	2	2	2	2
	3	3	3	3
	4	4	4	4
	5*	5*	5*	5*

*Included in the sample

It is important to bear in mind that the numbers obtained from the appended data are not estimates of the current population in the UK. The sample of each quarter of the LFS is designed to provide estimates of the UK population as well as their economic and sociodemographic characteristics. However, since in the appended data some of the waves are dropped off to avoid double counting, the resulting sample represents a group of observations that cannot be compared with the quarterly samples of the LFS. For this reason, the figures based on aggregated data are analysed in proportions rather than numbers. These figures allow us to provide distributions within a group and not total numbers, taking into account the differences between samples.

Since the LFS is a sample-based survey rather than a population census, data from it should be treated as estimates subject to the errors outlined above. We have rounded the data in the LFS-based tables in this report, usually to the nearest one per cent or thousand, but the figures remain estimates rather than definitive. If it were possible to collect actual data on the entire population, rather than via a sample, the rankings in some of the tables, particularly those where several groups have very close values, may differ somewhat from those presented here.

Survey of returned Polish migrants

As part of this research ippr and the Institute for Public Affairs, Warsaw commissioned the Polish research agency Millward Brown SMG/KRC to undertake a survey of Poles living in Poland who had lived in the UK for at least three months since 1998. Interviewers conducted 370 face-to-face interviews between 28 February and 12 March 2008 with migrants who had returned to their home country.

A snowball quota sampling method was used whereby interviewers were asked to find interviewees fitting all the specified quotas within the geographical area of their sample point. Quotas were placed on respondents' age, gender, level of qualification and when they last lived in the UK. Quotas were based on the profile, as established by previous research by CBOS (*Centrum Badania Opinii Społecznej* or Public Opinion Research Centre), of migrants who have returned to Poland from working in the EU since 1998.

Table 1. Quotas and achieved interviews

		Male		Female	
		Age 18-34	Age 35+	Age 18-34	Age 35+
Vocational education	Quota	28	28	14	14
	Achieved	28	26	15	15
Secondary education	Quota	56	56	37	37
	Achieved	56	54	36	39
Higher education	Quota	28	28	23	23
	Achieved	23	30	23	26

The set and achieved quotas are outlined in Table 1 below.

Interviews took place in 23 locations across Poland, as shown in Table 2 (next page).

Although the survey sampled returned migrants to Poland only, we argue that the results can be treated as indicative of the behaviours and attitudes of A8 migrants as a group. Poles are by far the largest national group of post-enlargement migrants, making up 66 per cent of those who have registered on the WRS since May 2004, and they are not substantially different from other A8 migrants in terms of demographic or socio-economic profile.

We have used the survey findings to estimate the likely extent to which WRS registrations underestimate the number of A8 migrants who have come to the UK, and based on comparisons of this figure with LFS data, the likely number of A8 migrants who have arrived in and left the country since May 2004 (see section 4 below).

Table 2. Geographical breakdown of interviews

Area	Number of interviews achieved
Białystok	16
Bydgoszcz	13
Częstochowa	13
Gdańsk	20
Katowice	18
Kalisz	18
Koszalin	18
Lublin	16
Łódź	18
Olsztyn	14
Poznań	17
Radom	15
Dębica/Tarnów	10
Siedlce	17
Włocławek	10
Gorzów Wielkopolski	16
Warszawa	24
Opole	22
Bolków/Jelenia Góra	14
Wrocław	15
Szczecin	8
Kraków	21
Piła/Toruń	18
Total	371

These estimations are ballpark figures, and are based on the following assumptions:

- That the profile and migratory behaviour of A8 migrants as a whole is not significantly different from that of Polish migrants
- That the proportion of Polish migrants not registered on the WRS is similar to the proportion of A8 migrants not registered on the WRS
- That although the LFS has a number of limitations as a tool for estimating numbers of migrants in the UK, the figures discussed are sufficiently large to be used as the basis of ballpark estimations.

All survey findings are given to the nearest percentage point and where the sample size is less than 50, the sample size (n) is also given.

Qualitative methodology

We conducted ten in-depth interviews of an hour in length with Polish migrants living in London, many of whom had arrived since 2004. The findings of these interviews are referred to throughout the report.

Definitions

In general, we refer to migrants as those who have spent a minimum of three months living in the UK. However, as outlined above, the IPS uses a different definition, defining migrants as those who intend to live in the UK for at least a year. Our analysis of LFS data is based on nationals of the new member states, unless stated that it is based on respondents born in those countries (who may now hold British citizenship). It should be noted that LFS does not account for dual nationality, and uses whichever single nationality the respondent gives.

We refer to migrants who have left Poland, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia and Slovenia since 1 May 2004 as 'A8 migrants', and to those who have left Romania and Bulgaria since 1 January 2007 as 'A2 migrants'. We refer to A8 and A2 migrants collectively as 'post-enlargement migrants' or 'post-accession migrants' or 'migrants from the new EU member states'.

3. Background: joining the EU

Following the declaration of the European Council in Copenhagen (1993) which allowed European states to apply for EU membership, ten formerly communist countries in Central and Eastern Europe – Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia, as well as the Mediterranean islands of Cyprus and Malta, did so in 1995. The European Council started its negotiations and assessments with this group in 1999. In order to qualify for membership, EU applicant countries must meet a series of political and socio-economic criteria, the so-called Copenhagen Criteria.

The 'A8 countries' of the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, as well as Cyprus and Malta, met the criteria in time to join the EU on 1 May 2004. Bulgaria and Romania did not qualify for membership in time for the 2004 accession, but met the Copenhagen Criteria in order to become the 'A2 countries', joining the EU on 1 January 2007.

Free movement

Accession nationals have the same rights of free movement between countries as nationals of the pre-enlargement EU15. EU nationals can enter other member states without a visa for a period of up to six months on production of valid identification and can reside in another member state for more than six months if they are at least one of the following:

- Employed
- Self-employed
- In possession of sufficient resources and health insurance to ensure that they do not seek state or social benefits
- A student
- A family member (including non-EU citizen spouses) of an EU citizen who falls into one of the above categories.

Leading up to the 2004 enlargement, there was widespread concern around the impacts from migration of the extension of EU membership to an unprecedented ten new states at once. Fears of a mass exodus of accession nationals into the labour markets of existing EU members competing for jobs, deflating wages and disrupting social cohesion were whipped up and intensified by sometimes vitriolic press coverage. In response to this concern the Treaty of Accession allowed for the existing EU15 to impose transitional restrictions on the free movement of *workers* from all the new member states with the exception of Cyprus and Malta for a maximum of seven years (European Commission 2003). In other words, while new member state nationals were free to travel to existing member states to be self-employed or study and so forth, they faced potential restrictions to their ability to work as employees. The same approach was adopted in relation to Romania and Bulgaria's accession in 2007.

For both A8 and A2 migrants, the transitional period lasts for seven years and is divided into three phases according to a '2+3+2' formula. The provisions outline that for the first two years following accession access to the labour markets of existing EU member states depends on the national law and policy of those member states. National measures may be extended for a further period of three years. After that, a member state that applied national measures can be authorised to continue to apply such national measures for a further two years but only if it experiences serious disturbances in its labour market. The approaches adopted by member states in relation to the movement of workers from the A8 and A2 countries are summarised in Table 3 (next page).

The Worker Registration Scheme

In order to calm public worries in the run up to May 2004 around anticipated migration from A8 countries, the UK Government inserted a last-minute clause that allowed free movement of workers provided that accession nationals had registered with the Worker Registration Scheme (WRS). Applicants are required to register on the scheme as soon as they start working in the UK. The cost of

Table 3. Restrictions on A8 and A2 migrant workers, 2004-2008

Level of restriction	First Phase A8, 1 May 2004 – 30 April 2006	Second Phase A8, 1 May 2006 – 30 April 2009	First Phase A2, 1 January 2007 – 31 December 2008
Open access to labour market	UK, Ireland and Sweden	Finland, Greece, Portugal, Luxembourg, Netherlands and Spain have all lifted their restrictions during the second phase.	Czech Republic, Cyprus, Estonia, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovenia, Slovakia, Sweden
Work permit system	Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain	Austria, Belgium, France, Denmark, Germany, Italy	Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, UK
Reduced restrictions for some professions		Belgium, France, Denmark, Germany	
Additional restrictions for some professions			Austria, Germany

Source: European Commission's transitional provisions website

registration was £50 initially and is currently £90. Once they have completed 12 months' work with no more than 30 days' break, workers no longer need to register on the Worker Registration Scheme. Applicants require a new registration certificate for each new job.

Workers are not required to register if they:

- are self-employed
- have been working legally in the UK for 12 months without a break in employment
- are providing services in the UK on behalf of an employer who is not established in this country
- have dual citizenship of the UK, another country within the European Economic Area (EEA), or Switzerland, *or*
- are the family member of a Swiss or EEA citizen (except A8 and A2 nationals) and that person is working, a student, retired or self-sufficient in the United Kingdom. (Home Office UK Border Agency 2008)

These restrictions will remain in place until at least 30 April 2009.

A2 migrant workers in the UK

In October 2006 the Government announced that gradual access to the UK labour market would be given to Romanian and Bulgarian nationals. Skilled workers continue to have access to the labour market via the Highly Skilled Migrant Programme. Access for low-skilled workers is quota limited and restricted to existing schemes (Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme [SAWS] and Sectors Based Scheme) for the agricultural and food processing sectors. Since 1 January 2008 participation in these low-skill schemes have been restricted to Bulgarian and Romanian nationals only.

Low-skilled migrants are required to apply for an Accession Worker Card, unless they have a work card issued by the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme or were a work permit holder before 1 January 2007. Once migrants have been working legally as an employee in the UK for 12 months without a break they have full rights of free movement and no longer need permission to take work.

Some highly skilled migrants are required to apply for a registration certificate, which proves their right to work in the UK. Other high-skilled workers are exempt from this requirement, but may choose to seek a registration certificate, as can migrants who are self-employed.

On 30 October 2007 the Government announced that it would maintain these restrictions on labour market access until at least the end of 2008 (see Home Office's Border and Immigration Agency website).

Welfare entitlements

The free movement of workers is a separate issue to the access rights of migrants to entitlements from the UK government. Members of both new and old member states are all subject to the same stringent requirements when it comes to accessing entitlements from the UK government, although the level of provision does vary between visitor and migrant worker. Indeed, the rules governing the welfare entitlements of A8 and A2 nationals in the UK are broadly the same as those of British nationals who live or work in other EU member states.

Until they have been in continuous employment (with breaks of less than 30 days) for 12 months, A8 and A2 workers are only legally entitled to reside in the UK if they meet the conditions outlined above. A8 and A2 migrants have access to child benefits and tax credits as soon as they start working (although they lose this entitlement if they become unemployed before working for 12 months) and can claim income-related benefits after having been in employment for one year.

4. The scale of post-enlargement migration

In 2003, there were an estimated 850,000 accession state nationals residing within the EU15 countries (excluding Cyprus and Malta, but including Romania and Bulgaria) (Brücker *et al* 2003). This accounted for 0.2 per cent of the EU15 population and just over one per cent of the total population of the accession countries. Of those 850,000, only about five per cent, around 50,000 people, were estimated to be residing in the UK. The 2001 UK Census found there were 240,000 people born in Eastern Europe (including the former USSR) living in England and Wales, of whom 58,000 were born in Poland.[1] This compares to 1.3 million born outside the UK but within existing EU member states.

Of the new accession countries, Poland had the most significant level of pre-2004 migration to the UK, with the migration route having been entrenched immediately after the Second World War. Many Poles came to the UK to set up businesses following the ratification in 1994 of the Europe Agreement, which allowed candidate country nationals to be self-employed in existing EU countries. It is estimated that the level of undocumented migration among Poles to the UK prior to 2004 was substantial (Eade *et al* 2006b), indicating that the number of Poles (and to a lesser extent other accession state nationals) counted by the 2001 Census was likely to be a significant underestimation.

Pre-enlargement migration forecasts

The most widely cited prediction of what would happen after enlargement found that net inflows of A8 nationals would be between 5,000 and 13,000 annually up until 2010 (Dustmann *et al* 2003). The update to the European Commission's 2000 report estimated slightly larger net inflows to the UK, peaking at 17,000 two years after free movement of workers is permitted, before slowing down. The report also concluded that stocks would rise from just under 60,000 in 2004, reaching just under 180,000 in 2030 (Brücker *et al* 2003).

These estimations assumed large numbers heading for Germany as per traditional migration patterns, but both studies argued that even if Germany did place restrictions on entry, any diversion to the UK would be small. The temporary nature of A8 migration, as demonstrated by an earlier International Organisation of Migration survey (IOM 1998), would encourage most potential migrants to wait until restrictions were lifted.

That many more A8 nationals registered to work in the UK than the predicted *net* inflows can be explained by the following reasons:

- The forecasted figures mentioned above did not take into account the unforeseen restrictions imposed by four fifths of EU members. Even without the widespread restrictions, the predictions underestimated the 'diversion' effect that other EU member states' imposition of labour market restrictions would have. The post-enlargement diversion has been so great that A8 migration to Germany, traditionally the most popular destination for many A8 nationals, has reached its lowest level since 1991 (Traser 2005).
- The predictions were based on permanent, rather than temporary migration flows. As we outline below, a high proportion of A8 nationals have come to the UK for a short period of time before returning to Eastern Europe.
- Around 30-40 per cent of those who registered were working in the UK prior to accession, rather than entering as 'new' migrants.[2] A proportion of these would have been working legally or have been resident as students, but many would have been irregular.
- A particularly buoyant economy, low unemployment rates and high labour demand produced a particularly strong pull factor to the UK.

1. National Statistics, 'Table S104 Ethnic group by religion': www.statistics.gov.uk/StatBase/Expodata/Spreadsheets/D7547.xls
2. Between 1 May and 31 December 2004, the Accession Monitoring Report (Home Office *et al* 2005a) shows that 24 per cent stated they had been in the UK prior to accession, and 16 per cent did not state their time of arrival (37 per cent in total). By June 2005, these figures had fallen to 15 per cent and 16 per cent respectively (31 per cent in total) (Home Office *et al* 2005b).

In the wake of the significant underestimation of the likely number of post-A8-accession migrants to the UK, the Government was reluctant to make predictions about the number of Romanian and Bulgarian nationals who were likely to come to the UK. However, in the period before the announcement in October 2006 of restrictions on Romanian and Bulgarian workers coming to the UK, a broad range of predictions was made about the likely flows if the same restrictions were applied to Bulgaria and Romania as to the A8 countries.

ippr predicted that the inflows of Romanian and Bulgarian migrants to the UK would be 40 per cent of A8 inflows, assuming that A2 nationals were allowed to migrate under the same conditions as A8 nationals. We estimated that 50,000 Romanians and 18,000 Bulgarians applicants could be approved to work in the UK during the first year of accession, and that 18 per cent of these applicants would have been in the UK prior to Romania and Bulgaria joining the EU (Drew and Sriskandarajah 2006).

These predictions were also based on the observations that, in contrast to countries like Poland that had long-established migratory links with the UK, there were small existing populations of Bulgarians and Romanians in the UK. (The 2001 Census recorded around 7,500 Romanians and 5,350 Bulgarians legally residing in UK, compared with around 60,000 Poles.) Also, Romanian is a Romance language, making countries in Southern Europe such as Italy, France and Spain whose languages are also from that family more attractive than the UK for large numbers of Romanian migrants (see also Duvell 2007).

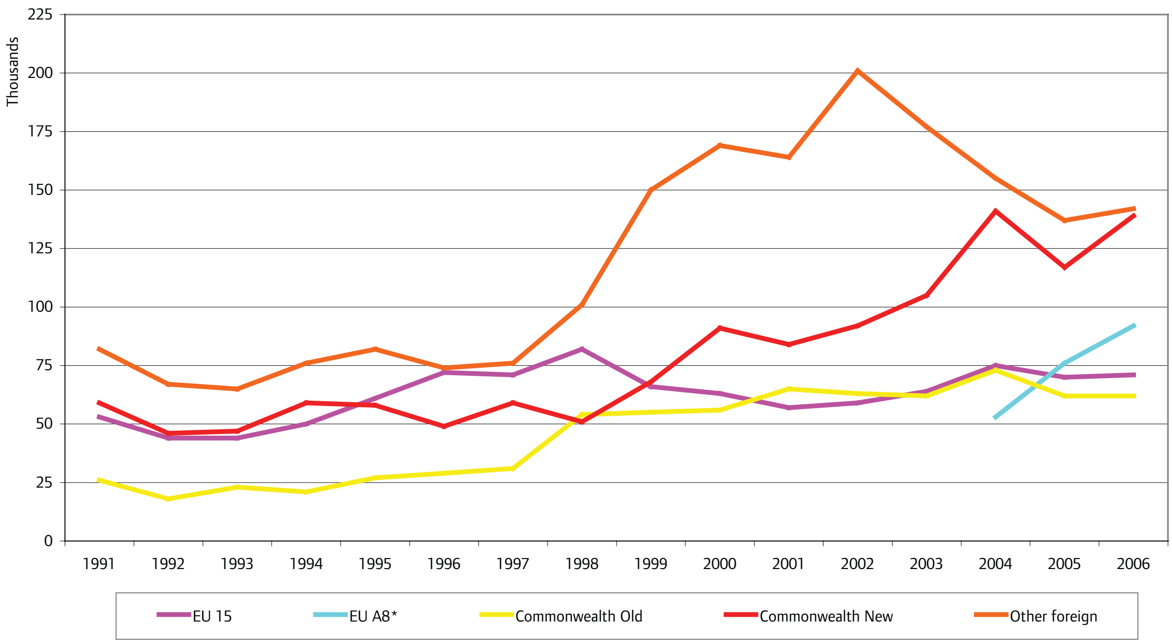
The upper end of the scale of predictions came from organisations such as the think tank Open Europe, which suggested that based on making comparisons with the economic characteristics of the A8 countries, the UK could expect 450,000 Romanian migrants and 170,000 Bulgarian migrants in the first two years after the A2 accession (Open Europe 2007).

In the event, as discussed below, the UK Government's decision to establish a work permit system for Bulgarian and Romanian migrants meant that the actual number of registrations in the first year was much smaller than these predictions.

A8 arrivals since May 2004

The International Passenger Survey carried out by the Office for National Statistics estimates that 53,000 migrants from the A8 countries arrived in the UK in 2004 with the intention of staying for at

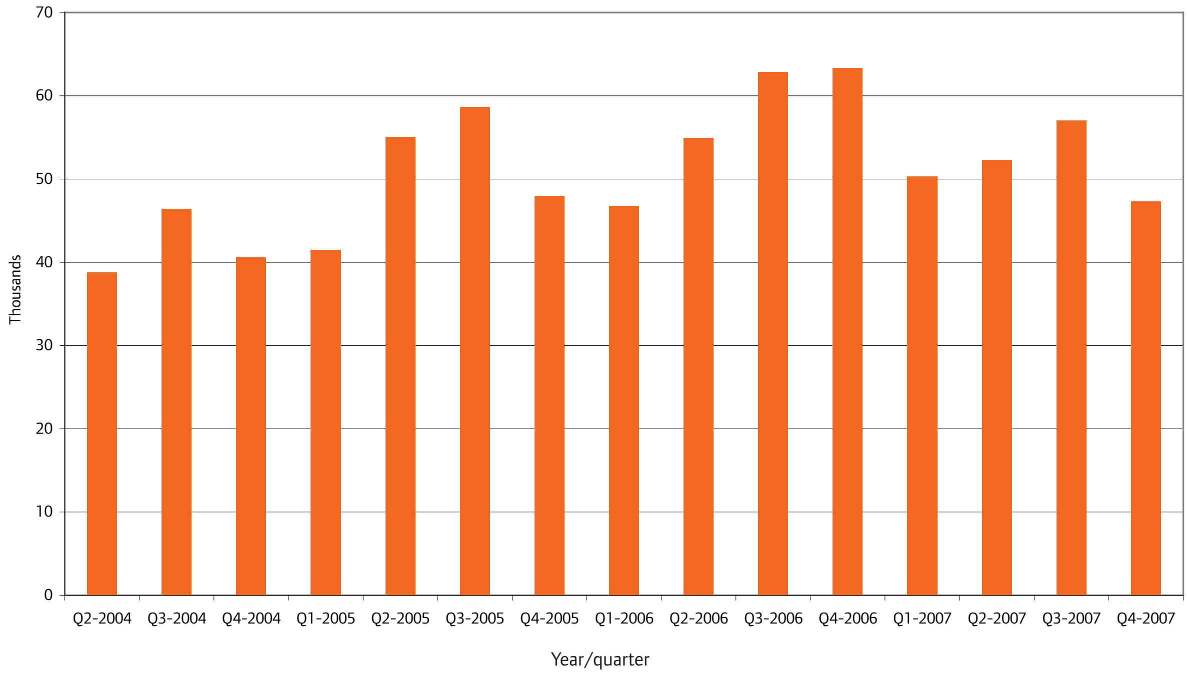
Figure 2. Immigration to and from the UK by country of citizenship, 1991-2006



*EU A8 are classified as 'Other foreign' before 2004

Source: Office for National Statistics 2006a

Figure 3. Worker Registration Scheme registrations, May 2004-December 2007



Source: Home Office *et al* 2005a, 2008a

least a year. This is the strictest of the usual definitions of a migrant because it requires someone to know when they arrive in the UK that they intend to stay for more than a year. Given the nature of migratory flows from new EU member states, relatively few migrants fall into this category compared with migrants from outside the EU who are more likely to embark on long-term migration.

Nevertheless, even by this strict definition, there was an increase in arrivals from the A8 in 2005 to 76,000 and to 92,000 in 2006. Between 2004 and 2006, A8 migrants went from making up 11 per cent of all immigrants to the UK to 18 per cent, and increased as a proportion of EU citizens arriving from 41 per cent to 55 per cent. Figures are not yet available for 2007.

Another measure of gross arrivals, likely to give a better indication of the scale of A8 migration, comes from the Worker Registration Scheme (see Figure 3). This indicates that in total 796,000 initial applications were made to register on the WRS, of which 766,000 initial applications were approved between April 2004 and December 2007.

However, those who are required to register may not always do so and some workers are exempt from registering on the WRS, most notably those who are self-employed (see Background section above). According to the LFS, the proportion of A8 migrants who are self-employed stands at 14 per cent, and other surveys have estimated that the number of A8 workers not registered on the scheme stands at between around a quarter and a third (Fife Research Coordination Group 2008, University of Surrey 2006).

Our survey suggests that more than four in ten Poles (42 per cent) who have worked in the UK since 2004 and now returned to Poland were *not* registered on the Worker Registration Scheme. It may be that those who have returned to Poland were less likely to be registered on the scheme than others who have remained in the UK. On the other hand, the migrants who had returned to Poland we interviewed may provide a more accurate picture of the scale of non-registration than migrants interviewed for surveys in the UK, who may be more cautious about admitting they are not registered on the scheme.

While there is uncertainty about the exact scale of non-registration among A8 migrants, we have taken account of the considerations above to scale up the gross number of arrivals between May 2004 and December 2007. Our calculations use the mid-point3 of our and the other surveys' estimates of the proportion of migrant workers who are not WRS registered (33 per cent) to produce a figure for estimated gross arrivals. Using this method, we estimate that the total number of migrant workers from A8 countries who have arrived since 2004 stands at just over one million (1,018,400)4.

The number of National Insurance numbers (NiNos) issued provides another indication of how many migrants have arrived in the UK since 2004 beyond those who are required to register on the WRS. The Government estimates that 807,115 NiNos were issued to A8 migrants between May 2004 and December 2007 for employment, benefit and tax credit purposes (Home Office et al 2008a). However, it is likely that these figures also under-represent the number of people working, with one study estimating that 13 per cent of A8 workers do not have a NiNo (Fife Research Coordination Group 2008). Based on this estimate, 912,000 A8 workers would have registered for a NiNo during this period.

It is worth noting that evidence from Ireland, one of the other countries that has taken a liberal approach to the movement of A8 workers, has issued a total of 467,267 Personal Public Service Numbers (similar to UK NiNos but thought to have more universal coverage) to A8/A2 nationals between 1 May 2004 and the end of March 2008 (DSFA 2008). Almost as many Poles have been issued with these numbers as Irish nationals in the last few years.

Both WRS registrations and NiNo allocations indicate that the number of A8 migrants arriving in the UK peaked in the last quarter of 2006, when there were 63,350 approved WRS registrations and 76,460 NiNos allocated. There were a quarter (18,789) fewer NiNos allocated and a quarter (16,020) fewer WRS registrations approved in the last quarter of 2007 than in the last quarter of 2006.

A8 departures since May 2004

According to the International Passenger Survey (IPS), just 40,000 A8 migrants permanently left the UK between 2004 and 2006. The reasons for this significant underestimation of the likely numbers of A8 migrants who have left are outlined in the section on methodology. However, the IPS records that between 2004 and 2006, A8 migrants went from constituting two per cent of all permanent non-UK emigrants to 11 per cent and the percentage of EU nationals leaving the UK permanently who came from A8 countries rose from seven per cent in 2004 to 33 per cent in 2006. Although these percentages may not be completely accurate, they provide an indication that the number of A8 migrants leaving the UK, as well as arriving in the country has significantly increased since the enlargement of the EU in 2004.

A better estimation of the number of A8 migrants who have left the country can be obtained by comparing estimated inflow figures with stock figures. This methodology broadly suggests that around half of A8 migrants who have arrived since May 2004 had left the UK by the end of December 2007.

For example, Table 4 (next page) shows that comparing the year of arrival of LFS respondents resident in the UK in Quarter 4 2007 with gross arrivals of working migrants indicates that around half of those who arrived in 2004, 2005 and 2006 had left the UK by the end of 2007.

3. The lowest estimate based on survey data is that of the Fife Research Coordination Group, which found that 23 per cent of A8 migrants in Fife were not registered on the WRS. Our survey found the highest estimate of the scale of underestimation we have seen, suggesting that 42 per cent of workers are not registered.

4. This figure excludes full-time students who are not registered on the WRS. Data from the Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) indicates that the number of A8 nationals in full-time education is not sufficiently large to substantially affect these calculations. The figure also excludes children of migrant workers, and adult dependants who are not working. 47,170 children were registered by WRS workers between May 2004 and December 2007. 37,855 adult dependants were also registered by WRS workers during this period. However, it is likely that many of these adult dependants were also working and were themselves registered on WRS.

Table 4. A8 nationals of working age by year of arrival in Q4 2007, compared with gross arrivals

Year	WRS registrations	Total annual gross arrivals of A8 workers*	A8 nationals by year of arrival, Q4 2007**	Proportion of gross arrivals estimated to have left the UK by Q4 2007
2004	125,880	167,420	83,000	51%
2005	204,970	272,610	141,000	49%
2006	227,875	303,074	131,000	57%

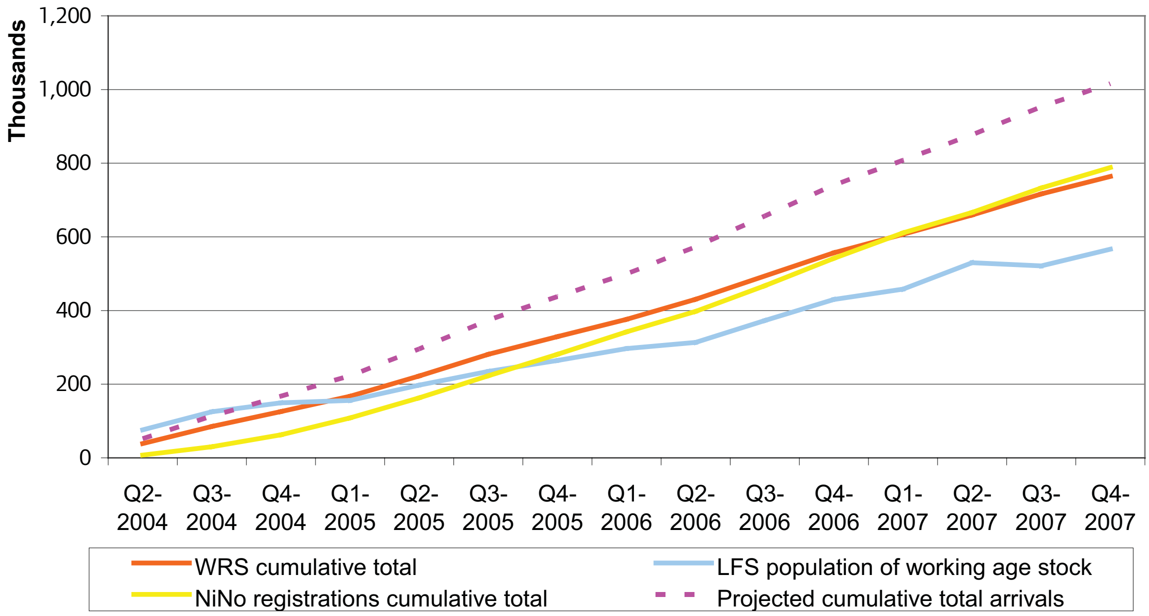
Notes: LFS figures rounded to the nearest thousand.
* This is our estimate of the total number of A8 nationals arriving in the UK, including estimates of those not registered (based on a non-registration figure of 33%, the middle of the range of non-registration estimates)
** A8 nationals of working age excluding fulltime students.

Source: LFS, Q4 2007 and Home office *et al* 2008a

As Figure 4 illustrates, there is a significant difference between the cumulative total of WRS and NiNo registrations by A8 migrants between May 2004 and December 2007 and the increase in stock, as recorded by the LFS during this period. The discrepancy between the number of new WRS registrations and the increase in the LFS stock of A8 nationals of working age during this period is 289,000, and it is likely that a significant proportion of this figure has returned home or gone elsewhere. However, as discussed above, WRS figures underestimate the numbers of A8 migrants who have arrived. Again, using the midpoint estimate of 33 per cent not registered on the WRS, around 541,000 A8 migrant workers may have left the country between May 2004 and December 2007, which is just over half of those we estimate to have arrived.

Our survey data indicates that the pace of return to Poland among migrants in the UK has accelerated during 2007 and 2008, indicating that anecdotal evidence that Poles are starting to return in greater numbers paints an accurate picture.

Figure 4. Stock and cumulative figures of A8 nationals of working age in the UK, March 2004-December 2007



Source: Home Office *et al* 2005a, 2008a, LFS and ippr calculations

A2 arrivals since January 2007

According to the Accession Monitoring Statistics, 2,185 applications for Accession Worker Cards by Bulgarian nationals and by 1,430 Romanian nationals were approved in 2007. During the same period, 18,995 Romanians and 8,410 Bulgarians were issued with registration certificates, and 29,083 National Insurance numbers were issued to Romanian and Bulgarian nationals (Home Office *et al* 2007a-c, 2008b). Data indicating the number of A2 migrants who have left the UK since January 2007 are not yet available.

Current population of A8 and A2 migrants in the UK

We believe that despite its limitations as a tool for estimating the number of migrants in the country, the LFS is the most accurate data source available as an estimate of the number of post-enlargement migrants currently in the UK. According to the survey, there were 665,000 nationals of A8 and A2 countries living in the UK in the last quarter of 2007. This is an increase of 548,000 since the first quarter of 2004, just prior to the A8 accession.

This increase can also be seen in the two largest country-of-origin groups among A8 and A2 population, Poles and Lithuanians, the only two groups which are sufficiently large to analyse individually from the latest LFS figures. Table 5 shows that the numbers of Polish-born and Polish national people resident in the UK has increased significantly in recent years. Polish nationals have gone from being the 13th biggest group of immigrants in the UK before Poland joined the EU to being the single biggest immigrant group at the end of 2007. This rise can also be seen in those who were born in Poland, who are now estimated to be the second largest country-of-birth group behind those born in India. Interestingly, Census data from 2001 suggests that the Polish-born population had been growing even before 2004. While sample sizes and lack of data from the Census mean that the increases in the Lithuanian population cannot be tracked in the same way, it is telling that Lithuanian nationals have gone from being a statistically insignificant group in the LFS in early 2004 to being the 23rd largest foreign national group in the UK at the end of 2007.

Table 5. Poles and Lithuanians in the UK, various years

	Census 2001	LFS 2004 Q1		LFS 2007 Q4	
		Number	Rank among all immigrant groups	Number	Rank among all immigrant groups
Polish nationals	No data available	53,000	13	447,000	1
Polish-born	58,000	84,000	14	458,000	2
Lithuanian nationals	No data available	*	*	51,000	23
Lithuanian-born	4,200	*	*	52,000	32

* Not statistically significant

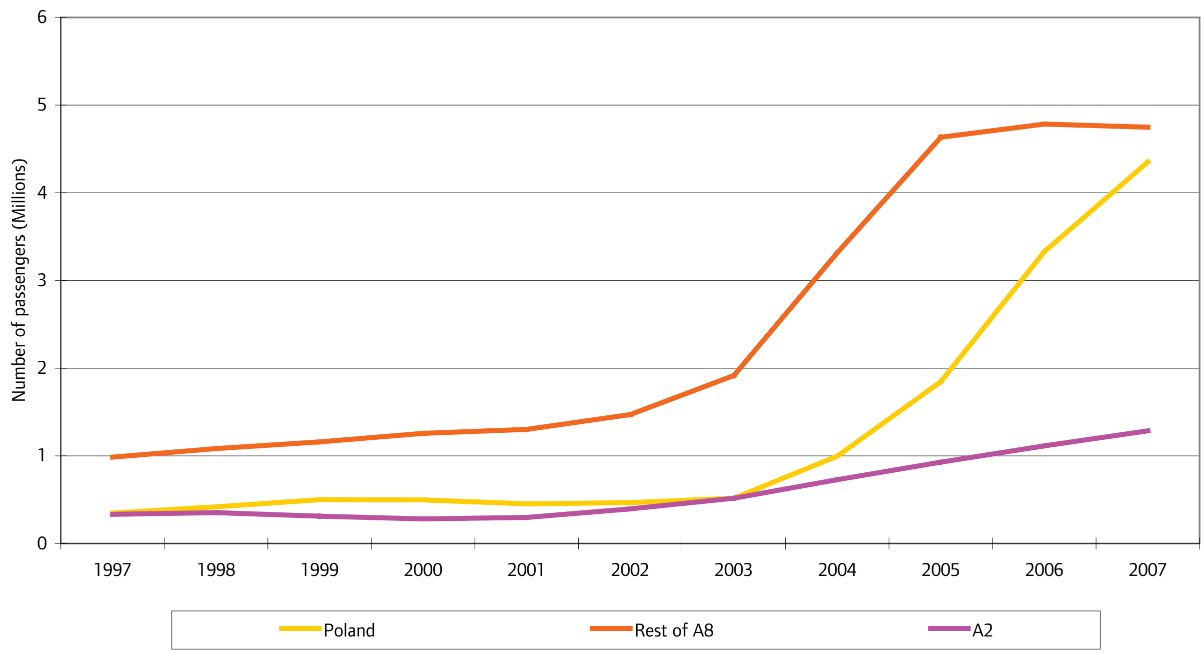
Source: Census 2001, LFS and ippr calculations

Other indicators on the scale of post-enlargement migration

In the absence of robust data on the scale of post-enlargement migration, it is also useful to see whether other indicators that are not directly migration-related suggest a similar scale of increase.

Perhaps the most obvious indicator is the huge increase in the number of flights between the UK and the new EU member states, with substantially more passengers flying between many more destinations than before 2004 (see Figure 5, next page). In December 2003 some 40,000 passengers flew between three British airports and Warsaw and Krakow in Poland. By December 2007, it was possible to fly from 22 British airports to ten Polish cities, and passenger numbers between these destinations that month were almost 385,000 (Civil Aviation Authority 2008). In total some 10 million air passengers travelled between the UK and A8/A2 countries in 2007, a three-fold increase on pre-enlargement air traffic.

Figure 5. International passenger traffic to and from UK airports, 1997-2007*



Source: Civil Aviation Authority 2003

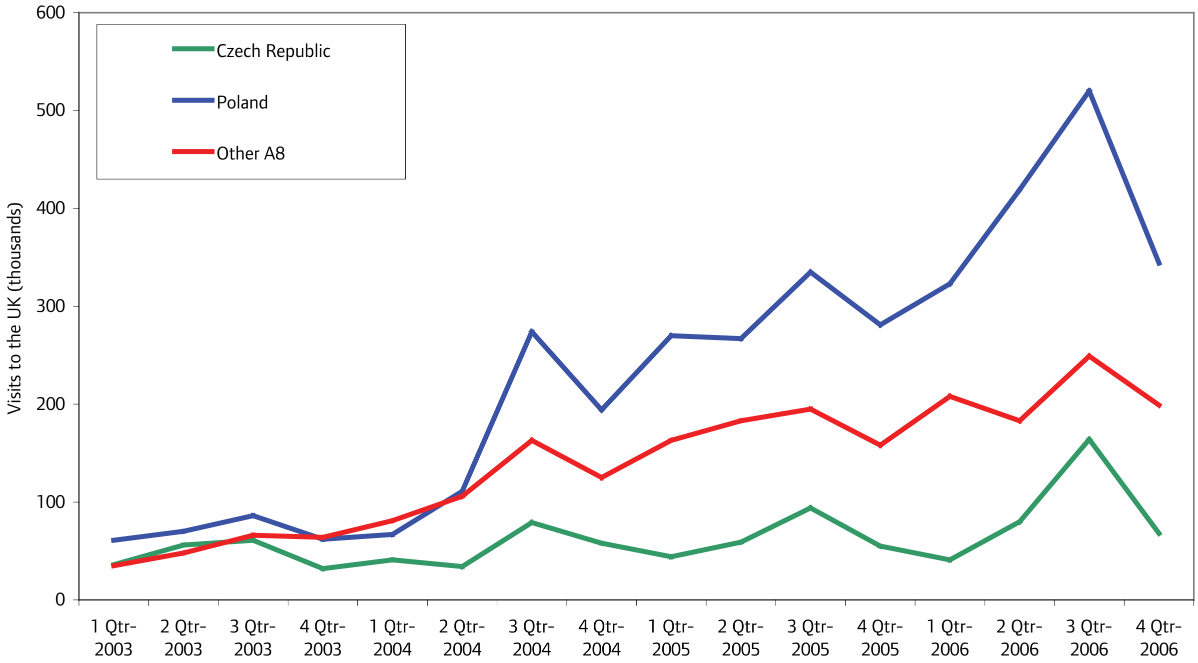
*Includes all passengers carried on scheduled and chartered services excluding those carried on aircraft chartered by Government departments

The increase in the number of flights from the UK to the new member states appears to have been accompanied by a decline in the number of coaches making these journeys. In July 2007, around 80 coaches ran per week between London's Victoria Coach Station and destinations in A8 countries, including 67 in Poland. At the beginning of March 2008, this number stood at around 45 coaches (Transport for London 2008). Even accounting for seasonal differences between these two snapshots, there is a clear trend of declining popularity of coach travel between the UK and the new member states. Anecdotal evidence suggests that while migrants may arrive in the UK for the first time by coach, so that they can bring large amounts of baggage, they often choose to fly when making subsequent trips.

There has also been a similar increase in the tourist visits to UK by A8 nationals. As Figure 6 (next page) indicates, visits to the UK have increased dramatically since May 2004. While many accession nationals have come to work in the British economy, in the last three months of 2006 (the last period for which data is available), 48 per cent of the 611,000 visits from A8 nationals during that period were for leisure purposes, a high proportion of which were presumably to visit friends and family who have moved to the UK. These additional numbers are likely to have a positive impact on the British tourism sector (Office for National Statistics 2006b).

Another indicator is the growth in sales of A8 – primarily Polish – goods and services in the UK. For example, there have been several hundred Polish delis established throughout the country over the last four years. Established suppliers have been catering to the increased demand for Polish goods. In July 2007, Tesco announced that it was doubling both its range of Polish products and the number of stores stocking them. Tesco now sells Polish food in more stores in the UK than Poland, where it has 280 shops (Tesco 2007). Similarly, the leading Polish beer brands Lech and Tyskie were not widely available in the UK prior to 2004. According to the brands' owner SABMiller, annual UK sales of the two beers now exceed 44 million pints per year (SABMiller 2008).

Figure 6. Visits to the UK from A8 nationals, 2003-2006



Source: Office for National Statistics 2006b

5. The demographic profile of post-enlargement migrants

Nationality

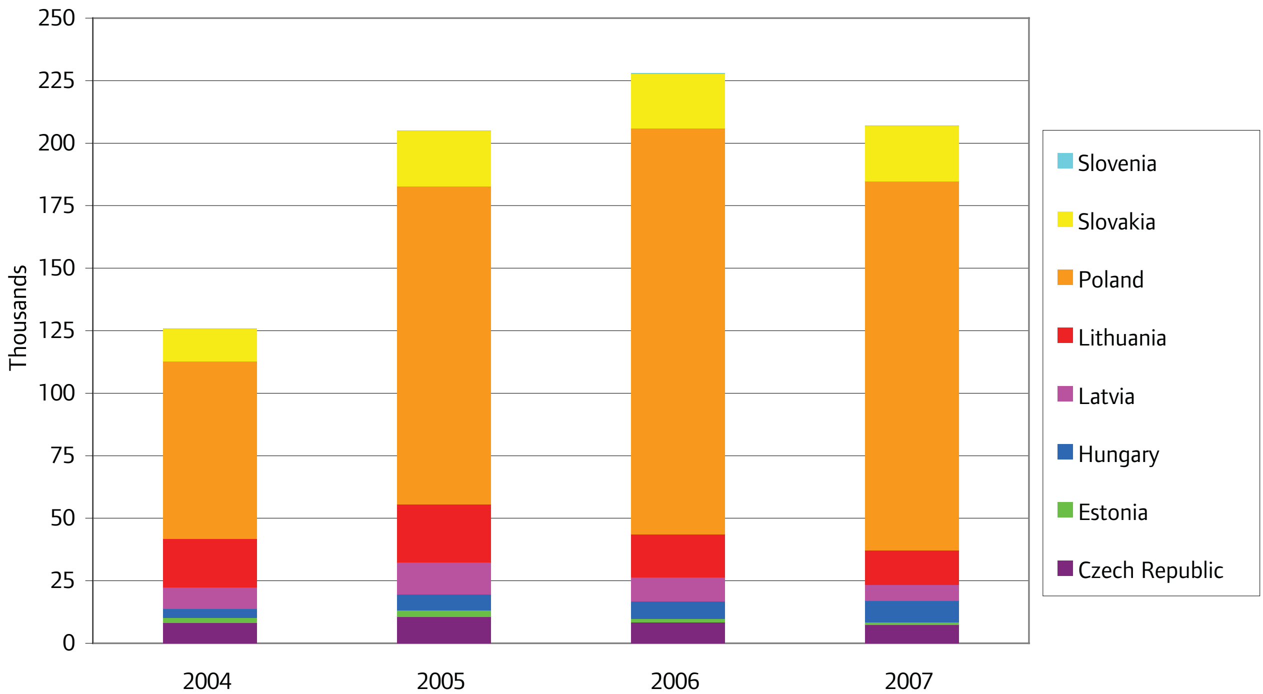
The large majority of post-accession migrants to the UK have come from Poland. Two thirds (66 per cent) of all approved applications (508,385) to the WRS between May 2004 and December 2007 were from Poles. The Polish Statistical Office (CSO) estimates that 580,000 Poles were living in the UK in 2006, and that 30 per cent of Polish migrants living in the EU were in Britain. The second largest population of Polish migrants was in Germany, where the CSO estimates 23 per cent of migrants were. According to the CSO the outflow of migrants to the UK increased by 127 per cent between 2004 and 2005, causing the UK to overtake Germany as the most popular destination. The increase in outflow to the UK between 2005 and 2006 was 71 per cent (Kepinska 2007).

The next two largest groups of migrants to have registered on the WRS are Slovakian (78,830) and Lithuanian (73,315), in total amounting to around two in every ten applicants. Moderate numbers of people have come to work from the Czech Republic, Latvia and Hungary (34,555, 37,300 and 25,755 respectively). Only 6,845 Estonians and just 695 Slovenians have registered on the scheme.

The proportions of A8 migrants coming to the UK from each country have remained broadly constant, with the exception of Lithuania, whose migrant population in the UK has declined since the end of 2005. The number of Lithuanians who registered on the WRS was almost 30 per cent lower in the last quarter of 2007 than in the last quarter of 2006 (2,870 compared with 4,015).

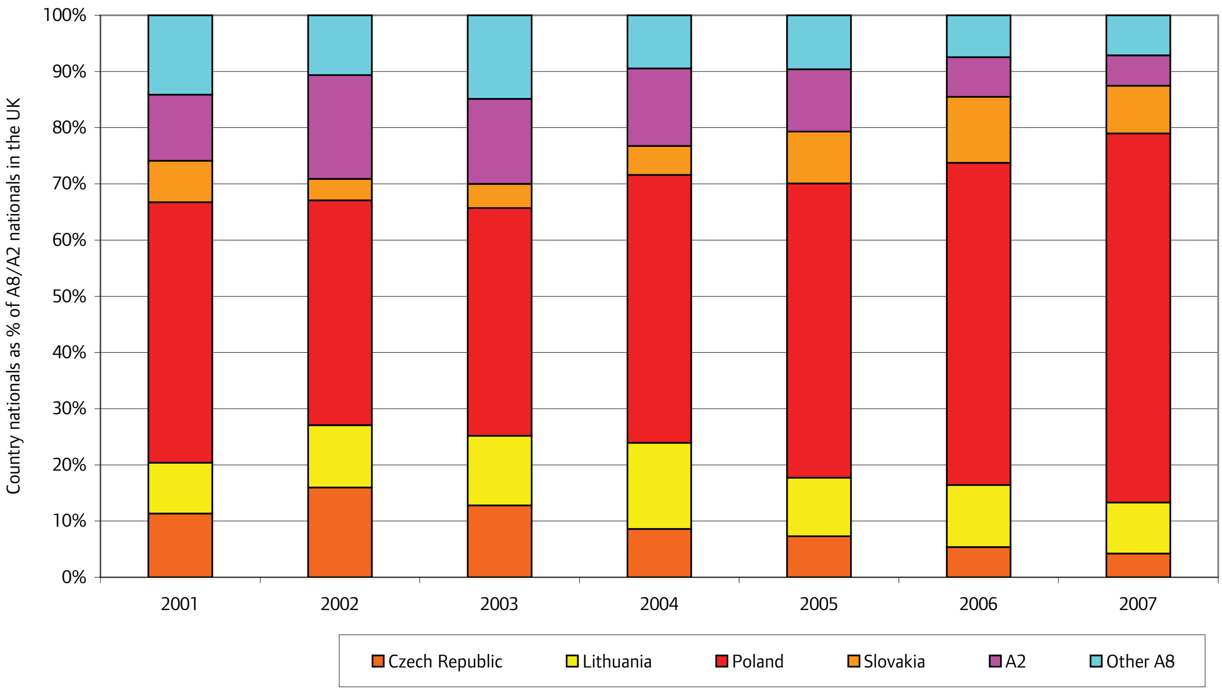
Data from the Labour Force Survey, presented in Figure 8 (next page), suggests a similar national profile.

Figure 7. Worker Registration Scheme registrations approved by nationality, 2004-2007



Source: Home Office *et al* 2005a, 2008a

Figure 8. Distribution of A8/A2 nationals in the UK by nationality, 2001-2007



Source: LFS and ippr calculations

Gender

Of those migrant workers who registered on the WRS between May 2004 and December 2007, 57 per cent were men and 43 per cent were women (Home Office *et al* 2008a). The same gender ratio was found among Romanians and Bulgarians who came to the UK between October and December 2007 (Home Office *et al* 2008b).

The higher number of men than women arriving since 2004 has significantly altered the gender profile of the stock of migrants from the new accession countries living in the UK. The older profile of people born in Eastern Europe living in the UK pre-accession meant that there were significantly more women than men among this group (due to women living longer on average than men).

Age

As Figure 9 indicates (next page), post-accession migrants are overwhelmingly aged between 18 and 34. More than eight in ten A8 workers (82 per cent) who registered between May 2004 and December 2007 fell into this category. More than four in ten (43 per cent) were aged 18-24, and 39 per cent were aged 25-34.

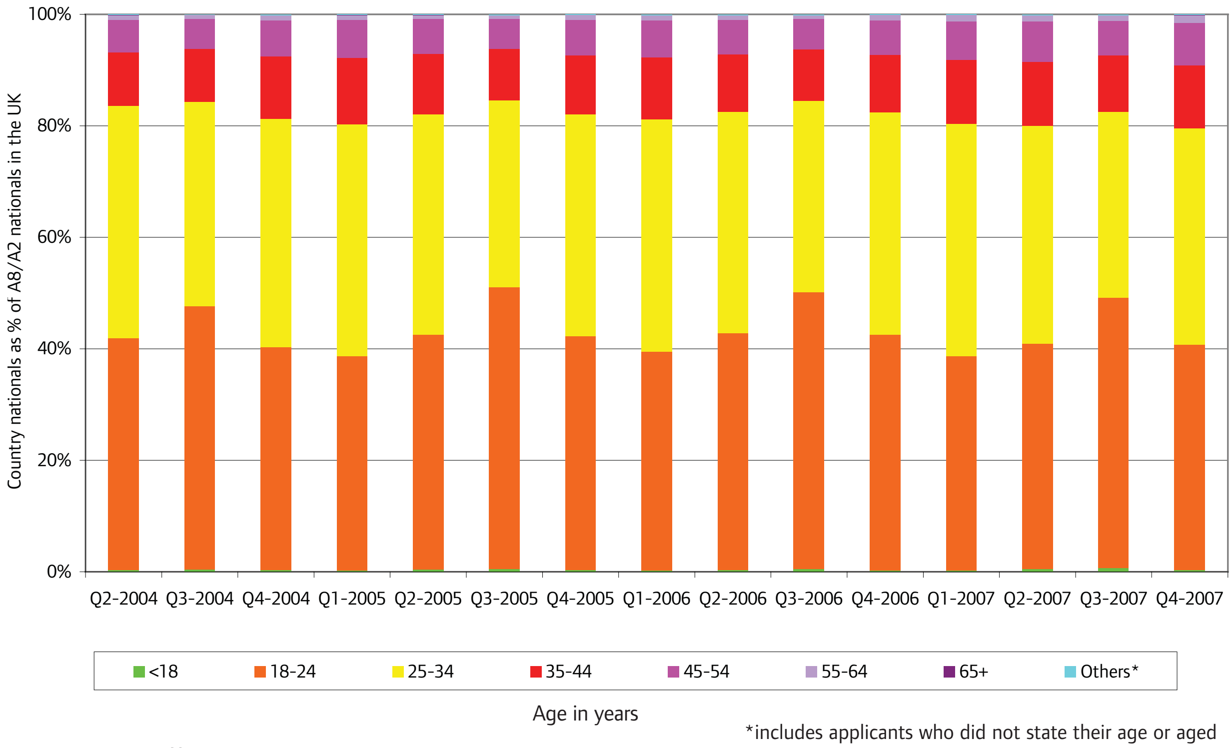
More than seven in ten Romanian and Bulgarian nationals (73 per cent) registering for an Accession Worker Card or registration certificate between October and December 2007 were aged 18-34. In comparison with A8 workers, more of those registering from A2 countries fell into the 25-34 age band (46 per cent) than the 18-24 band (27 per cent).

According to the LFS, 75 per cent of A8 and A2 nationals resident in the UK in 2007 were aged 16-39. Similarly as with gender, the post-accession wave of migration has transformed the age profile of the stock of people born in those countries now living in the UK. (See Figure 10, next page.)

Marital status

In 2007, the LFS found that 58 per cent of A8 and A2 nationals in the UK were married, cohabiting or in a civil partnership. Our survey found that one in five returned Poles (19 per cent) arrived in the UK with their partner or spouse.

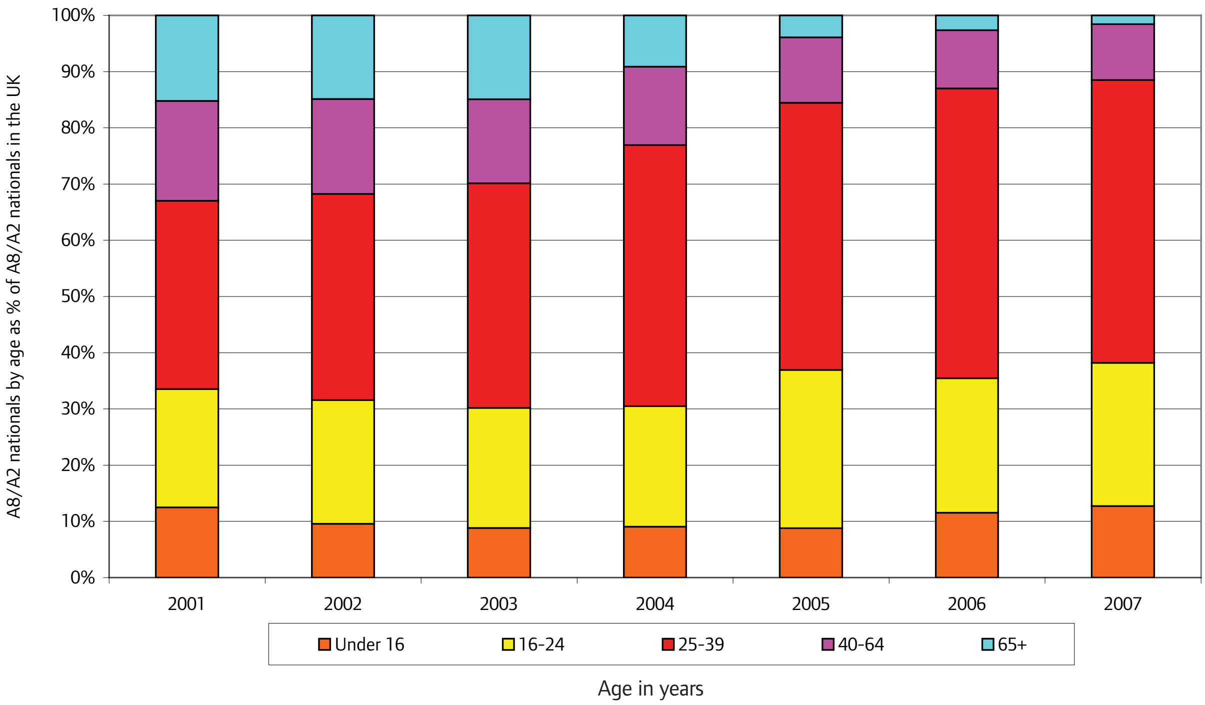
Figure 9. Worker Registration Scheme registrations by age, May 2004-December 2007



Source: Home Office *et al* 2005a, 2008a

*includes applicants who did not state their age or aged under 15 or over 72

Figure 10. Distribution of A8/A2 nationals in the UK by age, 2001-2007

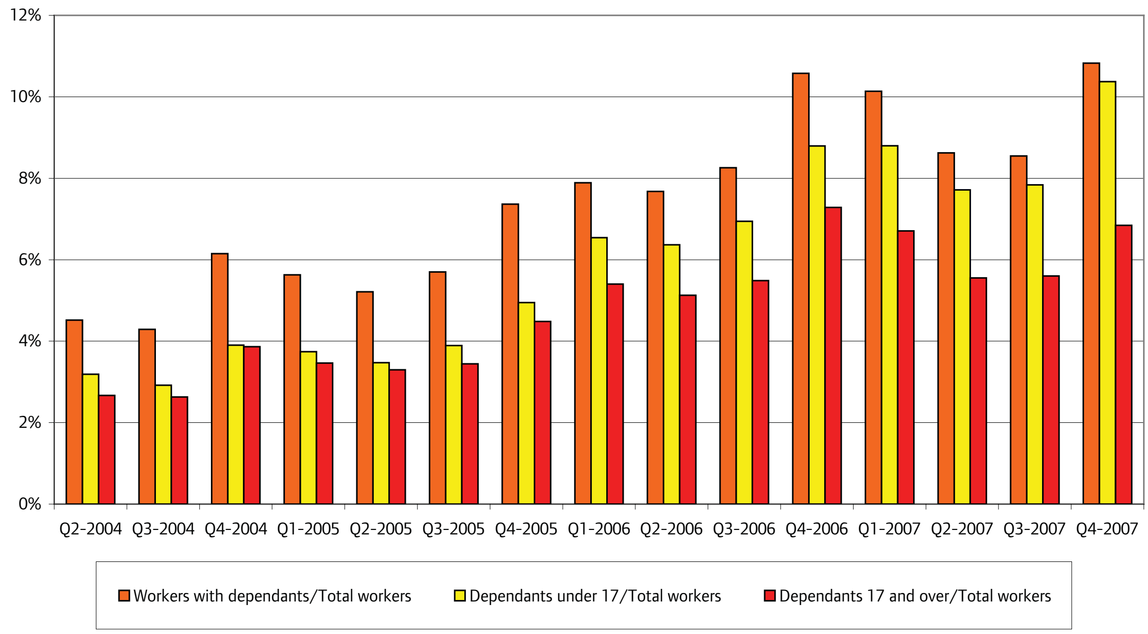


Source: LFS and ippr calculations

Dependants

The proportion of workers from the A8 countries with dependants living with them at the time they registered is very low. Only seven per cent of workers who registered on the WRS between May 2004 and December 2007 declared they had dependants living with them in the UK. In total, the WRS records 85,270 dependants who have arrived with registered workers since 2004, 55 per cent of whom were aged under 17 (Home Office *et al* 2008a). The proportion of registered workers who have dependants increased between 2004 and 2007, yet even in 2006, when the number of newly-registered workers with dependants appears to have peaked, only nine per cent of new arrivals registered dependent adults or children. As those registering on the WRS may record dependants who are also working and registered on the scheme, these figures are likely to overestimate the number of adult dependants.

Figure 11. Workers with dependants registered at the Worker Registration Scheme, May 2004-December 2007



Source: Home Office *et al* 2005a, 2008a and ippr calculations

The LFS estimates that 13 per cent of accession state nationals living in the UK in 2007 are aged 16 or under. According to the Department for Children, Schools and Families, Polish is now the most commonly-spoken first language among non-English-speaking newly-arrived migrant school children across England (Department for Children, Schools and Families 2008).

Level of education

Definitive data on new accession migrants' level of education is not available. While the LFS provides data on the qualifications held by respondents, qualifications not obtained in the UK are classified as 'other' and no other detail about them is provided. However, a range of survey and administrative data suggests that as a group they are highly educated.

Eade *et al* use the age variable of the LFS dataset and World Bank education statistics to calculate the average number of years spent in full-time education among A8 migrants. They find that on average Polish migrants in the UK have 13.6 years of full-time education, and that the average for other A8 migrants is 11.9 years. They suggest that the higher proportion of students among non-Polish A8 migrants could explain this difference. ippr analysis of LFS data in December 2007 found that the average age for leaving full-time education among Polish nationals is 20.1, compared with 17.5 among UK citizens. Of the 25 largest immigrant groups in the UK, Poles rank sixth in terms of length of time spent in full-time education (Sriskandarajah *et al* 2007).

A survey of more than 900 A8 workers in Fife found that nearly 30 per cent had a university degree, and a further 22 per cent had an under-graduate level qualification (Fife Research Coordination Group 2008).

6. The spatial profile of post-enlargement migration

Post-enlargement migrants have moved to a larger number of different areas of the UK than have any previous groups of migrants. This reflects the fact that this group's overwhelming motivation for coming to the UK is to work. As a group they have high degree of mobility, moving to where work is available.

Overall, the highest numbers of NiNo and WRS applications from A8 and A2 nationals since 2004 have been in London and the South East. However, a significantly smaller proportion of A8 and A2 migrants live in and around the capital than foreign-born residents as a whole and all regions have received significant numbers of post-enlargement migrants. In 2007 Polish NiNo recipients were registered in every local authority in Britain (Rabindrakumar 2008). As Table 6 shows, areas that have not traditionally attracted large numbers immigrants, such as the East of England, the South West, Scotland and Northern Ireland, have drawn a significant proportion of post-enlargement migrants.

Table 6. A8/A2 nationals compared with other foreign nationals and UK nationals of working age by region, 2007

Government Office Region	A8/A2 NiNo applications 2006/7	WRS approvals 2004-2007	A8/A2 nationals of working age arrived since 2004	Non A8/A2 foreign nationals of working age	UK nationals of working age
North East	1.7%	1.2%	2.0%	1.8%	5.2%
North West	8.6%	8.4%	7.2%	6.7%	10.7%
Yorks & Humber	7.3%	8.2%	6.9%	5.5%	8.6%
East Midlands	8.1%	10.3%	11.1%	4.4%	7.3%
West Midlands	8.0%	8.5%	7.6%	7.5%	8.8%
East of England	9.1%	12.0%	4.8%	3.2%	3.7%
London	21.8%	15.4%	21.4%	40.9%	11.1%
South East	11.2%	13.4%	17.1%	17.3%	19.3%
South West	7.4%	7.6%	8.4%	4.2%	8.5%
Wales	2.9%	2.9%	3.8%	2.2%	5.1%
Scotland	9.3%	8.3%	5.3%	4.6%	8.8%
Northern Ireland	4.7%	3.9%	4.3%	1.8%	3.0%

Note: Some totals may not sum to 100% due to rounding

Source: Department for Work and Pensions 2007, Home Office 2008c, LFS and ippr calculations

There is also evidence to suggest that some of these spatial patterns have changed over time. Initially, A8 migrants were concentrated in London and the South East. This can be partly explained by the fact that many migrants from the A8 countries already working in these regions would have registered on WRS in 2004, although the fall in the *proportion* of new registrants in London between 2004 and 2005 was dramatic (nine per cent), as was the increase in the numbers registering in other regions (see Appendix A). However, the LFS figures for stock in each region at the end of 2007 suggest that people who initially registered in some regions, particularly the East of England, may have subsequently moved away. Many of these people may have moved to London and the South East, where the stock figures are higher than the proportion of WRS registrations in those areas.

Table 7 lists the ten local authorities that we estimate have the highest number of A8 workers in proportion to their resident population. The City of London, which tops the list, is anomalous because of its very small resident population. With the exception of the City and the London Borough of Westminster, the list is made up of places which have not previously received significant numbers of migrants.

A full list of local authorities can be found in Appendix B. It presents some interesting differences that need to be explored in more depth. For example, some local authorities in Northern England, such as Sheffield, Stockport and Wigan, have attracted relatively low numbers of A8 migrants in proportion to the size of their populations. It may be that these patterns are related to the availability of employment, but further examination of these trends is necessary.

Table 7. Local authorities with highest numbers of WRS workers per 1,000 residents

Local authority	Approved WRS applications May 2004-December 2007	2006 population estimate	Number of A8 workers per 1,000 residents based on our estimate of current A8 stock*
City of London	3,590	7,800	306
Boston	7,875	58,300	90
Westminster	19,275	231,900	55
Northampton	14,250	200,100	47
South Holland	5,195	82,100	42
Peterborough	9,995	163,300	41
Fenland	4,760	90,100	35
Dungannon	2,735	52,300	35
County of Herefordshire	9,285	177,800	35
East Cambridgeshire	4,115	79,600	34

Source: Home Office 2008c and ONS with ippr calculations

*Our estimate of the current A8 stock is based on the assumptions outlined earlier in the report; that the WRS underestimates the actual level of worker registration by 33 per cent; and that 50 per cent of A8 migrants who have arrived since May 2004 are no longer in the UK.

Although the arrival of new migrants to areas with no history of immigration may in a limited number of cases create some short-term issues for local authorities to address, it is clear that the movement of post-enlargement migrants to some parts of the UK has brought significant economic benefits and assistance to regional development. A significant proportion of A8 migrants have moved to rural areas, providing labour in areas where recruitment can be difficult. According to the Commission for Rural Communities (CRC), 120,000 migrant workers registered in the rural areas of England between May 2004 and September 2006, representing almost a quarter (23 per cent) of WRS registrations during that period. The CRC also found a higher degree of seasonality in WRS registrations in rural areas than nationally, with September being the peak registration month (Commission for Rural Communities 2007).

7. The socio-economic profile of post-enlargement migrants

Employment

The vast majority of post-enlargement migrants living in Britain are working. According to the LFS, 84 per cent of A8 and A2 nationals of working age living in the UK in December 2007 were in work. This figure is higher than the percentage of UK nationals of working age in employment (76 per cent) and is one of the highest levels among all foreign nationals living in the UK. Table 8 shows the high rates of employment among A8 and A2 migrants of working age. It illustrates that the large majority of post-enlargement migrants have come to the UK to work, with the proportion of A8 and A2 nationals of working age in employment increasing steeply during 2004 and 2005 as significant numbers of migrants arrived.

Table 8. A8 and A2 nationals of working age and in employment in the UK

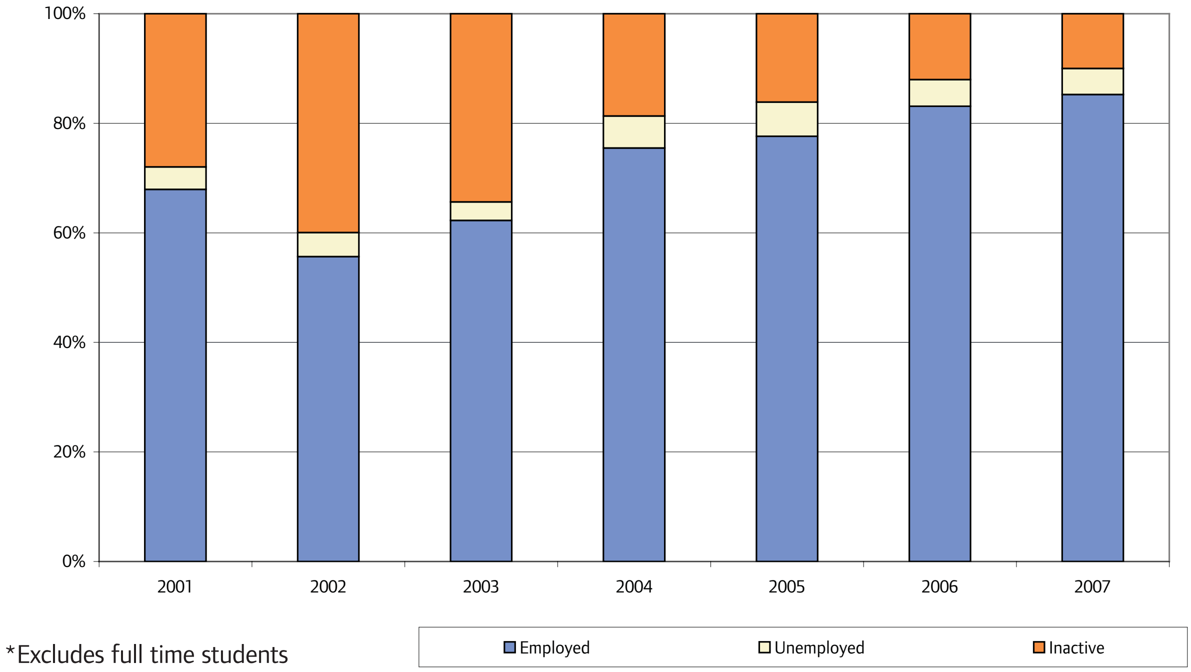
Year/quarter	Total	Working age	In employment	% of those of working age in employment
2004				
Q1	117,000	90,000	56,000	63
Q2	94,000	76,000	59,000	78
Q3	146,000	125,000	90,000	72
Q4	174,000	150,000	114,000	76
2005				
Q1	180,000	156,000	117,000	75
Q2	228,000	198,000	159,000	80
Q3	271,000	235,000	190,000	81
Q4	305,000	265,000	215,000	82
2006				
Q1	348,000	297,000	245,000	83
Q2	365,000	314,000	260,000	83
Q3	428,000	373,000	308,000	83
Q4	501,000	430,000	356,000	83
2007				
Q1	533,000	458,000	374,000	82
Q2	620,000	530,000	435,000	82
Q3	616,000	521,000	434,000	83
Q4	665,000	567,000	474,000	84

Note: Figures are rounded to the nearest thousand

Source: Labour Force Survey

In 2007, five per cent of A8 and A2 nationals in the UK were unemployed and ten per cent were economically inactive. The fact that the proportion of this group that was economically inactive stood at 33 per cent prior to 2003 suggests that many of this group are pensioners who are long-time residents of the UK (see Figure 12, next page).

Figure 12. Distribution of A8/A2 nationals of working age in the UK by economic activity*, 2001-2007



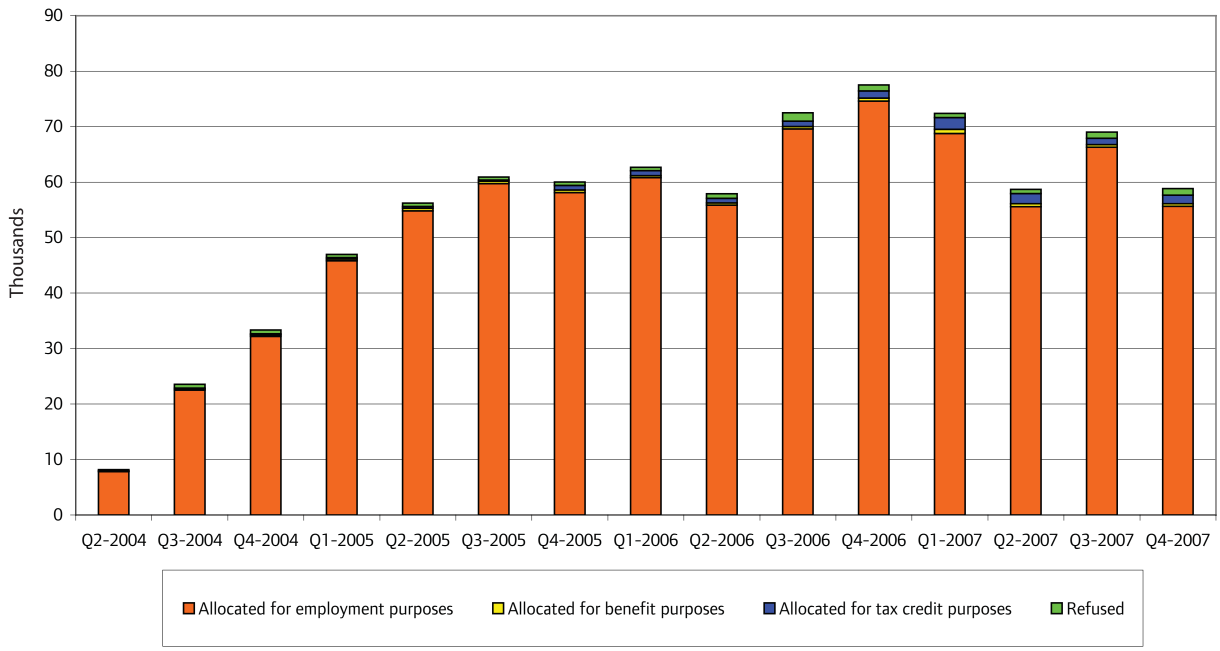
*Excludes full time students

Source: LFS and ippr calculations

Benefits claimants

As members of the European Union, A8 and A2 nationals enjoy broadly the same entitlements to benefits and support as British nationals who live and work in the EU outside the UK. The possibility of enlargement resulting in large numbers of what the tabloid press has labelled 'benefit tourists' coming to the UK to enjoy relatively better state benefits was a prominent concern in discussions of EU enlargement. Yet the evidence suggests that only a small proportion of post-enlargement migrants

Figure 13. NiNo applications from A8 nationals, May 2004-December 2007



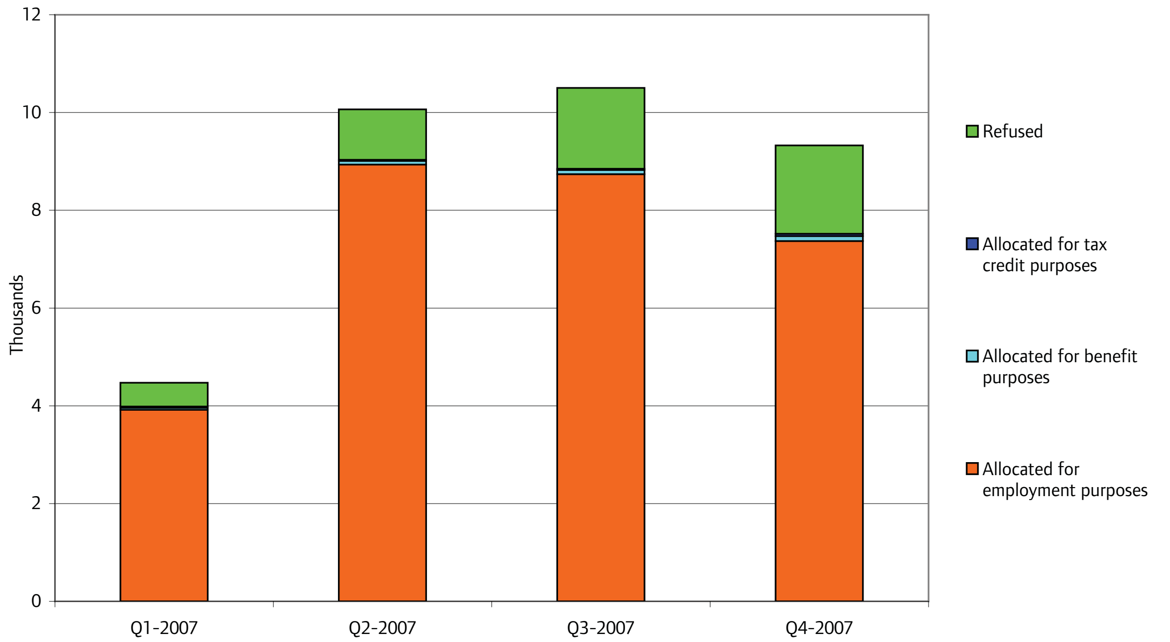
Source: Home Office *et al* 2005a, 2008a

have claimed benefits, and where they have claimed benefits these have principally been tax credits and Child Benefit claimed by migrants who are working. Of the 819,000 NiNos issued to A8 nationals between April 2004 and December 2007 (see Figure 13), 97.6 per cent were issued for employment purposes, with 1.6 per cent allocated for the purpose of claiming tax credits and 0.8 per cent for the purpose of claiming benefits (Home Office *et al* 2008a).

While there has been an increase in the number of A8 nationals applying for tax credits and benefits over the last four years, the overall numbers successfully applying have remained low. Between May 2004 and December 2007, 51,518 applications to receive Tax Credits were approved, as were 89,281 applications to receive Child Benefit. During the same period 4,872 applications for income-based Jobseeker's Allowance, Income Support and State Pension Credit were allowed to proceed for further consideration of whether the claimants meet the other conditions of entitlement (Home Office *et al* 2008a).

Just 121 NiNos were issued to Bulgarian and Romanian nationals between January and December 2007 for the purpose of tax credit applications and 307 were issued for benefits purposes (Home Office *et al* 2007a-c, 2008b) (see Figure 14).

Figure 14. NiNo applications from A2 nationals, 2007



Source: Bulgarian and Romanian Accession Statistics, Department for Work and Pensions

LFS data for Quarter 4 of 2007 suggests that almost exactly the same proportion of A8/A2 nationals claim child benefit (four per cent) and tax credits (nine per cent) as UK nationals (five per cent and 10 per cent respectively). While 26 per cent of UK nationals are in receipt of other state benefits, the proportion of A8/A2 nationals claiming these is likely to be less than five per cent.

Table 9. Numbers and proportions of A8 and A2 nationals claiming child benefit and tax credits, compared with UK nationals

Type of benefit claimed	Numbers of A8/A2 nationals arrived since 2004 claiming benefits	Numbers of UK nationals claiming benefits	Proportion of A8/A2 nationals arrived since 2004 claiming benefits	Proportion of UK nationals claiming benefits
Child benefit	22,759	2,464,006	4.4%	4.5%
Tax credits	47,687	5,225,001	9.2%	9.5%

Source: Labour Force Survey and ippr calculations

Students

Table 10 shows that the number of higher education students from Poland increased by 56 per cent from 4,325 in 2005/06 to 6,770 in 2006/07. Polish students are now the sixth largest national group of EU students in the UK. The number of students from Lithuania and Latvia also increased, by 53 per cent and 64 per cent respectively (Higher Education Statistics Agency 2008).

The increased number of students from the new accession countries has contributed to an overall increase in the number of EU students in the UK, and the financial benefits to the UK inherent in this. One study estimates that EU students paid at least £180 million per year in tuition fees alone in 2004-2005 (Vickers and Bekhradnia 2007).

Table 10. Top ten EU countries of domicile in 2006/07 for HE students in higher education institutions in the UK

Country of domicile	2005/06	2006/07	% change
Republic of Ireland	16,790	16,255	-3
Greece	17,675	16,050	-9
Germany	13,265	14,010	6
France	12,455	13,070	5
Cyprus	7,205	8,710	21
Poland	4,325	6,770	56
Spain	6,225	6,350	2
Italy	5,460	5,990	10
Sweden	3,325	3,380	2
Portugal	2,885	3,010	4
Total EU*	106,225	112,260	6

Note: *Total EU excludes UK and the 2007 accession countries of Romania and Bulgaria

Source: Higher Education Statistics Agency Students 2008

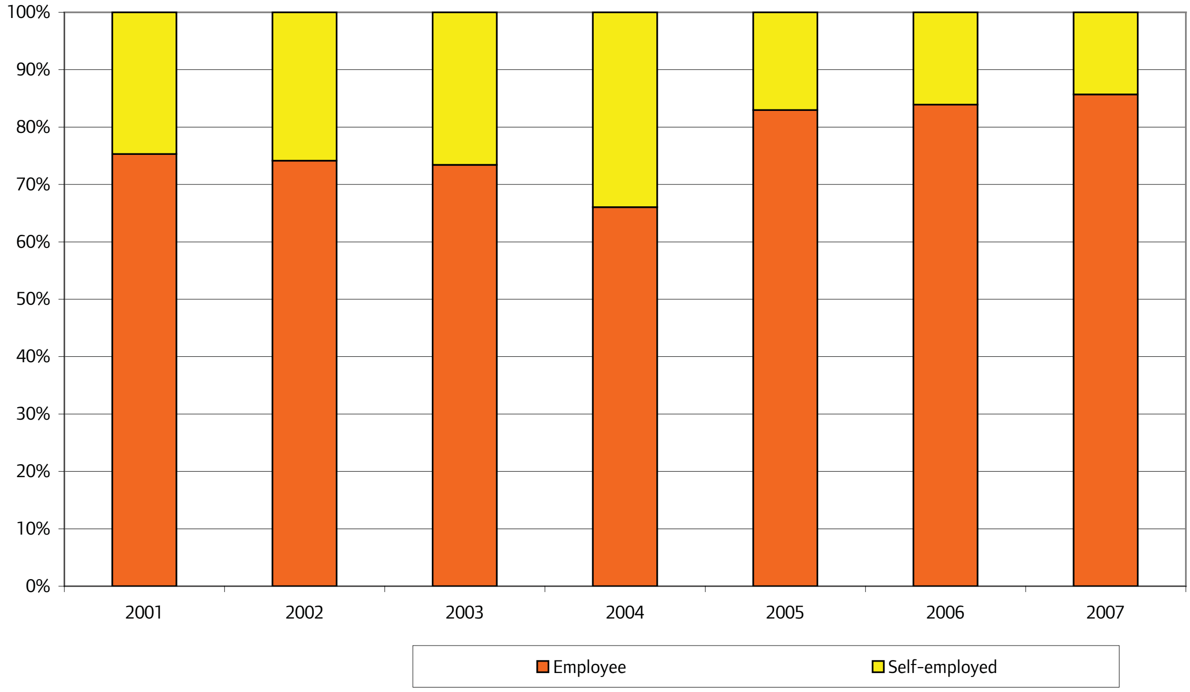
ippr's qualitative research with Polish migrants has found that many migrants enrol on part-time courses as a way of learning new skills and exploring creative subjects such as photography and pottery and that such opportunities are often not available at an affordable price in their home countries. Evening or weekend class are also taken as an opportunity to meet people, make friends and improve English-language skills. Some migrants move into creative careers from low-skilled, low-paid jobs as a result of developing skills through part-time courses. Some felt that such opportunities would not be possible in their home countries.

One female Polish migrant in London (25-34 age group) told us: 'It [photography] was a hobby that became a potential earner. It was always at the back of my mind that I need to do something with this, because I really love it.'

Workers

According to the LFS, 86 per cent of A8 and A2 nationals who are working are employees, and 14 per cent are self-employed. More than half (52 per cent) of those who are self-employed are aged under 30, and approaching three quarters (73 per cent) of self-employed are men. Self-employed workers are highly concentrated in London, with almost three in every four (74 per cent) located in the capital (LFS and ippr calculations). As Figure 15 shows, the proportion of those in self-employment is falling.

Figure 15. Distribution of A8/A2 nationals of working age in the UK, by type of employment, 2001-2007

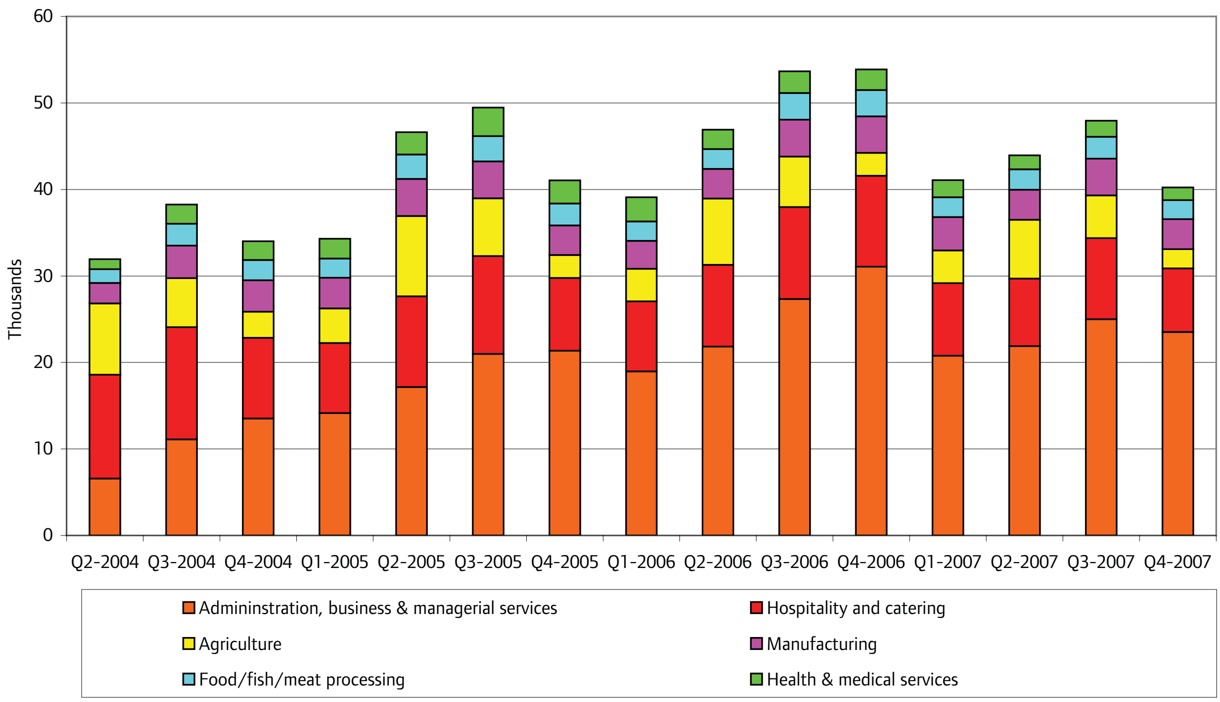


Source: LFS and ippr calculations

Sectoral profile

In 2007, more than half (52 per cent) of those registering on the WRS were in temporary employment. The agricultural and business, administration and management industry sectors employ very high proportions of temporary workers, while a majority of employees in the hospitality and

Figure 16. WRS registrations in top 60 industry sectors, May 2004-December 2007



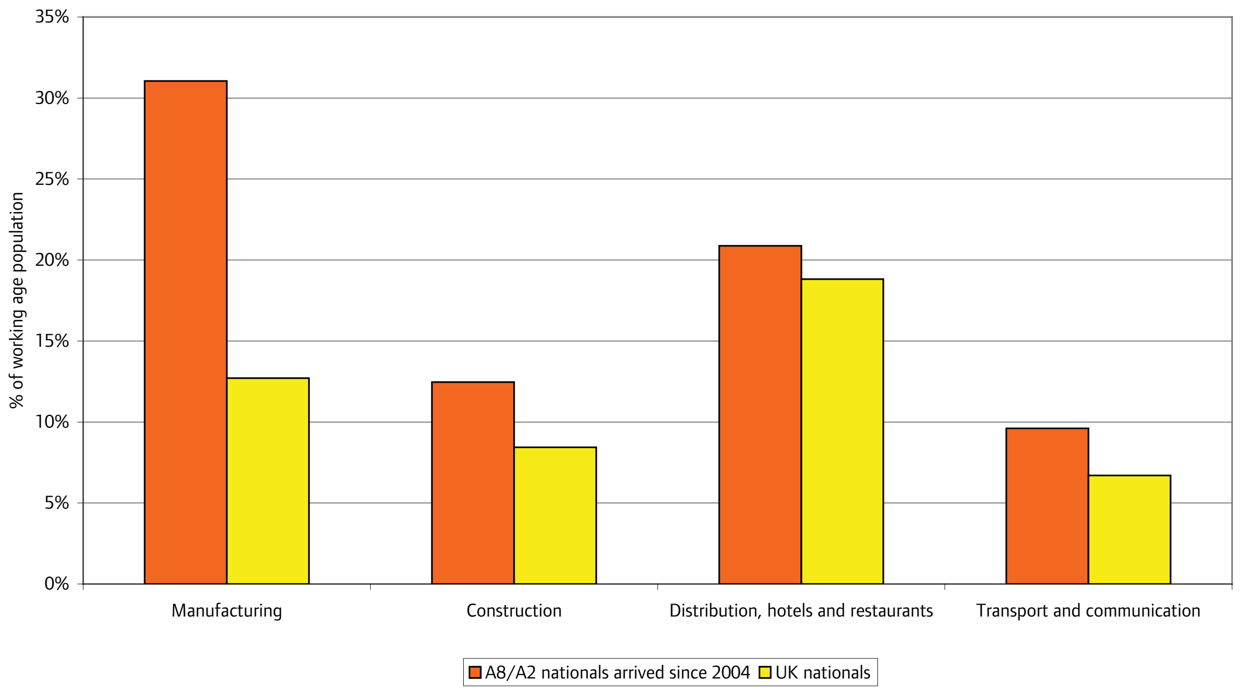
Source: Home Office *et al* 2005a, 2008a

catering and manufacturing sectors are permanent (Home Office *et al* 2008a).

The top five sectors in which workers registered to work between May 2004 and December 2007 were administration, business and management[5] (39 per cent), hospitality and catering (19 per cent), agriculture (10 per cent), manufacturing (seven per cent) and food, fish and meat processing (five per cent). The proportions of migrants working in each of these sectors have remained broadly constant over the last four years. However, there are clear seasonal patterns in some sectors, most notably agriculture, which employs higher proportions of migrants in the summer months.

Figure 17 shows the four industrial sectors, as defined in the LFS, in which the highest proportion of A8/A2 nationals in the UK are employed and compares rates of employment with those of British nationals. In each case, a significantly higher proportion of A8/A2 nationals are employed than among UK-born nationals. This pattern is particularly stark in relation to manufacturing, the sector in which 32 per cent of A8/A2 nationals are employed, in contrast to just 13 per cent of British nationals.

Figure 17. A8/A2 nationals arrived since 2004 compared with UK nationals, by industry sector, 2007



Source: LFS 2007, Q4

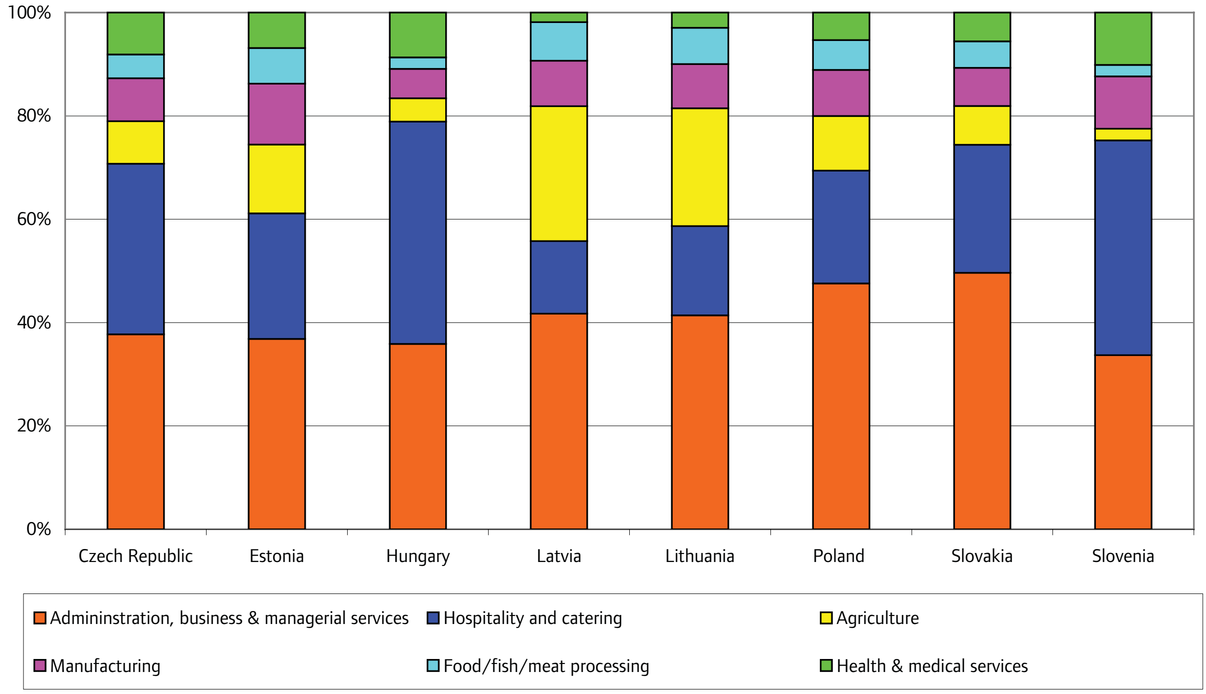
Figure 18 (next page) shows that although the most common sectors of work are consistent across the different groups of A8 nationals, there are small differences in the proportions of each group of nationals working in each sector.

Examining the occupations undertaken by registered A8 workers shows that a significant majority work in factories and warehouses as operatives and packers. The seasonal nature of agricultural employment is again apparent, with an increase in the number of people working as farmhands between April and September.

The most significant numbers of migrants registered to work in administration, business and management between May 2004 and September 2007 were in East Anglia and the Midlands. The

5. The majority of workers in this sector work for recruitment agencies and could be employed in a variety of occupations

Figure 18 Proportion of WRS registrations in top 60 industry sectors, by nationality, cumulative total May 2004-December 2007



Source: Home Office *et al* 2005a, 2008a

North East, North West and Central regions also have high numbers of migrants registering to work in this sector.

More than twice as many migrants registered to work in hospitality and catering in London than in any other region. The Central region, Scotland and the South West were the next most popular areas for people working in this sector to register.

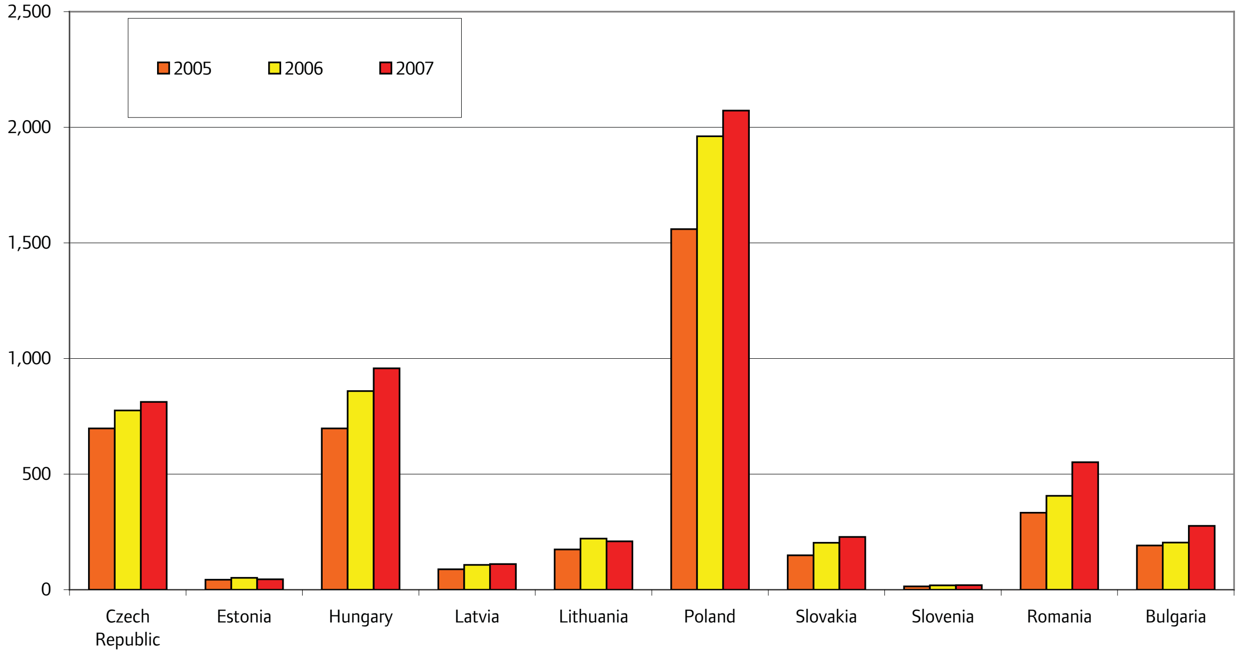
For people registering to work in agriculture East Anglia was the most popular region. The South West and Scotland were the next most common regions in which to be working in this sector.

The highest numbers registered to work in manufacturing in the Midlands and North East, followed by the North West. More people registered to work in food, fish and meat processing in Scotland than anywhere else. The North West and Midlands also recorded high numbers registering in this area (Home Office *et al* 2008a).

There is significantly less data available on the sectors in which Romanians and Bulgarians work than for nationals of the A8 countries. Of the 2,520 applications for work permits from these two nationalities in 2007, the most common sector in which applicants intended to work was entertainment and leisure, followed by hospitality and catering.

Although the number of A8 and A2 migrants working in high-skilled jobs is low, there has been an increase in the number of accession country nationals working in such sectors. For example, the General Medical Council recorded an increase of just over 25 per cent (around 1,300) in the number of registered doctors from A8 and A2 countries (principally Poland) between 2005 and 2007.

Figure 19. Total number of doctors born in A8/A2 countries registered to the General Medical Council, 2005-2007



Source: General Medical Council 2007

However, the proportions of post-enlargement migrants working in highly-paid professional jobs should be kept in perspective. In 2007, 89 per cent of A8 and A2 nationals working in the UK earned less than £400 per week before tax, compared with 57 per cent of workers born in the UK. In 2007 seven in ten WRS-registered workers earned between £4.50 and £5.99 per hour.

According to the LFS, since 2004 there has been a sharp increase in the number of hours A8 and A2 nationals are working. This increase seems to have peaked in 2005 at 47 hours, but remained four hours longer than UK-born workers in 2007 (46 hours compared with 42).

There is a large discrepancy between the high levels of education that many post-enlargement migrants have and the low-skilled and poorly paid jobs in which the majority are working. Our survey of migrants that had returned to Poland found that educational attainment has no significant impact on respondents' earnings. It also indicates that workers who have higher education qualifications are more likely to be working in elemental professions such as cleaning than those with vocational skills, who are able to find work in skilled trades.

The Fife Research Coordination Group survey found that 70 per cent of A8 workers are not making use of their skills in their current jobs (Fife Research Coordination Group 2008). In addition, a survey of high-skilled Polish workers in London by the Center for International Relations in Warsaw found that a significant number of respondents working in jobs relevant to and maximising their qualifications were working in services only for the Polish community, such as Polish schools and media (Iglicka 2008).

This situation clearly creates a number of undesirable situations. There is a significant pool of untapped high-skilled labour in the UK that is being wasted. At the same time talented and educated people who could have interesting jobs contributing to their own countries' success are being under-stimulated, doing unskilled work in Britain.

However, at the moment working in the UK continues to be an attractive prospect for many young people in the new accession countries. Many are prepared to work in low-skilled jobs in which they can currently earn more than in high-skilled professions at home for a short period of time. After a few months or years in Britain they can return home with significant funds to continue their education or invest in enterprise or property. However, as discussed in more detail below, as the economies of the new accession states rapidly grow, this is a situation that is unlikely to continue in the long term.

Our qualitative research with Poles in London provides a positive picture of the future employment prospects of those who settle in the UK, by suggesting that those who stay in the long term often move into jobs that are more suited to their skills, especially once their English skills have improved.

8. Migration patterns

The findings from our qualitative and quantitative work chime with widely-reported anecdotal evidence that the patterns of post-enlargement migration are very different from previous waves of migration to the UK.

While many people who came to the UK in the past from places such as the Caribbean and South Asia intended to return home eventually, moving to Britain was viewed as at least a semi-permanent arrangement; more transitory patterns of migration were neither a financial nor a logistical possibility. In contrast, the post-enlargement countries are geographically close to the UK and are increasingly within easy reach via cheap and regular flights between a growing number of destinations.

It is increasingly possible these days to be 'circular migrants', coming to the UK for a time, then returning home, or going elsewhere, then returning to the UK again, and so on. Some of these circular migrants travel to the UK seasonally, perhaps just coming for the summer months over a number of years. Increasingly flexible patterns of mobility make migratory flows between the new EU members and Britain ever more complex.

Seasonal and circular migration

In a survey undertaken in 2006 by the University of Surrey of more than 500 Poles in the UK, more than one in five (22 per cent) identified themselves as seasonal migrants. This group tended to be aged under 24, with lower levels of education (University of Surrey 2006). WRS registrations show a clear seasonal pattern of when people arrive in the UK to work. More jobs are available in sectors employing a significant proportion of migrants such as construction, agriculture, and catering and hospitality during the spring and summer months.

Our survey found that more than one in ten migrants (13 per cent) (*n=49*) who had returned from the UK to Poland had lived in the UK for at least three months on more than one occasion. Returnees are almost evenly split in terms of their future migration plans, with 33 per cent intending to leave Poland again to live abroad for at least three months, 37 per cent intending to remain in Poland and 30 per cent saying they do not know what their future plans will be. Of those who do intend to leave Poland, 61 per cent think they will come to the UK. Among this group, four in ten (41 per cent) *(n=31)* intend to stay in the UK for less than two years, with only one fifth (20 per cent) (*n=15*) planning to stay permanently. Women and returned migrants to Poland with dependent children are particularly likely to give the UK as their intended destination for future migration.

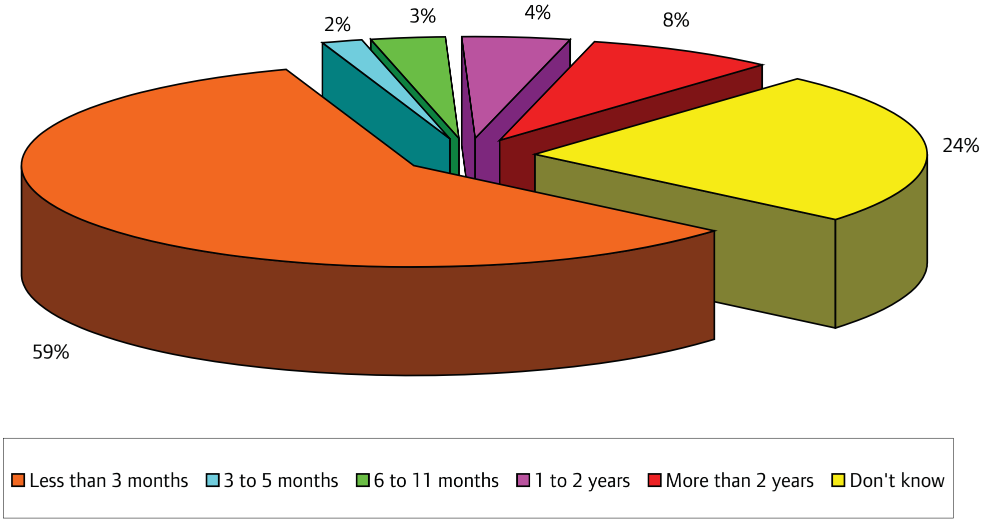
Length of stay

The majority of migrants have an idea of how long they intend to stay in the UK when they first arrive. The University of Surrey's survey of Poles found that almost one in three (31 per cent) intended to stay for less than two years. People in this group tended to be young and with the lowest levels of education. Around one in eight (13 per cent) intended to stay between two and five years, with a similar proportion planning to remain for more than five years. The most common age group to select the latter option was those aged 46+. A further 15 per cent said they planned to stay permanently, almost 30 per cent of whom where aged between 24 and 34 (University of Surrey 2006). Of workers who registered on the WRS during 2007, six in ten (59 per cent) intended to stay in the UK for less than three months at the time when they registered.

Commuting from Poland?

There is some evidence that some Polish professionals are going beyond established patterns of circular migration and are effectively commuting to work in the UK. In January 2008 BBC's *Newsnight* reported that a number of Polish doctors were travelling to the UK at weekends to provide out-of-hours cover for GPs. GPs in Poland earn around £300 per month, compared with the average £80 per hour (increasing to as much as £200 on bank holidays) that they can earn providing out-of-hours cover for British GPs. With the abundance of cheap flights between the UK and many towns across Poland the financial attraction of working in this way is clear.

Figure 20. Worker Registration Scheme registrations by intended length of stay, cumulative total January-December 2007

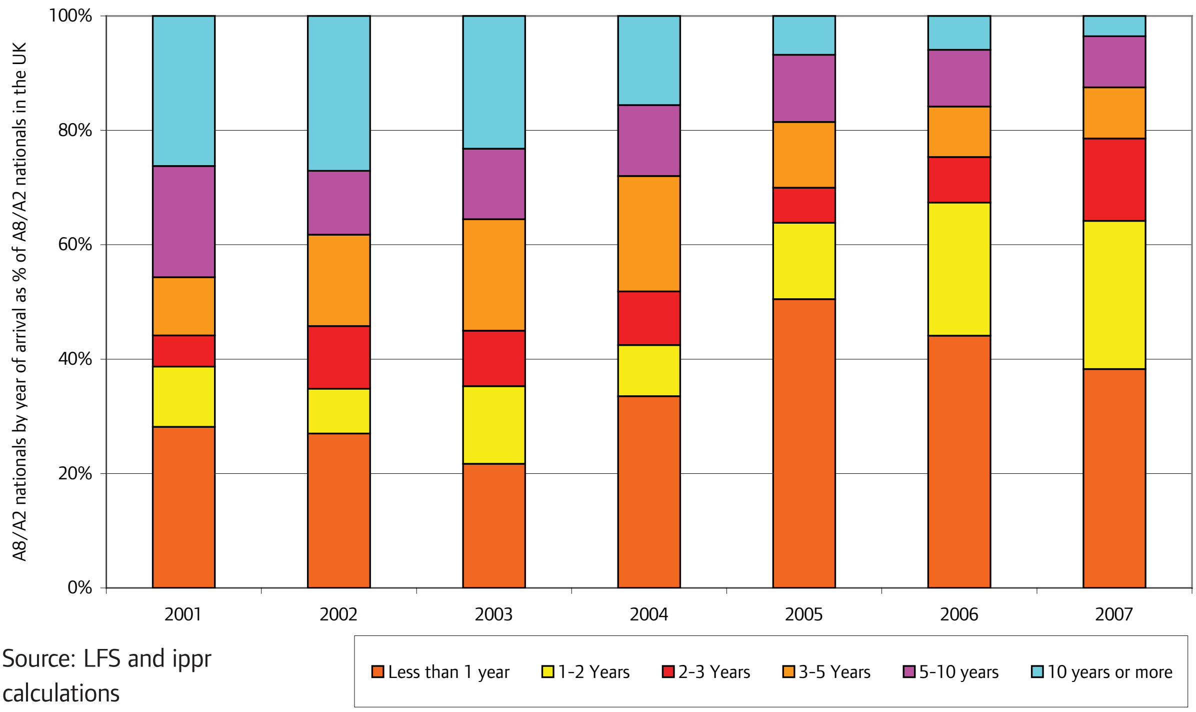


Source: Home Office *et al* 2005a, 2008a

However, a quarter of workers do not know how long they intend to stay at the time of registering on the WRS, and the University of Surrey found that almost a third (30 per cent) of the Poles they interviewed did not know how long they would stay. This category was mostly made up of educated migrants, suggesting that their decision to stay in Britain or return to Poland may be motivated by the availability of high-skilled jobs in each country.

The majority of migrants do stay for a limited time period. As shown in Figure 21, in 2007 the LFS found that 64 per cent of A8 and A2 migrants had been in the UK for less than two years ago, with 38 per cent having arrived within the last year. Our survey of returned Poles found that three quarters (76 per cent) of those who had been to the UK on one occasion stayed for less than a year, with a further fifth (19 per cent) staying for between one and three years.

Figure 21. A8/A2 nationals' year of arrival in the UK, 2001-2007



Source: LFS and ippr calculations

9. Migrants' motivations for coming to the UK

The decision to migrate to a particular country, for the short, medium or long term, always involves a complex set of pull and push factors. This is a subject around which a significant body of literature has grown up (see European Commission 2000 for an overview of these works). While it is not possible to provide a definitive account of the factors at work in new accession migrants' decision to come to the UK, there are a number of potential push and pull factors that can be explored.

Economic push and pull factors

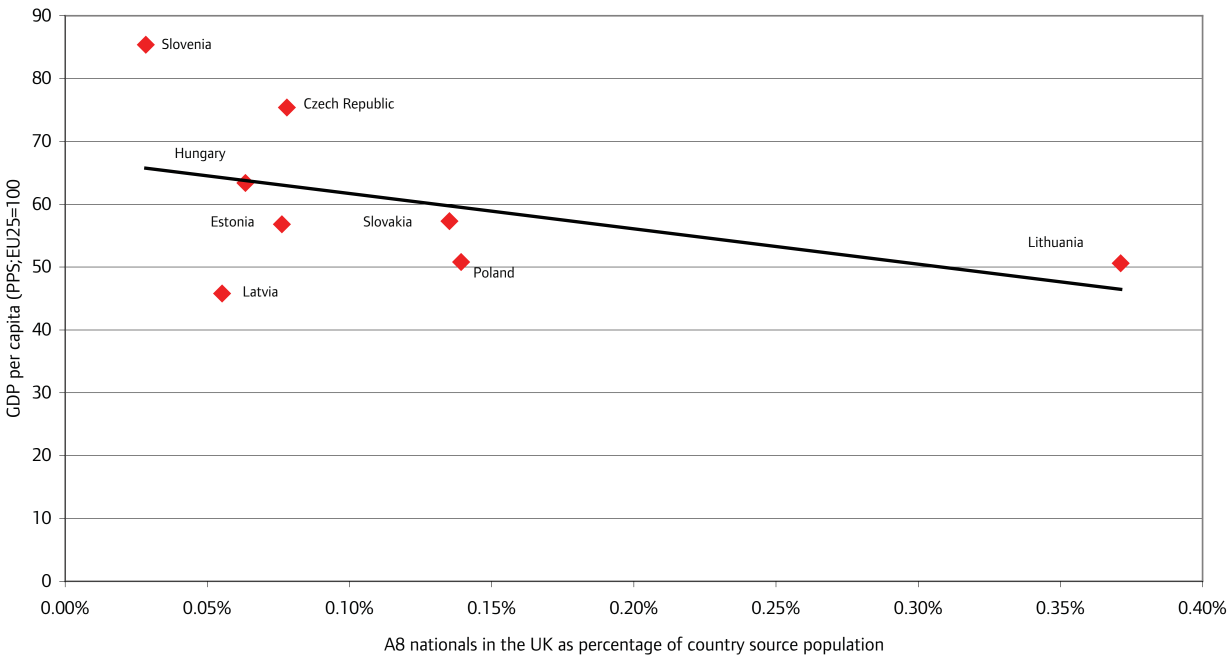
Our survey data underlines the importance of economic drivers of migration. A fifth (22 per cent) of returned Polish migrants came to the UK in order to take a job they had been offered, a fifth (20 per cent) came to earn more money and 13 per cent (*n=48*) came to look for work.

Having emerged from totalitarian regimes less than 20 years ago, all the new accession countries continue to have significantly lower standards of living than in the UK. In 2004, the GDP per capita of the wealthiest A8 country, Slovenia, was 85 per cent of the EU25 average, and that of the poorest accession member, Latvia, was less than half (44 per cent) of the EU25 average. At the time of joining the EU in 2007, Romania and Bulgaria's GDPs per capita were 41 per cent and 38 per cent of the EU average respectively. In comparison, the UK's GDP per capita was 118 per cent of the EU average in 2007 (Eurostat 2007). Therefore, going to work in more prosperous EU member states clearly provides an opportunity to earn significantly more than A8 and A2 nationals could at home.

The variation in standards of living in the new accession countries provides some indications about the differential numbers migrating to the UK from each country. The three A8 countries from which the largest numbers of migrants in the UK come are Poland, Lithuania and Slovakia, which have three of the lowest GDPs per capita of the new accession states, whereas the difference between the standard of living in Slovenia, Hungary and the Czech Republic is perhaps not sufficiently different from that in the UK to act as a significant push factor for migration.

Figure 22 shows the correlation between the GDP per capita of migrants' home country and the proportion of that country's population living in the UK in 2004, the year of the A8 accession.

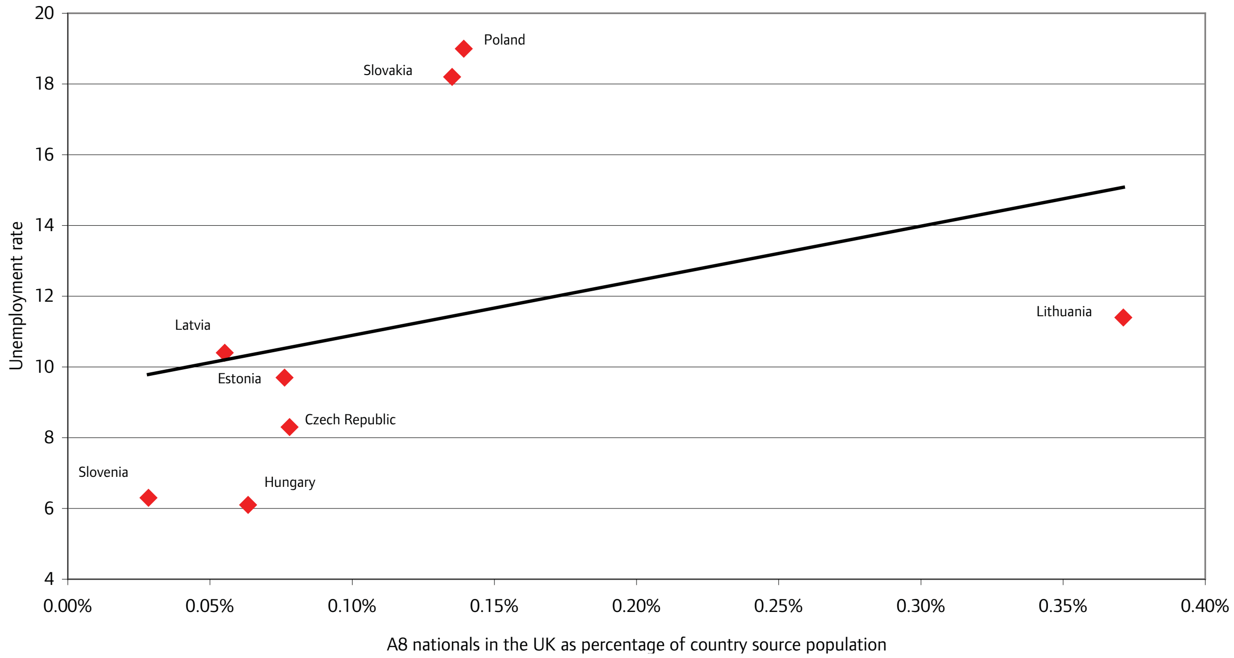
Figure 22. Correlation between GDP per capita and migration to the UK, 2004*



*The line represents the best fit line across the values
Source: Eurostat (2007) and ippr calculations

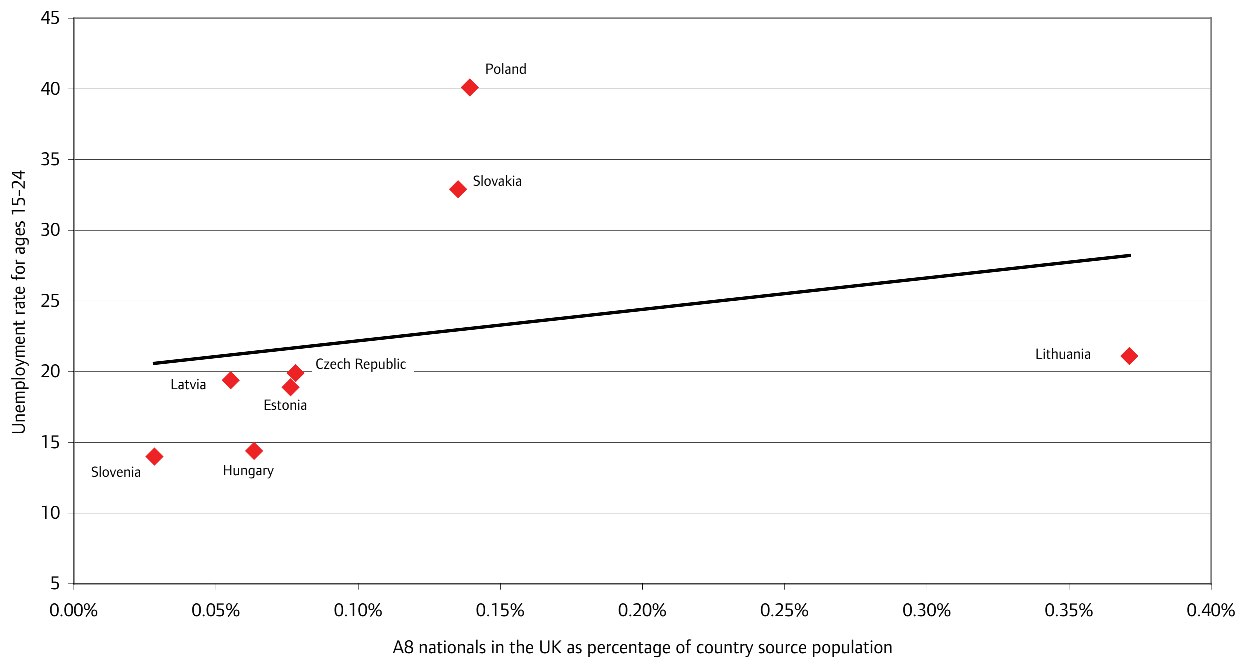
The level of unemployment in migrants' home countries is also clearly a potential contributing factor to their decision to leave and find work elsewhere. Again, the countries with the largest numbers of migrants living in the UK, Poland, Lithuania and Slovakia had the highest levels of unemployment among the A8 countries in 2004 (19 per cent, 18.2 per cent and 11.4 per cent respectively); a significant difference from the levels found in the stronger economies of states such as Hungary and Slovenia (6.1 per cent and 6.3 per cent). As Figure 23 shows, there is also a correlation between level of unemployment and the proportions of the populations of A8 countries living in the UK in 2004 (Eurostat).

Figure 23. Correlation between unemployment and migration to the UK, 2004*



*The line represents the best fit line across the values
Source: Eurostat 2007 and ippr calculations

Figure 24. Correlation between youth unemployment and migration to the UK, 2004*



*The line represents the best fit line across the values
Source: Eurostat 2007 and ippr calculations

Given that 44 per cent of those who have registered on the WRS since 2004 are aged 18-24, the rate of youth unemployment in migrants' home countries is of particular significance. Again, the highest rates of youth unemployment in 2004 were to be found in the three most common home countries of A8 migrants in the UK, with youth unemployment in Poland standing at a staggering 40 per cent.

Low wages levels and high levels of dissatisfaction have made employment in the UK, even in low-skilled jobs, an attractive option to many young workers in the new accession countries. According to the Warsaw Business Journal, professionals have been especially targeted by recruitment agencies in Poland, because they are able to earn so much more in the UK and Ireland than at home (Barteczko 2006).

The impact of economic push factors such as differential GDP per capita and unemployment levels are apparent in the changing patterns of migration from the A8 countries in just over three years between April 2004 and September 2007, most notably in relation to immigration to the UK from Lithuania. The number of successful applications by Lithuanians to the WRS more than halved from 7,600 in the third quarter of 2004 to 2,870 in the last quarter of 2007. Between 2004 and 2007 the rate of unemployment in Lithuania fell from 11.4 per cent to 4.3 per cent, while GDP per capita grew from 51 per cent of the EU average to 60 per cent.

In addition to the role of these economic 'push' factors, the strength of the UK economy has also acted as a 'pull' factor for many migrants. High levels of spending, low unemployment, and high demand for labour especially in sectors such as construction have acted as draws for many post-enlargement migrants. The strength of the British currency in recent years has acted as a particular pull, allowing earnings and savings from the UK to go even further when spent in migrants' home countries. The survey by the Center for International Relations in Warsaw of high-skilled Poles working in Britain found that 65 per cent were saving some of the money they were earning, and that 60 per cent of this group were sending money home to Poland (Iglicka 2008).

The opportunity to learn English

Wanting to learn English is a significant draw for many post-enlargement migrants. One in ten of the migrants who had returned to Poland in our survey (11 per cent) (*n=41*) came to the UK to learn English. Polish migrants we interviewed as part of our qualitative work often mentioned that their initial decision to come to the UK rather than go elsewhere was largely driven by the desire to learn or improve their English, especially before Poland joined the EU when Germany was often the default destination for Polish economic migrants.

Broadening horizons

Many young post-enlargement migrants are motivated to travel by the same factors that draw young Britons to take gap years or travel after they have finished their studies: to see the world and broaden their horizons. One in six returned Polish migrants (17 per cent) cites wanting to have an adventure, experience living abroad or experience another culture or society as one their primary reasons for coming to the UK. For example:

> 'I was at the end of my studies and I wanted to see what was going on in the world, to try new things.' Male, Polish, 25-34 age group, London

Our qualitative interviews highlighted that London, especially, draws young people to the UK. It is perceived as a vibrant and exciting city offering a plethora of cultural and social opportunities. Almost all the Polish migrants we spoke to commented on the diverse nature of British society, highlighting the mix of people and cultures as a positive aspect of life in the UK. For example:

> 'I've found out I like different types of cuisine, and I try to cook in different ways, not just the Polish way.' Female, Polish, 25-34 age group, London

Many of the Poles with whom we conducted in-depth interviews, especially those who were gay, mentioned that one of their motivations for coming to London was that they perceived the city to be more tolerant than their home countries. Other participants said they felt they had more freedom in the UK than at home. For example:

> 'I like the freedom: the freedom to wear whatever you like from your wardrobe and go out, which in Poland would be impossible, because you would have everyone's eyes on you.' Female, Polish, 25-34 age group, London

An enterprise culture

There is evidence that enterprising young people from the new accession countries are attracted to the UK to set up new businesses. The British-Polish Chamber of Commerce estimates on its website (http://bpcc.org.pl/en/content/view/192/) that there are currently 40,000 Polish entrepreneurs who have set up businesses in the UK. According to Michael Debinski, Head of Policy: 'You get the distinct feeling that Britain is the right business environment for them… they can realise their potential in the UK' (personal communication with ippr).

While LFS data suggests that 14 per cent of A8 and A2 nationals living in the UK are self-employed, our survey sample picked up very few migrants now returned to Poland who had been self-employed in Britain. This discrepancy may partly be due to the sampling methodology, but it is also indicative of a trend highlighted by our qualitative research with Poles in London: that those who set up a business in the UK are less likely to return home than others. Migrants who have invested time and money in setting up a business are less likely to give this up and return home than those who have simply been working for employers. This sentiment is perhaps amplified by many considering that it would be hard to relocate their business back home or set up a new business there. One in five returned Polish migrants (19 per cent) says that making it easier to start a business in Poland would encourage Poles living in the UK to come home.

Leaving the UK

Our survey of returned Polish migrants found that a wide variety of factors influence people's decisions to leave the UK.

In contrast to the case with migrants' motivations for coming to the UK, financial factors are not the main drivers of migrants' decisions to go home. Our survey findings suggest this is the case even

Table 11. Returned Polish migrants' reasons for leaving the UK

Reason for leaving (Respondents selected all answers relevant to them)	Percentage	Number
I missed home	36	135
To be with family members in Poland	29	107
I only came to work seasonally/temporarily	18	67
I always intended to return once I had saved a certain amount of money	16	58
To continue education in Poland	15	54
I always intended to return home after spending a certain amount of time in the UK	14	52
Unable to earn enough money in the UK	7	27
My spouse/partner/other family members were returning to Poland	7	24
The cost of living in the UK is too high	5	18
I wanted my children to grown up in Poland	4	15
Unable to find work in the UK that I am qualified to do	4	15
Unable to find a job in the UK	4	13
Housing conditions in the UK are unfavourable	3	12
Polish economy is stronger now than it was	3	11
I didn't feel welcome in the UK	3	10
Working conditions in the UK are unfavourable	3	10
To buy/build property in Poland	3	10

among the lowest paid migrants. We found a higher proportion of the lowest paid among returnees than among post-enlargement migrants living in the UK. One in three sampled returnees (31 per cent) earned less than £200 after tax during the last week they worked in the UK, while just under one in six A8 and A2 workers (17 per cent) currently in the UK earned this amount (LFS).

A significant proportion of migrants that have returned home say that the time they chose to go home was pre-planned, with 16 per cent saying they always intended to return once they had earned a certain amount of money, 15 per cent stating they intended to return after a certain amount of time and 18 per cent after their temporary or seasonal work had come to an end. And overall, just under one in seven of the migrants who returned home (15 per cent) left the UK in order to continue their education.

By far the most commonly-cited reasons for returning to Poland are those related to people's personal or family lives. Almost four in ten returned migrants (36 per cent) say they left the UK because they missed home, almost three in ten (29 per cent) cite wanting to be with their family in Poland as a reason for returning, and a further seven per cent that they left the UK because their spouse, partner or other family members were returning home.

10. Migrants' experiences of the UK

Our survey found that a quarter (24 per cent) of returned Polish migrants feel that their experience of living in the UK was better than they had expected, 46 per cent said it was about the same as they had expected and 18 per cent that it was worse.

Migrants' explanations for why their experiences were better or worse than expected underline the centrality of working conditions and pay to migrants' quality of life.

Six in ten (59 per cent) of those whose experiences were better than expected say this was because their pay and material conditions were better than they had thought. More than a quarter (27 per cent) (*n=24*) say that the difference between their expectations and the reality of being in the UK was due to their job being better than expected. On the other hand, more than two thirds (68 per cent) (*n=44*) of those whose experiences were worse than expected cited low pay and long hours as a reason for this. More than a quarter of this group (27 per cent) (*n=18*) mentioned that their disappointment with life in the UK was fuelled by their inability to find work to suit their qualifications, underlining the negative consequences of under-using migrants' skills.

More than nine in ten Polish migrants that have returned home (93 per cent) said they had close friends in the UK who were Polish. Our qualitative work with Polish migrants, suggests that the long hours which many work are a barrier to forming new social relationships beyond those with colleagues and the people with whom they live, who are often other Poles. For example, one said:

> 'I don't have free time. I go to work, come home, eat and go to bed.' Male, Polish, 25-34 age group, London

In this context, friends and family from home who are also living in the UK often form the basis of many migrants' social circles. One in five migrants that have returned home (22 per cent) initially arrived in the UK with friends, with 12 per cent (*n=44*) being joined by friends who came to live with them once they were in the UK.

> 'My old friends from Poland, from university, are my family here.' Male, Polish, 25-34 age group, London

Our survey of migrants that have returned home found that half (51 per cent) had British friends when they were in the UK. Our qualitative work with Poles living in London suggests that many of these friendships are likely to centre on the workplace, and that more substantive friendships with British people tend to be made when migrants live with British people or socialise with them during their leisure time. A study for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation found that the number of Eastern European migrants' social relationships with British people increased as they lived in the country for longer and with migrants' improving ability to speak English. Eight in ten of the Eastern European migrants with fluent spoken English interviewed as part of the study said they spent some or most of their time with British people, falling to 29 per cent among those with no spoken English (Spencer *et al* 2007).

Overall, 42 per cent of migrants that have returned home say that in the UK they had close friends who were from countries other than Poland and the UK. If we break down by gender, almost half of men (48 per cent) said this, perhaps reflecting the diversity in terms of nationalities of more male-dominated industrial sectors, such as construction, an industry in which many of the migrants of our sample that had returned home worked. The Poles we spoke to as part of our qualitative research were generally positive about their interactions with people from other countries, and many valued the diverse mix of people to be found in the UK. However, a few male participants reported some tensions between people of different nationalities at their workplace.

> 'It's a very international country, and I have friends from all over the world, not like Poland.' Female, Polish, 25-34 age group, London

The experience of the Roma population

Over 15,000 Eastern European Roma sought asylum in the UK between 1994 and 2002, the majority of whom were from Poland (Rutter 2003). Very few of the applications were successful, but a sizable community remained while their asylum claims were processed or as 'irregular migrants' (people who are liable to be deported for issues related to immigration status). The accession of the A8 and A2 to the EU means that Roma from these countries are no longer able to claim asylum in Britain, but are able to come as migrant workers under the restrictions that apply to all A8 and A2 nationals.

Sylvia Ingmire is the coordinator of the Roma Support Group, a community organisation working primarily with the Polish Roma community in London. She says Roma living in Britain continue to face significant obstacles, most notably in relation to education and health. However, Ingmire feels that now that many Roma are EU citizens and able to work in the UK, the community has a better chance of flourishing. She comments: 'It's a constant battle when you're seeking asylum. Concerns about your immigration status overshadow everything. There's no room for anything else, no cultural space.'

Although many Roma continue to experience significant racial prejudice, Ingmire argues that it is the diverse nature of British society that draws many Roma to the country and encourages them to stay. She says: 'They really appreciate the sense of anonymity in this country. The fact that they can [fit] into the existing melting pot is definitely a magnet for people from all over Eastern Europe.'

11. Future migration flows

It appears that the rate at which A8 migrants are arriving in the UK has started to slow down. The number of approved WRS applications was 17 per cent lower in the second half of 2007 than in the second half of 2006 (numbering 104,370 compared with 126,205) (Home Office et al 2008a). Based on our estimates of the real scale of arrivals to the UK, this could mean that as many as 30,000 fewer migrants arrived in the second half of 2007 than the second half of 2006. In Ireland, too, which has received an even greater number of post-enlargement migrants relative to the country's existing population, the trend seems to be downward. Fewer Personal Public Service numbers were issued in the first quarter of 2008 than in the same quarter in 2007 or 2006 (Department of Social and Family Affairs 2008).

The vast majority of post-enlargement migrants come to the UK for economic reasons. As the financial pull and push factors associated with coming to work in the UK shrink, the reduction in the number of post-enlargement migrants is likely to continue, and will probably accelerate.

According to our survey, the equivalent of around a fifth of Polish migrants that have returned to Poland intend to come back to the UK for at least three months. Based on our calculation that around 541,000 A8 migrant workers may have left the UK since May 2004, this suggests that around 108,000 migrants might intend to come back to the UK. However, we believe that the actual figure is likely to be significantly lower as these potential migrants decide to stay in their own country because of improved job prospects there or are attracted to EU member states other than the UK. **Two thirds of the returnees to Poland we surveyed (65 per cent) think they made the right decision in going home.**

Factors influencing future flows

While the preceding parts of this report confirm that the post-enlargement migration flows to the UK have been significant, in this section we outline four factors that are likely to mean that future flows are less significant. Taken together we suggest that these factors will lead to *fewer* migrants from the new EU member states arriving in the UK and, as discussed in the next section, *more* of those who are currently in the UK returning home. Because these factors are related to the sending countries, the outcome is that regardless of what happens in the UK economy and demand for migrant workers in the UK, the pool of migrants available to the UK may be reduced.

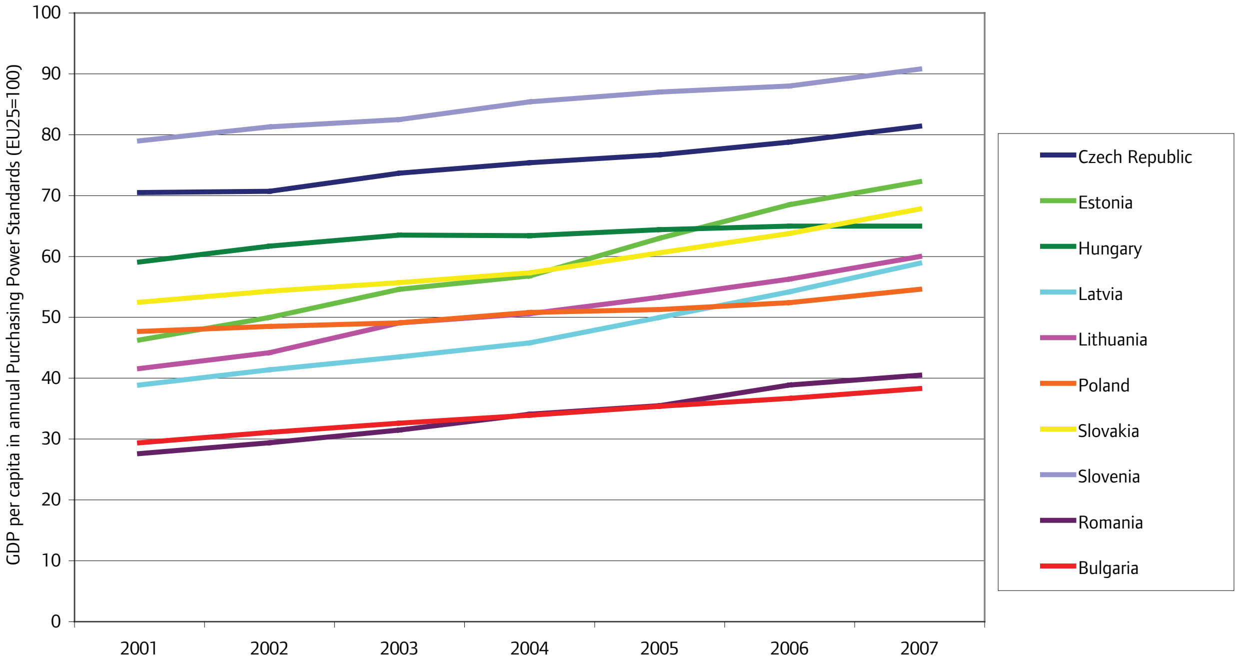
1. Development in sending countries

While other reasons may also be at play in many migrants' decision to come to the UK, in the past the significant driver of post-enlargement migration has been favourable economic conditions in the UK compared with the new member states. As economic conditions in the sending countries get better relative to receiving countries like the UK, what has been a push factor is likely to weaken. There is already evidence of this happening.

The economies of Central and Eastern Europe have already benefited hugely from their membership of the EU, with GDP per capita in all of the A8 and A2 countries increasingly significantly since joining (see Figure 25, next page).

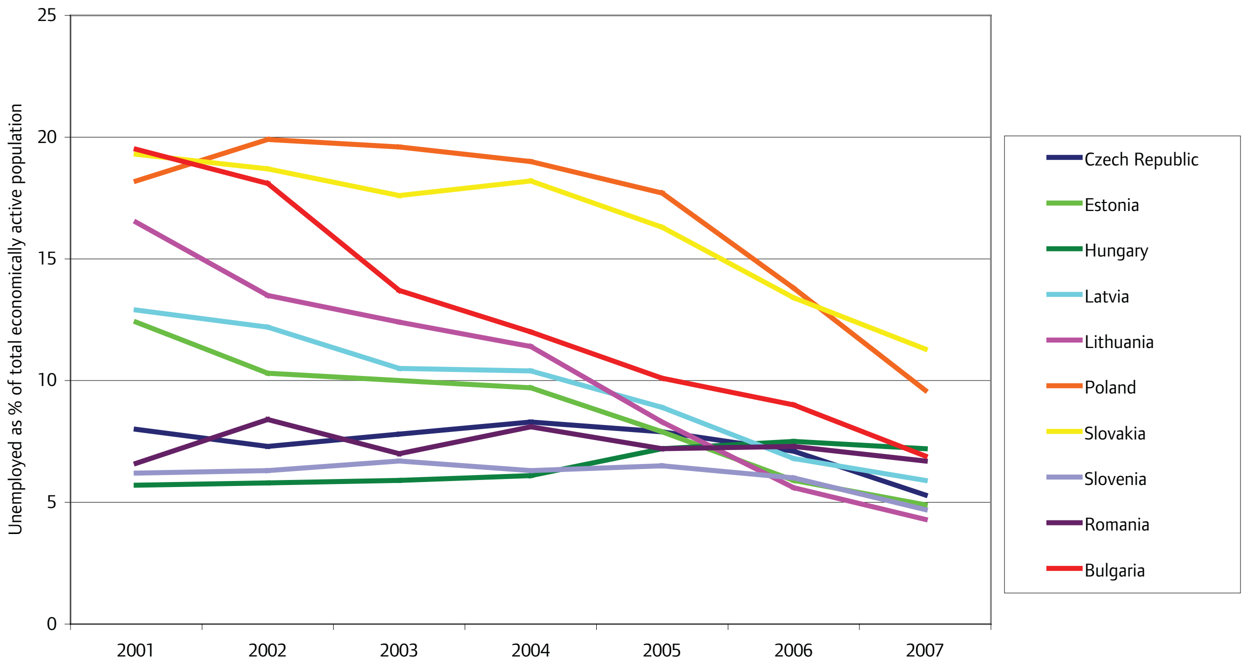
On a related note, in almost all of the new member states unemployment rates have fallen substantially since joining the EU (Figure 26). Better employment prospects at home are likely to discourage potential migrants from leaving and existing migrants to return home. Given that the most significant declines in unemployment between 2004 and 2007 were seen in the A8/A2 countries from where the largest numbers of migrants in the UK come – Poland, which experienced a decline of nine percentage points, and Lithuania and Slovakia, both with declines of seven percentage points – the prospect of there being more jobs on offer in these important sending countries may significantly reduce the supply of migrant workers to the UK. Our survey found that four in ten Polish migrants who have returned to Poland (40 per cent) think that better employment prospects in their home country would encourage more of their compatriots living in the UK to return to Poland for good.

Figure 25. GDP per capita in the A8 and A2 countries, 2001-2007



Source: Eurostat 2007

Figure 26. Unemployment rate in the A8 and A2 countries, 2001-2007



Source: Eurostat 2007

In December 2007, the Polish Confederation of Employers (KPP), estimated that the Polish economy required 250,000 more qualified workers, a quarter of whom are needed in the construction sector (Warsaw Business Journal 2007c). There is evidence that construction is experiencing a particular boom in Poland as the country undertakes large-scale renovations of sports facilities and transport infrastructure in preparation for hosting the 2012 European Football Championships (Mostrous and Seib 2008). Our survey suggests that Poles working in this industry have already started to be attracted home, with a fifth (22 per cent) of returned respondents working in construction.

There is some suggestion that the skills shortage in Poland also extends to high-skilled jobs, the lack of which is given for an explanation for many A8 and A2 migrants coming to the UK. A CBOS study published in October 2007 found that many small businesses in Poland are struggling to recruit employees, especially professionals (Warsaw Business Journal 2007b). Four in ten migrants that have gone back to Poland (42 per cent) said that if there were more work in Poland that were better matched to employees' qualifications this would be a factor that would attract Poles back home.

Labour shortages in Poland have led to a sharp increase in wages over the last year. According to the British-Polish Chamber of Commerce, average wages in Poland's private sector grew by 12.8 per cent between February 2007 and February 2008 (British-Polish Chamber of Commerce 2008). More than three quarters of the migrants that had returned to Poland questioned in our survey (77 per cent) said that increased incomes in Poland would encourage Poles living in the UK to return home permanently; this was by far the most commonly cited factor that returnees feel would encourage more migrants in the UK to come home.

Indeed, significant efforts have been made in Poland to attract its workers home. In September 2007 President Lech Kaczy ski promised to implement a package of measures to attract Poles back home (Warsaw Business Journal 2007a). In an effort to inform Polish emigrants about the changing economic conditions at home, the Polish Ministry of Labour and the British-Polish Chamber of Commerce launched the 'Return to Poland' website (www.wracajdopolski.pl/) in October 2007. The website provides potential returnees with information about wage levels and a database of jobs, and postgraduate and language courses. In the first three months of 2008, the website received more than 16,000 hits from visitors based in the UK (Wracaj do Polski 2008).

2. Diversion to alternative destinations

A key driver of the significant level of migration from the new accession states to Britain over the last four years has been the restrictions placed on the free movement of nationals of the new member states to other existing EU countries. Had traditional destinations for migrants from Central and Eastern Europe such as Austria and Germany had lesser restrictions on new accession migrants, it is very likely that significantly fewer migrants would have come to the UK.

However, many member states have relaxed restrictions on the movement of A8 workers since May 2006, and all EU members must lift all restrictions on A8 nationals by April 2011 and on A2 nationals by the end of 2013. It is probable that as these restrictions are lifted, migrants who may have otherwise potentially come to the UK will be diverted to member states closer to their home countries, especially where migration routes from Central and Eastern European countries are already well established.

There is evidence that member states that have already begun to relax restrictions on A8 nationals have seen an increase in the number of migrants arriving. The outflow of Polish migrants to Finland, which opened its labour market to A8 migrants in May 2006, was 329 per cent higher in 2006 than in 2005. The number of migrants going to the Netherlands, which lifted its restrictions on A8 workers in May 2007, was 180 per cent higher in the third quarter of 2007 than during the same period in 2006. In the first half of 2007 the Netherlands become the sixth most popular destination for emigrating Poles, receiving six per cent of emigrants. Even member states that have not lifted their restrictions have seen increases in the numbers of Polish immigrants arriving. Between the second quarter of 2006 and the second quarter of 2007, there were large increases in the numbers of Polish migrants going to Denmark (300 per cent), France (50 per cent) and Austria (38 per cent) (Kepinska 2007).

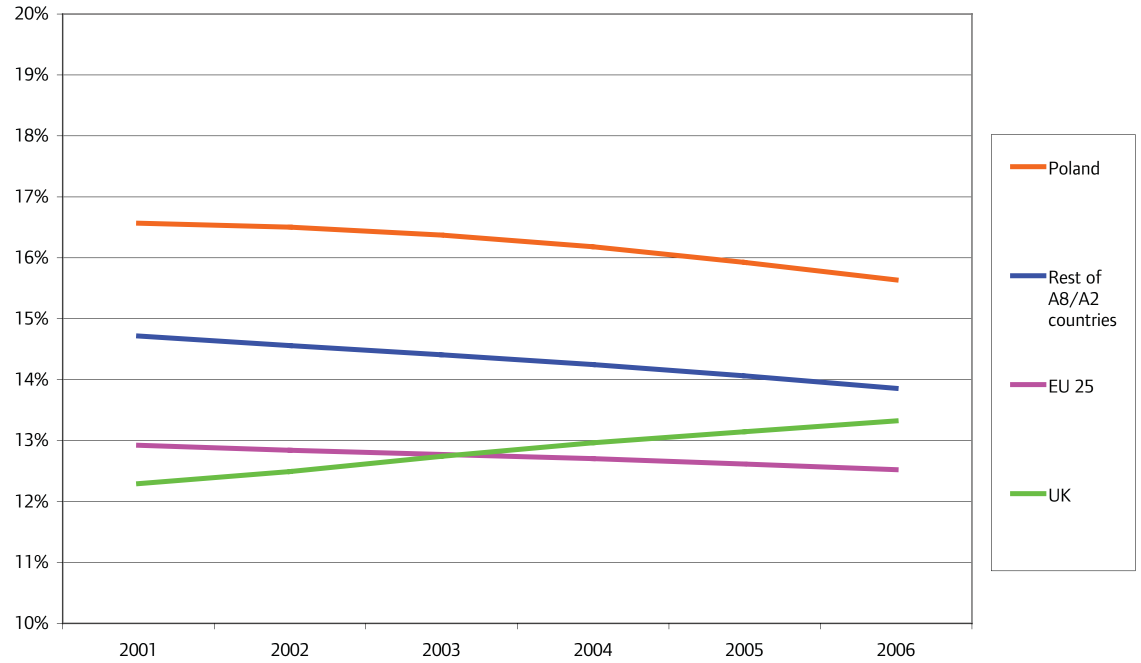
Our survey found that of the third of Polish migrants returned to Poland who intend to live outside of Poland again in the future, a third intended to live in EU countries other than the UK. Ireland was the most popular potential destination among this group, but Sweden, the Netherlands and Germany were also commonly mentioned. A BBC investigation into trends in Polish migration found that recruitment agencies in Poland have started to see increased demand for Polish workers in other EU countries, especially the Netherlands, and a diversion of potential migrants to these countries rather than the UK (BBC Radio 4 2008).

It may also be the case that, as other Western European economies grow, the relative attractiveness of the UK labour market may fall. In recent years, the demand for labour in the UK, driven by high growth and low unemployment, was much higher than in almost all of the large existing EU member states. This will have made the UK a relatively more attractive destination for many would-be migrants. Yet, if other existing EU member states catch up with the UK, the interest from new member state migrants may wane. Indeed, it is likely that any future downturn in the British economy (especially relative to other EU member states) will lead to a reduction in the number of economic migrants arriving from the new EU members states.

3. Demographic patterns in sending countries

As a consequence of declining birth rates in the mid 1980s, the proportion of the population aged 15 to 24 is shrinking in the new member states, most notably in Poland (see Figure 27). The age profile of post-enlargement migrants to Britain has been young and it is therefore likely to be this age group that contains the potential migrants of the next few years. As a result, the pool of people likely to migrate to the UK is getting smaller and is set to continue to do so in the coming years.

Figure 27. Percentage of population aged 15-24 out of total population, 2001-2006



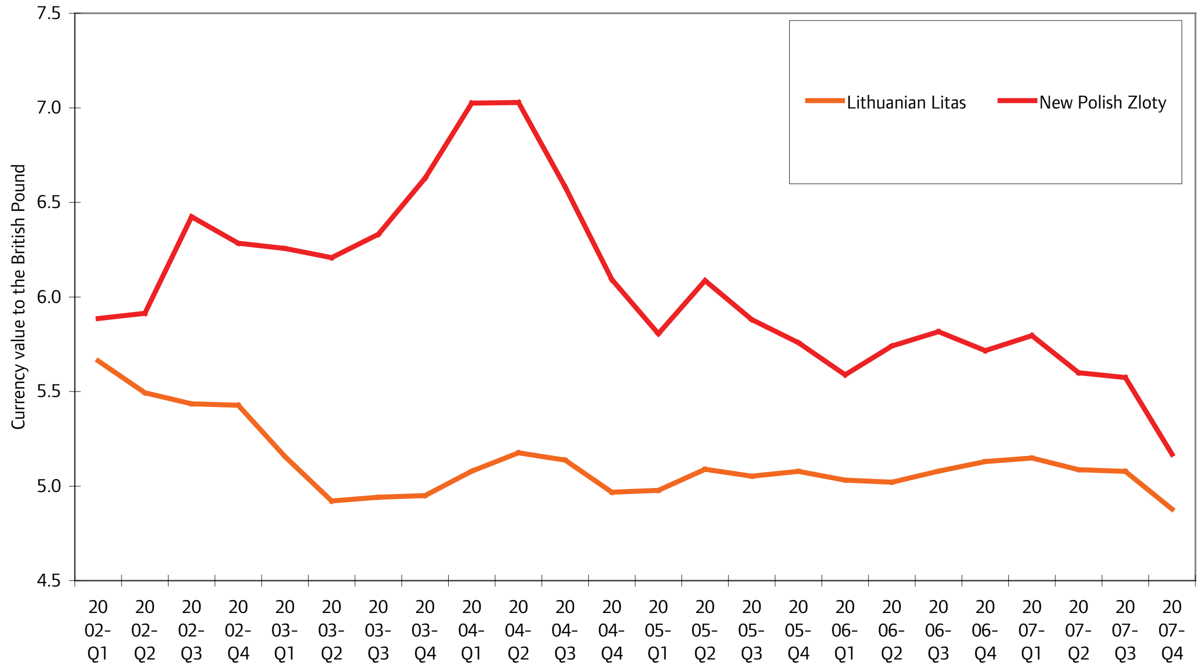
Source: Eurostat 2007

4. Devaluation of the pound sterling

The relative attractiveness of the British economy has also already started to wane for many new member state nationals as the UK's currency has weakened significantly against those of many new accession states, most notably the Polish Zloty. As Figure 28 shows (next page), while in the first quarter of 2004, Polish workers sending money home to relatives or saving in Sterling would receive 7 Zloty per 1 GBP, by the end of 2007 they received 5.2. As the differences between potential earnings at home and in Britain narrows, potential migrants are less likely to view coming to the UK as sufficiently financial advantageous to make the move, and those already in the UK are more likely to return home. Our survey found that already seven per cent of Poles cite not being able to earn enough money in the UK as a reason for returning home.

While the Euro has also devalued against the currencies of the new member states, it has not done so to the same extent as sterling, with the Euro worth just over one Zloty less at the end of 2007 than just prior to the A8 accession. This trend suggests that the pull of alternative destinations in the Eurozone may be significant once restrictions on A8 and A2 migration to more countries in the zone are relaxed.

Figure 28. Exchange rates between pound sterling and A8/A2 national currency exchange rates, 2001-2007



Source: Eurostat 2007 and ippr calculations

Floodgates or turnstiles?

So, there are already signs that the flows of post-enlargement migrants are starting to slow and are likely to slow ever further in the near future. The propensity of this group of migrants to return to their home countries or go elsewhere after a relatively short period in the UK may set them apart from previous waves of migrants. Therefore, rather than EU enlargement causing an opening of the floodgates, it may well be that the freedom of movement associated with enlargement has led to the creation of turnstiles.

It is of course true that although six in ten (59 per cent) of those registering on the WRS say soon after arrival that they intend to stay in the UK for three months or less (Home Office *et al* 2008a), a number of surveys, primarily of Polish workers, have found that the majority of migrants extend their stay in the country after a while.

Yet, the findings of surveys of how many migrants are likely to stay in Britain for significant periods diverge.

In July 2007 a survey for the Polish daily newspaper *Gazeta Wyborcza* found that 55 per cent of those working in the UK definitely plan to stay for the long term (Reuters 2007). In contrast, a survey conducted for the Centre for International Relations in Warsaw found that half (51 per cent) of high-skilled Poles in London wanted to return to Poland (Iglicka 2007). The University of Surrey's survey of Poles across the UK in 2006 found that less than one in seven (15 per cent) intended to remain in the UK permanently, with only a one in ten (11 per cent) planning to stay for more than five years (University of Surrey 2006). The finding that the surveys have in common with each other as well as with evidence from the WRS is that a significant proportion of migrants (between around a quarter and third) *do not know* how long they intend to stay.

Polish migrants that have returned home are evenly split over their view of how many of their compatriots living in the UK will return home: 26 per cent believe most will eventually come home; 27 per cent think about half will return to Poland; 28 per cent think a few will return; and 19 per cent say that they do not know.

We believe that the proportion of migrants that will stay in the UK in the long term is likely to be at the lower end of the range of predictions.

Our survey found that most Polish migrants' decisions to return home were motivated by personal and emotional factors that are likely to override people's original planned length of stay. A significant proportion of returned migrants say that the time they chose to return home was pre-planned. Around one in seven (14 per cent) say they intended to return home after a certain amount of time and similar proportions after earning a certain amount of money (16 per cent) or after their temporary or seasonal work had come to an end (18 per cent). However, migrants' two most commonly-cited reasons for leaving are because they missed home (36 per cent) and to re-join friends and family in Poland (29 per cent). Whatever the attraction of coming to Britain and migrants' intentions to stay when they first arrive, they must perceive the benefits of remaining in the UK to outweigh the often considerable pull of returning home if they are to stay.

As outlined above, the economic benefits of coming to work in the UK are already less apparent than at the time of the A8 accession. As the results of this trend become more deeply apparent, many migrants will not wish to come to work in Britain. The high proportion of migrants who adopt a 'wait and see' strategy in relation to how long they intend to stay in the country are particularly likely to return home as the financial benefits of remaining in the UK continue to decline.

Given that the economic incentives to remain in the UK are likely to decline, we believe migrants whose ties to the UK extend beyond the purely financial are most likely to stay in the long term. Examples include people who have met partners in Britain, those who are drawn by the cultural and social attractions of living here, and those who have set up businesses.

Finally, it is worth noting that one of the most intriguing future patterns of migration between the UK and the new EU member states is likely to be the movement of people from the UK to these countries. ippr research in 2006 found that more than 37,000 British citizens lived in the A8 and A2 countries (Sriskandarajah and Drew 2006). With increased trade, migration, information and personal links between the UK and new member states, this number is likely to have significantly increased in the two years since that report. There is also evidence to suggest that some new member states are popular destinations for holiday homes, some of which eventually become permanent homes. Bulgaria, for example, is the second most popular source of foreign properties advertised on major UK overseas real estate websites (Sriskandarajah and Drew 2006). As an ageing UK population seeks relatively cheaper places for retirement, 'silver flight' to Central and Eastern Europe is set to rise.

12. Conclusion

The evidence presented in this report confirms that migration from the new EU member states to the UK has been one of the most important social phenomena in recent years: some one million workers have arrived from the A8 countries, the stock of A8/A2 nationals in the UK has increased by 548,000, and Poles have gone from 13th to first largest foreign national group all in the space of four years.

This migration is likely to prove to be one of the most concentrated voluntary migrations in the world today. A large number of people have moved on their own volition (that is, not for reasons of disaster, conflict and so on at home) over a relatively short period, and many have already moved back home or moved on elsewhere.

While the scale of post-enlargement migration is undoubtedly important, so too are its impacts. However, we know little of these impacts as yet.

Impacts for migrants

For the migrants themselves, moving to the UK has provided an opportunity to earn money, learn new skills and the English language, and generally broaden horizons. Many of those we surveyed had had a positive experience in the UK, many of those who had returned to Poland were happy about their choice to do so, and a sizeable proportion were planning on moving again. This mobility, or 'super mobility' as we call it elsewhere (Rutter *et al* 2008), has the potential to enrich lives in material and, as our survey showed, other ways. Indeed, from the point of view of migrants certainly, the enlargement of the European Union has been a resounding success, presenting new opportunities that were unthinkable even a decade ago in many of the new member states before their accession.

Impacts for the UK

For the UK, the impacts are more difficult to gauge but there is mounting evidence that the experience of receiving accession migrants has so far been a positive one, at least in economic terms. A8 migration is thought to have reduced inflation and lowered the natural rate of unemployment (Blanchflower *et al* 2007), eased bottlenecks in the labour market, increased the flexibility of the labour force, eased inflationary pressure points on the economy (Ernst and Young ITEM Club 2006), and had no discernible negative impact on unemployment in the UK (Gilpin *et al* 2006). That these workers seem to be highly mobile across the UK, moving to the sectors and regions where there is work, is also likely to have aided regional development and prevented labour shortages in key sectors and those such as agriculture that find it hard to attract local workers.

There is also no denying that the presence of A8 and A2 nationals, and the trade and investment links they bring with them, has implications for the UK economy. One estimate suggests that the 'Polish pound' is worth more than £4 billion per year to the UK economy (Centre for Economics and Business Research 2007). This expenditure goes beyond the 'Polish deli' businesses to mainstream goods and services. For example, 125,000 current accounts were opened by Poles with Lloyds TSB alone in 2006 (Sherwood 2007). Also, trade in both directions between the new accession countries and the UK has increased since the expansion of the EU. The value of the UK's exports to Poland increased by just under 40 per cent between 2004 and 2007, and the value of exports to the rest of the A8 countries increased by 35 per cent. Migrants returning from Britain are likely to assist in the continued growth of trade links as they maintain business and personal connections with the country when they are back in their homeland (ONS 2007).

Given that post-enlargement migrants have overwhelmingly been young, single and in work, their impact on the UK's public purse is also likely to have been positive. Although most earn low wages in per-hour terms, they tend to work long hours and end up making important tax contributions while not making very great use of public services. For example, one survey of A8 migrants found that 90 per cent had not used medical or health services during their stay in Scotland (Fife Research Coordination Group 2008).

However, as the recent inquiry by the House of Lords Select Committee on Economic Affairs (2008) showed, it is very difficult to find any discernible overall economic impacts of migration. Much more work is needed to build the evidence base and to analyse the impacts of post-enlargement migration in terms of key economic factors. We hope that this report helps in this process and ippr itself is committed, especially through the remainder of the Economics of Migration project, to conduct further detailed analysis. But for the mean time, concluding anything about the wider social and political impacts in the UK of post-enlargement migration is beyond the scope of this report.

Impacts for sending countries

For the sending countries, the picture is similarly unclear. But, here too, there may have been important benefits in terms of easing domestic unemployment pressures, creating new opportunities, building trade, remittances and migrants returning with new skills and networks. While concerns about brain drain and labour shortages in these sending countries may be important, on balance it may well be that large-scale temporary and circular migration immediately after accession may have provided a much-needed boost to economic and social development. Indeed, recent labour mobility may have been an important factor in allowing the economies of the new member states to catch up with those in the rest of the EU.

Changes in the future

One thing that is less clear, and which rarely features in public or even policy discussions of post-enlargement migration, is what is likely to happen to these flows in the future. As discussed in the previous section, we believe that the evidence suggests that the UK will receive fewer new migrants from these countries, that more of those already here will return to their home countries or go elsewhere, and that those who remain will move up the labour market. Indeed, it will be a matter of *when* migration flows start reversing, not *if* they will.

We predict that gross arrivals from A8 and A2 countries will fall within the next few years, with the total stock stagnating or even falling slightly as a result of sustained emigration. We also predict that the socio-economic profile of those A8 and A2 nationals who do remain in the UK will start to resemble the UK-born pattern (for example, average wages will start to rise and over-representation in sectors such as agriculture will reduce).

While the public discourse is almost exclusively about the arrival of A8 and A2 nationals (and how far removed from reality the Government's predictions about numbers of arrivals were), we believe that the more important issue will be about how to respond effectively to the changes that are likely to happen.

For example, if, as we suggest, the A8 and A2 migrants who do stay behind tend to be the better qualified and more aspirational, the UK may not be able to continue to rely on the ready supply of workers prepared to move around the country doing jobs that most British people are unable or unwilling to do. This trend raises the spectre of labour shortages and increased off-shoring of British businesses, particularly in sectors such as manufacturing and agriculture, in which many employers say their businesses would have had to close or relocate to other parts of the world if they had not been able to employ large numbers of post-enlargement migrants over the last four years. It also has implications for how the UK designs its migration policies, particularly in terms of the balance between EU and non-EU inflows.

Put another way, the evidence presented here suggests that the UK Government's current assumption that the UK's needs for low-skilled migrant workers will be sufficiently met by supply from the new EU member states will not hold true for much longer, unless of course the EU expands again.

We believe it is important that researchers and policymakers understand the differences between these migration patterns and previous waves of immigration. There is a risk that policymakers may not realise quickly enough that we are now seeing a primarily circular migration phenomenon – with different implications from previous migration – and still act on the presumption that new migrants will behave similarly to previous migrants. If we take the labour market projections discussed above, it could be the case that the assumption that A8 and A2 migrants will continue to arrive or remain in large numbers may lead to complacency around attracting migrants from other parts of the world in the future. In other words, by the time the A8/A2 tap runs dry, the UK may not be able to react quickly enough to get the migrant workers the economy needs.

The circularity of these migration flows may also have implications for public service delivery. For example, while some public services in parts of the UK, unused to large numbers of migrants, may be struggling to deliver services to a growing and increasingly diverse population, these problems may be short-lived as migrants move out.

The fact that large numbers of A8 and A2 nationals moved soon after EU accession but may now slowly be moving back home may support the hypothesis frequently made in the migration literature that lower barriers to mobility lead to less permanent migration in the long term. In other words, while previous waves of immigrants to the UK ended up settling in the UK because leaving and coming back would have been difficult, contemporary migrants from the new EU member states may be far more willing to move around from place to place because they have more secure residency rights.

Finally, it is also important that political discussions of this recent migration reflect the true nature of the patterns. There is a risk that concerns and anxieties about migration to the UK are based in a large part around the recent arrivals of A8 and A2 nationals. Yet many of these concerns are based on the assumption that most of these arrivals are still here, that more will come and that many will stay. This report suggests that none of these assumptions may hold water.

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Appendix A. WRS registrations by region of employer 2004-2007

	2004	2005	2006	2007	Total
Anglia	21,915 (17%)	29,930 (15%)	31,690 (14%)	29,250 (14%)	112,785 (15%)
Midlands	11,710 (9%)	26,755 (13%)	33,155 (15%)	29,175 (14%)	100,795 (13%)
London	25,470 (20%)	23,460 (11%)	21,495 (9%)	20,850 (10%)	91,275 (12%)
North East	9,060 (7%)	21,405 (10%)	25,460 (11%)	21,535 (10%)	77,460 (10%)
Central	13,885 (11%)	20,640 (10%)	21,315 (9%)	19,285 (9%)	75,125 (10%)
North West	7,675 (6%)	19,135 (9%)	23,875 (10%)	20,665 (10%)	71,350 (9%)
South West	9,700 (8%)	18,150 (9%)	21,360 (9%)	18,965 (9%)	68,175 (9%)
Scotland	8,150 (6%)	15,895 (8%)	19,050 (8%)	19,345 (9%)	62,440 (8%)
South East	11,200 (9%)	13,670 (7%)	13,325 (6%)	12,790 (6%)	50,985 (7%)
Northern Ireland	3,660 (3%)	8,845 (4%)	8,970 (4%)	8,335 (4%)	29,810 (4%)
Wales	2,430 (2%)	5,490 (3%)	6,875 (3%)	5,940 (3%)	20,735 (3%)
Total	125,880	204,970	227,875	206,965	765,690

Source: Home Office 2008a

Appendix B. WRS registrations and estimated current A8 stock by local authority

Local authority	Approved WRS applications May 2004-December 2007	2006 population estimate	Number of A8 workers per 1,000 residents based on our estimate of current A8 stock*
City of London	3,590	7,800	306
Boston	7,875	58,300	90
Westminster	19,275	231,900	55
Northampton	14,250	200,100	47
South Holland	5,195	82,100	42
Peterborough	9,995	163,300	41
Fenland	4,760	90,100	35
Dungannon	2,735	52,300	35
Herefordshire, County of	9,285	177,800	35
East Cambridgeshire	4,115	79,600	34
Luton	8,225	186,800	29
Perth and Kinross	6,115	140,200	29
Corby	2,330	54,800	28
Camden	9,415	227,500	28
King's Lynn and West Norfolk	5,875	142,300	27
Isles of Scilly	80	2,100	25
Welwyn Hatfield	3,905	105,500	25
Cookstown	1,190	34,800	23
Breckland	4,205	128,300	22
Slough	3,835	119,500	21
Crewe and Nantwich	3,660	115,800	21
West Somerset	1,100	35,300	21
Angus	3,370	109,300	21
Gedling	3,395	111,700	20
Magherafelt	1,265	42,400	20
Hammersmith and Fulham	5,045	171,400	20
Craigavon	2,485	86,800	19
Ballymena	1,755	61,400	19
Arun	4,040	145,700	18
Penwith	1,715	64,400	18
Cambridge	3,120	117,900	18
Newry and Mourne	2,460	93,400	18
Southampton	5,995	228,600	17
Wrexham	3,430	131,000	17
Stratford-on-Avon	2,985	116,100	17
Chichester	2,740	108,900	17
Armagh	1,415	56,800	17
South Oxfordshire	3,150	128,100	16
Highland	5,290	215,300	16
Antrim	1,255	51,500	16
Wellingborough	1,805	75,500	16
Ealing	7,030	306,400	15
North Warwickshire	1,425	62,300	15

Local authority	Approved WRS applications May 2004-December 2007	2006 population estimate	Number of A8 workers per 1,000 residents based on our estimate of current A8 stock*
West Wiltshire	2,815	124,800	15
West Lancashire	2,475	109,800	15
Redditch	1,780	79,500	15
Nottingham	6,400	286,400	15
Wychavon	2,580	116,300	15
Gravesham	2,145	97,400	15
East Staffordshire	2,360	107,700	15
Kensington and Chelsea	3,850	178,000	14
Leicester	6,120	289,700	14
Cheltenham	2,350	111,500	14
Swale	2,700	128,500	14
Newport	2,915	140,100	14
St Albans	2,685	131,300	14
Hillingdon	5,015	250,000	13
Fermanagh	1,210	60,600	13
Lincoln	1,740	87,600	13
North Kesteven	2,045	103,200	13
Chester	2,360	119,700	13
Bedford	3,050	154,700	13
Reading	2,790	142,800	13
Southwark	5,180	269,200	13
Dartford	1,700	89,900	13
Wakefield	6,025	321,200	12
Omagh	955	51,000	12
Calderdale	3,685	198,500	12
Oxford	2,765	149,100	12
Aberdeenshire	4,330	236,300	12
Runnymede	1,485	81,200	12
Coleraine	1,035	56,700	12
Carmarthenshire	3,235	178,000	12
Kingston upon Hull, City of	4,640	256,200	12
Stroud	1,995	110,300	12
Lichfield	1,745	96,700	12
Selby	1,440	79,800	12
Belfast	4,790	267,400	12
Edinburgh, City of	8,210	463,500	12
Bournemouth	2,835	161,200	12
Poole	2,380	136,900	12
Trafford	3,635	211,800	11
Tunbridge Wells	1,785	104,600	11
Forest Heath	1,045	62,100	11
Ipswich	2,010	120,400	11
Bradford	8,165	493,100	11
Newark and Sherwood	1,815	111,700	11
Blackpool	2,300	142,700	11
South Hams	1,340	83,200	11

Local authority	Approved WRS applications May 2004-December 2007	2006 population estimate	Number of A8 workers per 1,000 residents based on our estimate of current A8 stock*
Hounslow	3,510	218,600	11
Windsor and Maidenhead	2,225	138,800	11
Islington	2,965	185,500	11
Rugby	1,440	90,200	11
Ryedale	840	52,900	11
South Kesteven	2,060	130,100	11
Blackburn with Darwen	2,230	141,200	11
South Ribble	1,680	106,400	11
West Oxfordshire	1,570	100,200	10
Aberdeen City	3,195	206,900	10
Norwich	1,970	129,500	10
Barnet	4,910	328,600	10
South Lakeland	1,565	104,800	10
Taunton Deane	1,600	107,400	10
Eden	765	51,700	10
Scottish Borders	1,615	110,200	10
North Norfolk	1,465	100,600	10
Suffolk Coastal	1,770	122,200	10
Halton	1,730	119,500	10
Brent	3,885	271,400	10
New Forest	2,470	173,700	9
Doncaster	4,090	290,300	9
Derby	3,290	236,300	9
Manchester	6,245	452,000	9
Tower Hamlets	2,935	212,800	9
Huntingdonshire	2,295	166,600	9
Watford	1,095	79,600	9
Telford and Wrekin	2,215	161,900	9
Maidstone	1,945	142,800	9
Kerrier	1,330	98,000	9
Mansfield	1,330	99,900	9
Crawley	1,320	99,900	9
Sedgemoor	1,465	111,000	9
South Bucks	840	63,700	9
Lancaster	1,880	143,000	9
North Lincolnshire	2,080	159,000	9
Cherwell	1,790	137,400	9
West Berkshire	1,915	148,800	9
Hertsmere	1,220	96,000	8
Harrow	2,725	214,600	8
Christchurch	570	45,000	8
Basingstoke and Deane	2,005	158,700	8
East Lindsey	1,740	138,500	8
Argyll and Bute	1,140	91,400	8
North Cornwall	1,055	85,300	8
Brighton and Hove	3,095	251,400	8

Local authority	Approved WRS applications May 2004-December 2007	2006 population estimate	Number of A8 workers per 1,000 residents based on our estimate of current A8 stock*
Hastings	1,055	86,100	8
Tewkesbury	955	78,800	8
Coventry	3,700	306,600	8
Milton Keynes	2,695	224,800	8
Glasgow City	6,925	580,700	8
Uttlesford	850	71,400	8
Daventry	930	78,200	8
West Lothian	1,970	165,700	8
Surrey Heath	970	82,400	8
Mid Devon	875	74,500	8
Haringey	2,640	225,700	8
Shetland Islands	255	21,900	8
Bassetlaw	1,270	111,400	8
Harrogate	1,790	157,800	8
Richmond upon Thames	2,030	179,500	8
Merton	2,205	197,700	7
Braintree	1,550	139,700	7
Fife	3,970	358,900	7
Bristol, City of	4,515	410,500	7
East Riding of Yorkshire	3,625	330,900	7
Canterbury	1,600	146,200	7
Wokingham	1,680	153,800	7
Dover	1,160	106,400	7
Wandsworth	3,025	279,000	7
Mole Valley	870	80,500	7
Kirklees	4,295	398,200	7
Leeds	8,065	750,200	7
Flintshire	1,610	150,100	7
Broxbourne	950	88,900	7
Ashford	1,185	111,200	7
Tonbridge and Malling	1,210	113,900	7
South Shropshire	445	42,300	7
Shepway	1,045	99,600	7
Lisburn	1,180	112,900	7
Moray	905	86,800	7
Stoke-on-Trent	2,490	239,700	7
Merthyr Tydfil	575	55,500	7
Limavady	355	34,300	7
Elmbridge	1,340	129,500	7
Gloucester	1,170	113,200	7
Exeter	1,235	119,600	7
South Cambridgeshire	1,395	135,400	7
Stirling	900	87,800	7
Hackney	2,125	208,400	7
Walsall	2,595	254,500	7
South Somerset	1,575	156,700	7

Local authority	Approved WRS applications May 2004-December 2007	2006 population estimate	Number of A8 workers per 1,000 residents based on our estimate of current A8 stock*
Cotswold	835	83,200	7
Worcester	935	93,400	7
Vale Royal	1,260	126,000	7
Allerdale	940	94,300	7
Medway	2,490	251,700	7
Berwick-upon-Tweed	255	26,000	7
Aylesbury Vale	1,670	172,000	6
Dacorum	1,340	138,400	6
North Shropshire	565	59,500	6
Sandwell	2,720	287,600	6
East Hampshire	1,035	110,100	6
Torbay	1,240	133,200	6
Preston	1,220	132,000	6
Stafford	1,140	123,400	6
Test Valley	1,045	113,600	6
Hambleton	790	86,300	6
North Devon	835	91,500	6
South Gloucestershire	2,315	254,400	6
Eilean Siar	240	26,400	6
Fylde	685	75,700	6
Birmingham	9,040	1,006,500	6
Mendip	960	108,300	6
North West Leicestershire	790	89,600	6
North Somerset	1,775	201,400	6
Midlothian	695	79,300	6
Warrington	1,700	194,000	6
Wolverhampton	2,070	236,600	6
Hart	775	88,800	6
Malvern Hills	640	73,900	6
St Edmundsbury	880	101,900	6
Richmondshire	440	51,000	6
Kettering	750	87,900	6
Sefton	2,360	277,400	6
Harborough	685	81,300	6
Ribble Valley	485	57,800	6
Dundee City	1,185	142,200	6
Winchester	915	110,000	6
Banbridge	375	45,500	5
Southend-on-Sea	1,300	159,900	5
Bolton	2,115	262,400	5
Redbridge	2,020	251,900	5
Newcastle-under-Lyme	990	123,800	5
North East Lincolnshire	1,270	158,900	5
Chiltern	720	90,300	5
Nuneaton and Bedworth	960	120,700	5
Derbyshire Dales	555	69,800	5

Local authority	Approved WRS applications May 2004-December 2007	2006 population estimate	Number of A8 workers per 1,000 residents based on our estimate of current A8 stock*
Woking	720	90,700	5
Liverpool	3,460	436,100	5
Enfield	2,260	285,300	5
Castle Morpeth	390	49,500	5
Ballymoney	230	29,200	5
Sevenoaks	890	113,700	5
South Bedfordshire	915	117,000	5
Cardiff	2,480	317,500	5
Weymouth and Portland	505	64,900	5
Salisbury	895	115,300	5
Bracknell Forest	870	112,200	5
Plymouth	1,920	248,100	5
Kingston upon Thames	1,200	155,900	5
West Dorset	740	96,200	5
Portsmouth	1,500	196,400	5
Eastbourne	720	94,900	5
Derwentside	655	86,500	5
Restormel	770	101,900	5
Waltham Forest	1,675	221,700	5
Swindon	1,405	186,600	5
Horsham	965	128,300	5
Craven	415	55,500	5
Shrewsbury and Atcham	715	95,900	5
Salford	1,625	218,000	5
Epping Forest	905	122,900	5
Newcastle upon Tyne	1,990	270,500	5
North Dorset	490	66,700	5
North Hertfordshire	890	121,500	5
West Devon	375	51,200	5
Reigate and Banstead	950	129,800	5
Lambeth	1,990	272,000	5
Mid Suffolk	670	92,000	5
Rotherham	1,830	253,300	5
Babergh	625	86,700	5
Purbeck	325	45,200	5
Isle of Wight	995	138,500	5
Guildford	950	133,100	5
East Lothian	660	92,800	5
Greenwich	1,580	222,600	5
Ards	540	76,200	5
Macclesfield	1,065	150,600	5
Ellesmere Port & Neston	575	81,800	5
Newtownabbey	570	81,200	5
Newham	1,705	248,400	5
Bath and North East Somerset	1,190	175,600	5
Tendring	975	144,600	4

Local authority	Approved WRS applications May 2004-December 2007	2006 population estimate	Number of A8 workers per 1,000 residents based on our estimate of current A8 stock*
Warwick	895	132,900	4
Colchester	1,150	170,800	4
Mid Bedfordshire	885	132,200	4
Thanet	860	128,600	4
Vale of White Horse	780	117,100	4
Harlow	520	78,100	4
East Devon	870	131,100	4
East Northamptonshire	555	84,000	4
Croydon	2,225	337,000	4
Strabane	255	39,100	4
Tandridge	530	81,300	4
Wycombe	1,050	161,300	4
Kennet	505	78,200	4
East Hertfordshire	850	132,600	4
Dumfries and Galloway	945	148,000	4
Thurrock	950	148,900	4
West Lindsey	550	86,500	4
Darlington	630	99,300	4
Down	430	68,300	4
North Lanarkshire	2,035	323,800	4
Falkirk	935	149,700	4
Pendle	560	90,100	4
Tamworth	465	75,400	4
Pembrokeshire	720	117,300	4
Fareham	660	108,400	4
Wyre Forest	595	98,200	4
Waverley	705	116,800	4
Forest of Dean	490	81,700	4
York	1,150	191,800	4
Carlisle	610	103,300	4
Rutland	225	38,300	4
Torridge	375	64,200	4
Renfrewshire	990	169,600	4
Three Rivers	490	85,500	4
Teignbridge	715	125,500	4
Bridgend	745	132,600	4
Conwy	625	111,300	4
Great Yarmouth	520	93,400	4
Stevenage	440	79,300	4
Lewes	520	93,900	4
Rossendale	365	66,700	4
Moyle	90	16,500	4
Wirral	1,690	311,200	4
Spelthorne	490	90,500	4
Carrick	490	91,300	4
Gwynedd	630	118,300	4

Local authority	Approved WRS applications May 2004-December 2007	2006 population estimate	Number of A8 workers per 1,000 residents based on our estimate of current A8 stock*
Rochdale	1,095	206,500	4
South Northamptonshire	465	88,800	3
Melton	255	48,900	3
Mid Sussex	670	129,100	3
Powys	680	131,100	3
Solihull	1,050	203,000	3
Staffordshire Moorlands	480	95,300	3
Scarborough	545	108,300	3
Castlereagh	325	65,600	3
Bridgnorth	255	51,800	3
North Wiltshire	640	130,400	3
Sheffield	2,560	525,800	3
South Lanarkshire	1,460	307,700	3
Congleton	435	92,400	3
Alnwick	150	32,000	3
Hinckley and Bosworth	485	103,800	3
Derry City	500	107,900	3
Stockport	1,285	280,600	3
Chelmsford	730	162,800	3
Denbighshire	430	96,100	3
Maldon	275	61,700	3
St. Helens	790	177,600	3
Ceredigion	340	77,200	3
South Derbyshire	390	89,800	3
Basildon	730	168,600	3
Wigan	1,320	305,500	3
Tameside	915	214,400	3
Wear Valley	260	62,300	3
Barnsley	930	223,500	3
Rushcliffe	450	108,200	3
Bromsgrove	375	91,600	3
Brentwood	290	70,900	3
Dudley	1,240	305,300	3
Rushmoor	360	88,700	3
Eastleigh	480	119,000	3
Gateshead	765	190,500	3
Caradon	325	83,300	3
Hyndburn	320	82,200	3
Worthing	380	98,700	3
Ashfield	445	115,700	3
Lewisham	980	255,700	3
Wealden	525	143,700	2
East Dorset	310	85,000	2
Chorley	375	103,700	2
Bury	660	182,900	2
East Ayrshire	430	119,300	2

Local authority	Approved WRS applications May 2004-December 2007	2006 population estimate	Number of A8 workers per 1,000 residents based on our estimate of current A8 stock*
Epsom and Ewell	250	69,600	2
Orkney Islands	70	19,800	2
Burnley	310	88,000	2
Charnwood	555	162,400	2
Waveney	395	116,800	2
Rother	295	87,600	2
Havering	760	227,300	2
High Peak	305	92,000	2
South Staffordshire	350	106,200	2
Amber Valley	395	120,000	2
Tynedale	195	59,500	2
Oswestry	130	39,700	2
Broadland	400	122,200	2
Oldham	715	219,600	2
Sutton	600	184,400	2
North Down	255	78,700	2
South Norfolk	375	116,200	2
Durham	295	92,200	2
Swansea	725	227,100	2
Broxtowe	345	110,400	2
Cannock Chase	290	94,300	2
Monmouthshire	270	87,900	2
Teesdale	75	24,800	2
Bromley	900	299,100	2
Chesterfield	295	100,500	2
Blaby	265	92,500	2
Oadby and Wigston	160	56,500	2
Adur	170	60,300	2
Barking and Dagenham	465	165,700	2
Blyth Valley	225	81,200	2
Erewash	300	110,400	2
Sedgefield	235	87,700	2
Clackmannanshire	130	48,900	2
East Renfrewshire	230	89,300	2
Bolsover	190	73,900	2
Havant	300	116,800	2
Knowsley	380	151,300	2
Easington	230	94,000	2
North East Derbyshire	235	97,700	2
Stockton-on-Tees	450	189,100	2
Sunderland	660	280,600	2
Rochford	190	81,100	2
South Ayrshire	255	111,700	2
Middlesbrough	310	138,400	1
Bexley	490	221,600	1
The Vale of Glamorgan	260	123,300	1

Local authority	Approved WRS applications May 2004-December 2007	2006 population estimate	Number of A8 workers per 1,000 residents based on our estimate of current A8 stock*
Castle Point	185	88,600	1
Copeland	135	70,300	1
Gosport	150	78,200	1
Wyre	210	110,400	1
Inverclyde	150	81,500	1
North Ayrshire	240	135,500	1
Carrickfergus	70	39,700	1
East Dunbartonshire	185	105,500	1
Blaenau Gwent	120	69,300	1
Hartlepool	150	91,100	1
Isle of Anglesey	110	68,900	1
North Tyneside	310	195,000	1
Rhondda, Cynon, Taff	370	233,900	1
Torfaen	125	91,000	1
Caerphilly	235	171,300	1
Neath Port Talbot	185	137,100	1
Barrow-in-Furness	75	71,800	1
West Dunbartonshire	95	91,200	1
Larne	30	31,300	1
Redcar and Cleveland	115	139,500	1
South Tyneside	105	151,000	0
Chester-le-Street	35	53,200	0
Wansbeck	35	61,700	0

Source: Home Office 2008c and ONS with ippr calculations

*Our estimate of the current A8 stock is based on the assumptions outlined earlier in the report; that the WRS underestimates the actual level of worker registration by 33 per cent; and that 50 per cent of A8 migrants who have arrived since May 2004 are no longer in the UK.